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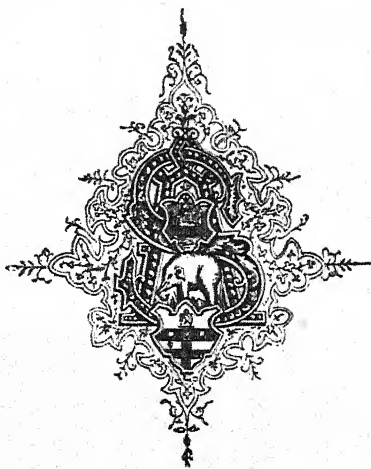
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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1923

PART I.—JANUARY

Tabaqat of Ansari in the Old Language of Herat

By W. IVANOW

ALTHOUGH there are several works still extant which are ascribed, correctly or wrongly, to the authorship of the great Sufic saint of Herat, 'Abdu'l-lah Anṣārī (died A.H. 481/A.D. 1088),¹ his hagiological treatise, dealing with the early period of Sufism, was so far believed to have been lost. It was an enlarged Persian version of Abū 'Abdi'r-Rahmān Muḥammad Sulamī's (d. A.H. 412/A.D. 1021) book *Ṭabaqātu's-Sūfiyyīn*,² which was composed in Arabic. All we knew so far about Anṣārī's work was derived almost exclusively³ from Jami's description given by him in the preface to *Nafahātu'l-Uns*.⁴ As it appears now, a copy of that version came to light as early as 1809,

¹ See about his full name and biography H. Ethé, *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.*, v. ii, p. 282, and E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, v. ii, p. 270.

² See about him C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Lit.*, v. i, pp. 200-1. His book is described in Ahlwardt's Catalogue, No. 9972 (v. ix, p. 408 sq.). There is another copy of the same work in the British Museum, Add. 18520.

³ I have been unable to find any reference earlier than Jami's. All the posterior information by the authors who lived after him seems always to be derived directly or indirectly from the *Nafahāt*.

⁴ Ed. Nassau-Leech, Calcutta, 1859, pp. 1-2.

when it was purchased for the library of the College of Fort William at Calcutta. It is at present preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and bears the mark D 232 (or old 536).

A collation of its text with the corresponding portion of the *Nafahāt*¹ shows that both agree almost entirely in the matters discussed, and if not for various abbreviations and small changes in the order of biographies and, occasionally, separate sentences, Jami's version would be simply a modernized copy of Anṣārī's book. This may give me an excuse for leaving out of the scope of the present paper all the questions connected with the contents, as supposed to be already familiar to the students of Sufism. Being much pressed by want of space, I am compelled to confine this paper exclusively to an analysis of the linguistic side of the work. And before starting a discussion of this matter, I can give here only the most necessary preliminary information to introduce the material to the reader.

1. *Description of the Manuscript.*—The copy is in fairly good condition, only in a few places worm-eaten. It is quite neatly written in the ordinary Indian nasta'liq of the eleventh century A.H., on thick and smooth brownish paper, also obviously of Indian origin. The number of leaves of the text is 147, the size being 235 × 155 mm., 21 lines to a page occupying 180 × 90 mm. There is no usual opening Bismillah and it begins with:

الحمد لله حق حمده . . . قال الشيخ الامام الاجل السيد

شيخ الاسلام . . . ابو اسمعيل عبد الله . . . الانصارى

There are 117 *chief* biographies, all with a heading of the same type (in red ink):

¹ *Ibid.* no. 34-312. Some passages, obviously also belonging to the . . . in the sections

منهم من المتقدمين (or متوسطين, etc.) من الطبقة الاولى
(or الثانية, etc.)

after which follows the name of the saint in question. At the end (fol. 139 verso) there is a
فصل في المعرفة والتوحيد. The colophon (f. 147 v.) is
very concise :

تم كتاب الطبقات من كلام پير هراة خواجه عبد الله
انصارى قدس سره

Fortunately there is a note of collation, *muqābilah* (by
a not very educated man):

تم [sic] التحشية يوم السبت [sic] والمقابلة ليلة الاحد [sic]
غرة رمضان المبارك ١٠١٥ من [sic] يد العبد افضل بن

حميد احمد¹ فرسى² الپانى پتى [sic] على [sic] شط بهت³

Thus we can be quite certain that the copy was made
in A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606, or shortly before that year, some-
where in India.

2. *Date and Authorship of the Book.*—The name of the
author and the date of composition are not clearly stated
in the text and they must therefore be reconstructed from
the scattered allusions which shed some light on these
points. Anṣārī was not the author of the book in the form
in which it exists now. It was compiled by one of his

¹ قريشى ? Studying the colophons of MSS. prepared in India, one
would think that persons of this noble descent were particularly fond
of the scribe's profession—so common it seems to have been amongst
them.

² Pānīpatī, indeed.

³ Pānīpatī, the name of a river.

disciples (who conceals his name entirely), apparently from lecture notes made in the course of the shaykh's instruction addressed to an assembly of his *murīds*. They were apparently intended to correct and complete the text of Sulamī's book, which was probably the immediate subject of Anṣārī's comment, although, strangely enough, this fact is not expressly mentioned in his work.

There is no doubt as to the author having been in direct communication with the shaykh from whom he learnt the sacred tradition (*ḥadīth*), and he probably had sufficient opportunity of private conversation with the saint.¹ Occasionally, however, it seems to be clear that the assembly of disciples was addressed.² And various expressions in some of these sentences indicate that the book received its final form *after* Anṣārī's death, probably within a short time after it.³ Thus there is no doubt that the *Ṭabaqāt* were composed towards the end of the fifth century A.H. (or eleventh century A.D.).

3. *The language of the Ṭabaqāt*.—Even if the book had been written in the ordinary language of its time, it

¹ He mentions the shaykh as his immediate *rāwī* on ff. 46 v., 115 v., 124 v., 130, 147 v. Allusions to his conversations appear: (33 v.)

(شیخ) گفت توحید دانی (86 v.) ; شیخ الاسلام گفت مرا

چیست, etc.

² Cf. (2) : شیخ بر ما وصیت کرد (4) : شیخ بر ما وصیت کرد

شیخ الاسلام وصیت کرد و گفت این سخن (99 v.)

نویسید و یاد گیرید. See also f. 143 v.

³ شیخ الاسلام با آخر عمر تن چند جدا کرد (114 v.)

would present indubitable interest to the students of Persian, because specimens of prose composition dating from that period are quite rare. But, in fact, it affords some exceptional material, reproducing many local dialectical peculiarities. Jami did not hesitate to identify them as the "old dialect of Herat spoken in Anṣārī's days". An investigation of the question shows that this conjecture is quite correct, although Jami gives some details which seem to be rather misleading. As he says, the original text was so badly mutilated by the uninvited 'corrections' (*taḥrīf*) of ignorant copyists, that in his time it was quite incomprehensible to an average reader. This cannot be said of our copy, which contains but few obscure passages, although it must be at least 150 years younger than that used by Jami. It seems therefore as if there were two different versions, but a collation with the Nafahāt dispels all doubts as to their identity. In spite of abbreviations and a rearrangement of the text their chief bulk agrees word for word if we take into account Jami's modernization.¹ Therefore it may be concluded that our copy reproduces the original much better than even the versions found at Herat in the ninth century A.H.²

Jami's theory as to the association of the peculiar forms of Anṣārī's speech with the dialect of Herat is supported by the fact that they appear only in the quotations of the shaykh's own words. The language of his disciple (the

¹ Sometimes he preserves quite obsolete or provincial words in the Nafahāt, and a reference from Anṣārī's book invariably proves that they are exactly the same there and in a similar context. They will be mentioned in the vocabulary of rare words later on.

² Jami's words suggest that the Ṭabaqāt were quite popular. It seems strange therefore that copies of them are so rare. It is possible to conjecture that they all were abandoned when Jami's book received its great currency. Most probably therefore the original of our copy was brought to India before the Nafahāt came into existence, and was preserved better than other MSS. of the same work because the Indian scribes did not extend their activity to a 'correction' of the text as well as to its reproduction.

compiler of the book) is quite plain, although, no doubt, old-fashioned. All the biographies of the saint, as well as many passages in the *Ṭabaqāt*, agree in a statement that he was born in Quhandiz and spent there almost the whole of his long life. It would be highly improbable, therefore, to seek for an explanation of his strange idiom, anywhere except in Herat.

Quite unexpectedly there is some other evidence in favour of this view. Very probably these deviations from the standard Persian were not confined to a small district of Herat with its immediate neighbourhood, but were common to the south-eastern corner of Khorasan in general. A unique manuscript of a Sufico-theological treatise, *Unsu't-Tāibīn* (E 20 or old 1000), is found in the same library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was composed probably at exactly the same period as the *Ṭabaqāt* by an inhabitant of Jām (a close dependency of Herat), also a Sufic shaykh (although of quite different dye), Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Nāmiqī, usually called Aḥmad-i-Jām (d. A.H. 536/A.D. 1141).¹ The object in compiling his work was to prove his miraculous knowledge, inspired by some special divine act. There can be no doubt that he has done his best to couch it in as refined language as possible because his 'rusticisms' not only could easily betray the real absence of a proper education, but could even be simply ridiculed by his enemies. Yet his book is full of provincialisms, and they, both in phonology and syntax, perfectly agree with those of Anṣārī.

We will be committing a grave error if we think that this original dialect is adequately preserved in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Besides the usual efforts of the copyists, and even probably the author himself, to give Anṣārī's words and grammatical forms as 'correct' an orthography as possible, and thus to

destroy the original phonetic and other peculiarities, we can be almost certain that the shaykh himself did not use the dialect in its full integrity.

The conditions in Persia as they are nowadays show that the Persian language can be classed into three principal forms. The standard literary Persian is used only in the writings of well-educated people and in its pure form is never spoken. On the contrary, the dialects, spoken by the primitive nomads and villagers in remote corners of the country, are committed to writing only in exceptional occasions. All the transition forms from nearly pure standard Persian to almost unmixed dialect, used in speech as well as in writing, are usually called the 'colloquial' or, in lower forms, 'vulgar' language, which, naturally, approaches the literary fashions in the centres of civilization, large cities, and remains much akin to country-folk's chatting in small towns, off the main roads, where the population scarcely differs from that of a village.

Quite obviously there was a great difference between the language used by the highly learned, although somewhat conservatively inclined, Anṣārī and the speech of the primitive inhabitants of remote corners in the same province of Herat. And we will be quite right if we assume that it was merely one of the local dialectized forms of the *city-colloquial* which was used by the shaykh and his disciples and of which some peculiarities came down to us in the Ṭabaqāt.

I may conclude this brief introductory note with a few words on a very important point of methodology. If the language which we are going to analyse presently was the colloquial, there can be no doubt that it was still in the process of evolution. Therefore it is impossible to take all its deviations from the standard literary Persian as being uniformly 'archaisms' of it. The latter may have survived, but in a living speech we have more right to

about Persian as it really is, and not as it *must be* in the opinion of the scholastic traditional grammarians. So it is very difficult to deal with the phenomena observed in the evolution of the colloquial, but we must collect all as far as available, and take as a starting-point in our discussions not the 'crystallized' rules of the standard language, but the general principles which manifest themselves in the dialects or vulgar forms of speech and which can indicate the real direction in the process of development of the living Persian tongue.

4. *The nature of the peculiarities observed in the language of the Ṭabaqāt.*—The real reason why Jami calls the language of this book the "old idiom of Herat" can probably be explained as an attempt to attribute its uncommon peculiarities to a form of old speech no longer in use. In such case its definition as the language of Herat spoken in those days is quite logical because, as is known, Anṣārī, who was born in Herat, spent nearly the whole of his life in that city. So far there is no room for doubt that our version of the Ṭabaqāt and that used by Jami are identical, and it is quite possible that the same is the condition of the linguistic side. Although obviously modernized, the language of our book is still so rich in various archaic and uncommon forms that it cannot be regarded as a translation from an earlier text. Jami's own words do not allow us to think that the original version was couched in a dialect as different from the literary language as is the case with some idioms still spoken in Persia. A book written in them would be quite incomprehensible to an average reader. He says himself that the Ṭabaqāt were popular and that (in spite of a comparatively short period of only about three hundred years which had elapsed since Anṣārī's time) they were copied so often (obviously not only for the old-fashioned Heratis) that the text became badly corrupt on account of mistakes.

whose unskilled attempts to modernize the text spoiled it so greatly, were quite sure that only the partial modification of the forms (*tahrīf* as Jami calls it)¹ was all that was required to make the language quite up to date. It is difficult to judge in how far his version was incorrect. Although he promises in his preface to omit these incomprehensible passages, he omits other portions of the text as well, apparently on different grounds.² A collation of our book and the *Nafahāt* suggests that the greatest part of what is not reproduced in the last-named treatise were numerous poetical quotations and the holy utterances *in Arabic*. Quite possibly, therefore, Jami omitted them not only because he regarded them as superfluous, but also because they might have been very deteriorated at the hands of the less educated scribes, as is usually the case with Arabic passages.

Thus Jami's statement, although probably not very far from being true, is again only his own logical deduction, and we are left to ourselves to find if it is correct or not. The only possible way to attempt this is to undertake a detailed linguistic analysis of the text. But we must come beforehand to a definite agreement as to the point of view from which these peculiarities should be criticized.

It is quite obvious that they cannot be treated only as archaic forms of literary Persian. The conjectures (like those of the late Prof. Baron V. Rosen)³ about their being to a large extent the traces of some local dialects seem to

¹ To my knowledge this term is used rather rarely and probably may have been introduced with a desire to say that the changes alluded to were not in wording, but in letters (*ḥarf*), i.e. orthography of separate words.

² He usually shortens some very long stories and Anṣārī's own *à propos*, but occasionally the reason of omission is that Jami seems not to trust him entirely.

³ Cf. E. Browne, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 1896, p. 19.

be nearer to the truth. After a thousand years of the work of a levelling process,¹ in which a great part was taken by the influence of literary Persian as the language of religion, administration, commerce, and other forms of civilized life, and, on the other hand, after many foreign invasions, devastating wars, as well as peaceful migrations² and intercourse of the population of various provinces, we still see in Persia a great number of dialectical groups with their branches dissecting the country into numerous linguistically different districts. If such is the state of things nowadays, we can guess what a luxuriant

¹ It is difficult to believe that there were any important circumstances which could lead to the opposite state of things, i.e. integration in some dialectic groups. The Persian language is not very flexible and prefers to borrow a word rather than to create a new equivalent for it. As everywhere, the more educated individuals try to use a standard form of speech, and this promotes the gradual disappearance of local peculiarities in the vocabulary, filling it with the words of the 'bazar' Persian, which, in its turn, brings ready sentences, etc., and destroys in this way the grammatical peculiarities as well. All phases of this process can be watched in various local idioms of Persia. It is remarkable that while all these transition forms of the colloquial Persian meet no resistance on the part of the dialects and even quite different Iranian tongues, as Kurdish, Baluchi, and even Pashtoo, they find a very serious enemy in Turkish. Wherever a Persian- and a Turkish-speaking population lives close by, the former becomes first bilingual and then forgets its original tongue. Besides many provinces where this process is now completed as in Turkistan, Azarbayjan, etc., it can be seen still at work in many places of Persia proper, as along the Turkoman borders, in the Nishapur Valley, in Fars, and especially in the districts of Sultanabad and Hamadan, where often the villagers, who in their appearance, type of face, cranial index, etc., are pure Iranians, speak only Turkish.

² Such are periodical pilgrimages, performed by villagers to the various sacred places, usually combined with large bazars where the result of the harvest, etc., may be realized and the goods required by the peasants purchased. Moreover, there is an old and quite common type of migrations of whole villages, sometimes to very remote localities, in connexion with the exhaustion of the water supply needed for irrigation of the fields. The owners of newly constructed underground canals invite villagers, in similar circumstances, to change their places of habitation, and this is why one meets Isfahanis near Kermanshah or

variety of dialects the country possessed in those early days.¹

The fact of the existence of a literary language which in the Muhammadan period made its appearance almost as completely as Athena from the head of Zeus, and remains practically unaltered till the present day, is very striking in such conditions.² Still more peculiar is the other fact

¹ Indications of the early differences in the local forms of speech are by no means rare in the Persian literature, although very scattered. Unfortunately the authors of *farhangs* mention the locality in which a particular word is used only on exceptional occasions, and all their endeavours are usually directed to accumulate these words to reconstruct the 'real old' Persian. Such is the case, e.g., with Asadi (*Lughati-Furs*, ed. P. Horn, 1897, preface, pp. 13-14), who rarely localizes his idioms, although many of them seem to be provincial. Even nowadays it is possible to trace some of them to a definite locality, as in the case of

مسکه (f. 24) 'good', پوشك (f. 38) 'cat', used in Bukhara;

چاپلوس (chāpulusi or (f. 70 r.) 'butter', لوچ (f. 14 r.) 'squint-eyed',

كرسه (f. 23 r.), بك (f. 39 r.) 'frog', بک (f. 27 r.) 'fraud',

now *kalpusā*, lizard, etc., are common to Khorasan, especially its southern part. Sometimes even neighbouring districts possessed their peculiar expressions, and an interesting instance from Anṣārī's time may be mentioned here. His younger contemporary, Aḥmad-i-Jām (died in

A.H. 536), writes in his book *انس التائين* (of which the apparently unique manuscript is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, E 20), on f. 122 v. :

عشقه (a sort of liana) كياهيست كه ما آنرا سن كوئيم

ودر نيشاپور آنرا سريد كوئند ودر (in the district of Herat ?)

جام اوقى كوئند ودر روزن (?) آنرا ازغى كوئند

² W. Geiger (*Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*, v. i, part ii, pp. 412-14) has no doubt as to this traditional language being the form cultivated at the courts of the Persian rulers. He believes that it was originally one of the local dialects of Fars, whence the greatest

of the existence of a more or less uniform *spoken* Persian, which was in use in the cities, from Baghdad to the remote corners of Soghd, being just as nowadays the language of the bazars all over the country. Therefore it seems quite possible to think that, as far as only the Persian-speaking population was concerned, even at those early days its language could be divided into three classes :

(1) Standard literary Persian, a purely artificial language, never *spoken* in its perfect form even by the most educated, who always more or less depend on some *local* form of speech. Besides the mode of spelling even in the almost pure literary form of language, there are always occasional provincial colloquialisms, involuntarily introduced, which make it possible to ascertain unmistakably from what part of Persia the speaker comes. In its really standard form it is only the *written* language of the artistic literary productions, such as 'good' poetry, bombastic ornate prose of all kinds, high-flown epistolary style, etc. A long study of the best specimens of the classic literature, Arabic, etc., is required to use this language correctly.

dynasties of Persia in the pre-Muhammadan period had come. The opinions of such a scholar as W. Geiger are too high authority to be criticized rashly. Therefore here I would like to allow myself to add a remark only because it is based on materials which were not available at the time when he wrote his invaluable book. The usual belief that standard Persian is spoken in its purest form in Fars is probably a product of the native imagination. In fact, not only in the villages the various dialects (quite incomprehensible to anyone who knows only standard Persian, as may be seen from the specimens collected by O. Mann in his *Die Tajik-Mundarten der Provinz Fars*, 1909) are very far from this condition, but even the colloquial form used in the cities by more educated people differs from the literary language by far more than in other parts of Persia. From my personal observations I believe that really the 'nearest' form to the standard language must be sought for in the other corner of Iran, especially in the provinces with the old Persian peasant population, i.e. the districts south from Herat, such as Gunābād, Jām, Qāin, Birjand, Sunnikhāna, Farāh, and probably Herat itself. It is quite remarkable that the oldest specimens of the Persian literature of the Muhammadan period all come from Khorasan, but Fars, where many books appear in Arabic, begins to

(2) The dialects, as against the literary Persian. These are the mother-tongues of the uneducated peasantry and nomads. They are generally considered as absolutely incapable of being reduced to writing, and on the exceptional occasions in that simple life, when the necessity of writing a letter arises, a form (very corrupt indeed) of the literary Persian is used. Moreover, a striking fact may be observed in this connexion that even the most primitive individuals, who speak only their dialect, in their poetry (and even in such intimate forms of it as lullabies, etc.) try their best (usually in vain) to use as pure a form of the literary Persian as possible.¹

(3) Colloquial Persian, the language of the educated classes and the bazars, very varied in its forms, from almost pure standard Persian to an almost unmixed local dialect. It appears as a medium in all the departments of the civilized life of the country, and also possesses a quite extensive literature. Apart from its purely accidental use in letters of the uneducated, etc., it appears instead of the intended standard Persian in the numerous literary productions, mostly by anonymous and less educated authors. There are numerous (usually small) pamphlets dealing with religious matters, orthodox as well as sectarian, religious legends about the Prophet and the holy martyrs, many versions of fairy tales, prescriptions of popular medicine, interpretations of dreams and omens,

¹ The attempts to write in a dialect seriously are very rare and only exceptional cases, such as of the Marzubān nāma, the Hurūfī literature, the poetry of Amīr Pazewārī, etc., can be recorded in the Caspian provinces (which in many respects are quite different from the remainder of Persia). In other parts of the country writing in a dialectical form of language is calculated exclusively as one of the means to produce a comical effect (just as it is common in all the languages to use for this purpose the rustic or foreign mode of spelling). But as the Oriental ideas about joking are somewhat peculiar, literature of this kind is invariably of extremely obscene character. Such is the poetry of Bū'shaq, Yaghmā, Fayyād and Na'ir of Sabzawar, Mulla Šabūhī of Birjand, etc.

magic prayers and incantations, etc.¹ The writings of this kind are almost invariably anonymous and, naturally, unique. They find a way into European libraries only rarely, and their unattractive appearance, extraordinary orthography, and the bad handwriting of men who take their 'qalam' only on exceptional occasions, secures for them the reputation of 'worthless' copies. This is, indeed, not a proper state of things. The 'vulgar' or popular literature, as it may be called, must be studied apart from the standard writings. There can be no doubt that it well deserves collecting and careful examination on account of the material it yields for the research into the history of the colloquial language, the popular forms of religious thought, folklore, etc., of the masses of population. A proper study of it may reveal much more indeed than the numerous diwans of the poets, which absorb always the chief attention of the librarians and which, it must be confessed, hardly deserve so much interest.²

It is quite noteworthy that even the earlier poetry contains so few of the various 'archaisms',³ while we find them in a great number as soon as we turn towards what may be called 'scientific' or 'inartistic' prose, the books

¹ It is often surprising to find a very considerable number of local "men of letters" practically in every small Persian city. Very few, almost none of them, become known outside a very limited circle of their friends, and their books never survive them very long. Leaking roofs, playing children who tear the book to pieces, use of paper instead of glass in the windows in cold weather, etc., rarely spare these treatises for a very long time.

² It is extremely difficult indeed to draw a proper demarcation line between the 'standard' and the 'popular' literature because there are many transition forms. Only examination of every individual case can suggest to what class the book belongs.

³ The great poem of Firdawsi occupies an isolated position. It seems quite possible that the unsuccessful presentation to Mahmud can be explained chiefly by the unpolished and even 'vulgar' language in which it was composed. Even nowadays for the greatest majority of the Persians it is not a *noem* but a versified *history*, couched in a very

of tafsir, lives of saints, medicine, etc. The explanation of this can only be that they were written in the more or less *colloquial* form of Persian. It seems quite probable that the authors, learned divines, who dedicated their entire scholarly zeal to the study of Arabic, which they often knew so thoroughly, cared little about the elegant high standard Persian in which, in their times, only panegyric poetry and, generally speaking, secular literature existed. Therefore, whenever they undertook, for various reasons, the composition of a book in Persian, they, quite naturally, were compelled to write in a somewhat 'vulgar' form of the language and, it may be, occasionally did so deliberately.¹

The case of Anṣārī is apparently the same. The most important circumstance is that in the Ṭabaqāt its actual author uses quite 'polished' Persian. The dialectical 'flavour' appears in the language as soon as the shaykh himself begins to speak. The question why the author did not 'correct' these uncommon forms and give the style a more 'dignified' appearance may probably be explained in various ways. It may be due not only to the desire to preserve intact the words of the great preceptor, but also to an implicit admission that these forms, if left as they were, would not be offensive to anybody's taste as vulgarisms. The quotations from Anṣārī's own Munājāt seem to suggest that they were composed in a somewhat

¹ The question of the lawfulness of using Persian for compositions on religious matters, which was put to the Imams of Khorasan, as told in the preface to the Tafsir of Ṭabarī translated into Persian in the fourth century A.H. (ff. 3-5 v. of the copy belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Aa 19, which is about two hundred years older than that in the British Museum, but very defective), suggests that there was still a strong prejudice against the beginnings of the Persian secular literature. The reason for this was probably not its contents (because the same holy divines admired very much the old Arabic poetry which was by no means very religious), but possibly the fact that the memory of its connexion with the pagan tradition was still too fresh.

similar form of language,¹ and it is quite likely that the shaykh used it for writing as well. From what we know about his character, which was simple and straightforward, averse from all sorts of conventionalities, it seems quite possible that he made use of this language deliberately. There is another case in the history of Persian literature which very closely resembles that of Anṣārī. About five centuries later there was another shaykh who could with equal right claim the title of the "champion of the true tradition and the defender against heresy", the founder of Afghan literature, Akhūnd Darwīza Ningrahārī.² His books are little known in Europe, but they well deserve careful study, if for no other reason than that their author possessed a deeply original and characteristic individuality (a case so rare in Eastern life) which induced him to reject the prejudices against writing in Pashtoo. As this Peshawari saint found it possible to use this 'rustic and unliterary' language of the savage Afghan tribes for his spiritual instructions at the time when Persian

¹ The manuscripts of his Munājāt are extremely numerous, but, at the same time, they differ much one from the other and every copy seems to be individual. I never saw any manuscript of this book older than 300 years and the language appears to be invariably quite modern. Perhaps the Tabaqāt will help to recover the original version and to reconstruct its language. An interesting question arises in connexion with these pious invocations. Versified 'prayers' almost of the same type are quite common (in the poems of 'Attār they occupy hundreds of pages), but in prose, as far as I know, they were not composed by anybody except Anṣārī. A striking likeness exists between them and the Manichean Maḥrnāmag, in Pehlvi, published by F. W. K. Müller ("Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch", *Abhandl. d. k. Preussischen Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1912). There is so little originality in the forms of Persian literature that a suspicion arises as to the possible connexion which might exist between both. Is it a simply accidental resemblance or a case of literary atavism, or direct and intentional imitation of a similar form in the old literature?

² He flourished in the early part of Akbar's reign. About his biography and works see the pamphlet of Dr. Leyden in the *Asiatic Researches*, v. x, pp. 363-428, also in C. Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 28, (of the library of the India Office), Nos. 2632-8.

literature had already reached the culminating point in its development, and when on the plains of India the 'great' poets like Fayḍī were busy with their 'jewels' of Indo-Persian poetry, still easier was it for a sound-minded and sincere divine such as Anṣārī to try to write in the same way as he was accustomed to speak.

All that has been said above will, I hope, justify an admission that the peculiarities of the language of the *Tabaqāt* belong entirely to the *colloquial* form of Persian as spoken at Herat (and possibly all over South-Eastern Khorasan) in the middle of the fifth century A.H., i.e. a little later than the time of the great Firdawsi. No doubt, even if a modernizing of the text is taken into account, it was not a vulgar form of the colloquial, but probably what may be styled as the speech of the 'better classes of society'.

If so, we have no right to confine the analysis of these uncommon forms to a collation with the literary language. If we want to trace their real nature we are obliged to compare them also with analogous formations in the colloquial and the dialects by which they might be influenced. Although very little has been done so far for the elucidation of the history of the Persian dialects or even for an inquiry into their present state, it is necessary to make use even of this small opportunity which is offered by the scarce materials now available. From this point of view many archaisms would rather deserve the title of 'modernisms', i.e. early forms of the same processes which are still at work in Persian speech. And the existence of similar cases renders still more evident the antiquity of other really archaic linguistic usages which have disappeared since Anṣārī's time, in spite of the unique slowness in the progress of the development and 'exchange' shown by both the literary as well as the colloquial Persian.

as well as often م— instead of یم— in the 1st person plural of verbs, as in ما این علم درس را بها (80 v.) بر گرفتیم و دادم
 ۱ (45) و خانها کفتم etc. Perhaps of the same nature are

the numerous cases of confusion of به and نه with با and نا.² All these changes can be easily explained from the physiological structure of the Persian sounds, and the examples given here suggest that some 900 years ago these phonetic principles were apparently the same.

(b) Obviously the same process governs the use of the prosthetic vowel. There are many examples which although uncommon in standard Persian, are often heard in the colloquial. Such are اشکسته (33), اشنوده

(58, etc.), اطربلس (64), صفاهانی (34 v., etc.).³

(2) *Liquida*. All that can be observed in connexion with this group is the ease with which they undergo transposition: کنار appears here almost invariably as کران (66 v., 80, etc.), and even کرانه for کناره. The usual اصطخری becomes اصطرخی (106 v.), etc.⁴

(3) *Dentals*. Probably for purely orthographic reasons

¹ In Khorasan both the 1st person sing. and plur. are spelt as -um, and this explains why mistakes as above are very common in the MSS. copied there.

² For examples see the section on the negative particles and indeclinabilia.

³ The colloquial seems to be fond of changing these forms without any apparent reason, and ishkas(t), istān, ishtero (شتاب), ushtur, ustāra, etc., are heard as frequently as shikast, etc.

the dental spirant ذ disappeared entirely. Even in quite common words as پذیرفتن، گذشتن، ایذر etc., the diacritical dot is often missing. Only in a few cases does ذ appear in a position which suggests an obvious mistake, such as بنیوشید (دندانقان 33, for دیدانقان (23). It seems quite likely, however, that in the original copy the ذ was freely used, because in several instances where the scribe might take it for ز he preserved it intact, as in نازان (for نادان) and بازانک (for بادرانک) and دانستن.¹ The dental of the old *pad* appears here quite commonly, as د and forms like بدان، بدین، بدو are very frequent. The traces of *sandhi* of dentals are also common in بدتر for بتر، دوست تر for شکفته، etc. Various examples can suggest that in Anṣārī's time the final د in the -and of the 3rd person plural of the verbs was omitted as frequently in the colloquial as nowadays (بیریدن for بیریدند, etc.).

¹ It is extremely difficult to form an opinion, based on a study of the old MSS., as to whether there was any difference in pronunciation in the cases of dotted and undotted *dāl*. Very few MSS. of those which I had a chance to examine followed this system quite thoroughly. Much more common are the cases in which copies of the same age and

(4) *Labials*. The process, common to all the Iranian languages from Kurdish in the extreme west to Soghdian in the remote corner of the east,¹ i.e. the gradual 'melting' of all sounds of this group into an indifferant interlabial spirant *w*, is well represented here.² The examples are very numerous: (a) In the beginning of a syllable: *ور* for *بر* (common), *وا* for *با* (54 v.,

55, etc., often); *وايست*, *وايد*, etc. The same in the

middle of words, *ستوروان*, *باليوزان*, *ميزوان*, etc.³ (b)

Intervocal: *ياويدن* (common, although never *ياوت* for

the copy of which was apparently made by a professional high-class scribe

(as his surname *سيد الخطاط* shows) in the beginning of the seventh

century A.H. in Khorasan, very often such words as *برادر* خذاوند

can be found, while on the contrary almost invariably there are

بديرفتن, *كدشتن*, etc.

¹ As, e.g., in *ṭampār* (82, 1), *ṭambār* (81, 10), and *ṭamfār* (3, 4), or *chīmīl* and *chīwīt* (common), etc.; see F. W. K. Müller, "Soghdische Texte," i, *Abhandl. d. k. Preussischen Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1912.

² This process can be traced as continually developing since the earliest period of the history of the Iranian languages. In the Avesta it gains ground from the pre-Iranian (cf. C. Bartholomae, "Awestasprache," in *G. d. I. Ph.*, i, pt. i, pp. 163, 165) and further in Pehlevi (cf. C. Salemann, "Mittelpersisch," *ibid.*, p. 259). In modern Persian it is prominent even in the standard language (cf. P. Horn, "Neupersische Schriftsprache," *ibid.*, pt. ii, p. 48). About this process in the dialects see W. Geiger, *ibid.*, p. 298 (Pamir group), p. 351 (Caspian gr.), p. 386 (Central gr., also D. Lorimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-5), O. Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13 (dialects of Fars), and A. Socin, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 263 (in Kurdish).

یافت. The forms یایی، یابم, however, are also used),¹
 (خوااییدن, i.e. خواویدن, sic, 73, apparently for
 تاوستن, پای تاوه, etc. The original intervocal و must prob-
 ably have disappeared entirely, as in شید (103 v.) for شوید.

(c) At the end of a syllable: اوکندن (78, 129 v., etc.),
 کوران (68) for کبران, etc.

It seems, however, that for some uncertain reasons, or perhaps as a local or archaic peculiarity, this decayed labial assumed a form not of an interlabial, but of labio-dental spirant *v*, which was often reproduced as ف. The examples of this are by no means scarce: کوش فازان (107), فا(با) تو سخن گوید, (128) (وازان) بود و دیده فازان (123, for فابس), etc. Moreover, there are some

¹ This example (as well as further *avgandan*) resembles Pehlevi forms *yāvēšan*, *avgandan*. These old-fashioned forms are not the only ones

given here (on f. 143 دوزخ appears for دوزخ, etc.). But it is rather difficult to believe that *yāvēšan* became first *yābīdan* and then came to its previous form. We are compelled to think that either there is some confusion about the early phonetical equivalents of

و and ف, پ and ب or that there were (as alluded to later on) two distinct currents of the same process in the development of labials, one

instances of the preservation of the original tenuis, as in

سپید (common), سپند دانه (145 v.), etc.¹

(5) *Enclitica*. The present copy shows a quite unusual development of the joined writing of the enclitica. Although this is very common in MSS. from Khorasan (probably a reflection of the local mode of pronunciation), here it reaches rare limits. There are usually

جکنى، کو، ازو، جزیشان، جززو، جزز، جزو

etc. (چون او) جنو، هو،² (75 v., etc.) جکویم، (73 v., etc.)

واکر and اکر usually appear as in poetry in

چه I did not notice ار and ور in the forms of

ج in the combinations with آن، etc., but written as

بانك (130, 140, etc.) for there are several cases of

به آن که

¹ This depends probably on the physiological influence of the spirant *s*, which facilitates a tenuis after itself. Although in the Eastern (Khorasani) Kurdish dialect it often appears as *siw*, the Persians and especially Herati Parsiwans spell it *ispid*, *ispand*, etc.

² While this way of writing چه is common in the present copy, I did not notice the same with reference to که, although the latter is very common in the old MSS. Cf. E. Browne, "Description of an old Persian Tafsir," *JRAS.* 1894, p. 433; also R. Nicholson, op. cit., v. ii, introd., p. 7, etc. In the old copy of the translation of Tafsir-i-Tabari

که is written (mentioned above, No. Aa 19 in the library of A.S.B.) together with the following word nearly always, while چه very rarely.

B. Noun

(1) *Notes on derivation. I. Suffixes.* (a) *-ak*, suffix of the diminutives, is used here as freely as in the colloquial, e.g.

سرك، شمارك، بازارك، كارك، etc., even with a compound

word (132) ¹جايكى كردند جهاز رطاكك Very interesting

is a case of the use of *-akak* in (41 v.) ريزكى لنكى درى

بايست، etc.² P. Horn (op. cit., p. 175) calls it, in a similar example, a double diminutive suffix. This may be so, but the cases of *mardākā*, *zanākā*, etc. (of which a non-apocopated form is supposed to be *mardākāk* and *zanākāk*), do not convey much of diminutive sense. Would it not be better to explain the second *-āk* as analogous to the similar suffix in Kurdish, a sort of indefinite article (which is here emphasized by *i*)?³

(b) *-agi* forms here not only the usual abstract nouns (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 180), but, as often in the colloquial,

¹ The frequency of its use may be attributed perhaps to Anṣārī's individual taste as well. I cannot remember to have ever heard in

the colloquial similar cases as above (diminutive of بازار is usually

سرك and بازارجه is used only in *sūrūk kāshidān* in the sense of 'to

spy, to watch stealingly' in Fars). As far as I could notice, this suffix nowadays is never applied to abstract names in the colloquial, and although it is very commonly used (frequently in its shortened form *-ā*, cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 174), the suffix *-chā* is preferred with names of inanimate objects.

² Jami (Nafahāt, p. 82) reproduces the sentence literally, showing that in his opinion the form was not obsolete.

³ I often heard this suffix in its full form in the remote corners of the Southern Khorasan, such as the villages *Riqāt*, *Kubegū*, *Rich*, etc. (district of *Khūsp*), especially in fairy tales: *mardākāki bud* . . . or

the adjectives. Such are ترسایکی (4, adjective), خیرکی (145 v.), اصطرکی (118, for اصطخری), etc.

(c) -cha, usually diminutive (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 177), is used here often with the proper names, as in امیرجه (?), ابو الخیرجه (131 v., for خیرجه), سفال فروش (134 v.), لیث بوشنجه (131 v., for بوشنج جه), etc.

(d) -ū (if it is not simply a mistake of the copyist) appears here only once (102) ای پسر و, in the sense of a diminutive (or vocative?) suffix.¹

(e) —ویه. As a contribution to the question of this suffix the following passage may be quoted (107 v.): از صورت نیکو و خوش خواندن وی ویرا کنیه بنازویه² کردند.

(f) کان — as a distributive suffix appears here in a quite

¹ Cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 184. At present it seems to be more common in the eastern half of Persia and apparently can be traced to three different forms: (1) in the cases of its use with the vocative probably as a local variation of the vocative -ā used in standard Persian (in Isfahan -ī is in use), especially common with the names of women, e.g., Gawharū, Sullānū, etc.; (2) as an apocopated form of the diminutive suffix -uk, e.g., khurdū, kuchulū, etc.; (3) may be the remnant of the old suffix -ū (the same as in bānū, etc.).

² This suffix, even if it is of purely Persian origin, is absolutely forgotten now, and, as an interesting example, it may be mentioned that

the word شیویه (the name of the hero of a popular fairy tale) is invariably spelt Shirwiā.

colloquial use in (117) *تو مرا خود را یکان پیامرز* (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 116. At present it is used only in Bukhara in similar sense, in Persia *yakkā* is preferred).

(g) -i, in its adjectival sense, is used several times with a compound of which the last member is a pronoun (80 v.):

الحمد لله که از صلب من جنوئی بود کوتاه شایست (here جون توئی obviously for چون اوئی).¹ Also (53 v.) عقل مخلوقست بر همچو خودی (107); را سخن باید دلالت کند.²

(h) *-īn* and *-īna* are used quite freely: (51) *مهیینه، میانین* (51); *بسینه*, etc. (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., pp. 180-1). Somewhat uncommon is (43) *سرتابای پرزینه*.

(i) A case of somewhat peculiar use of the suffix *وار*—*ووی در* (78 v.), where it can be translated by 'as if': *عرق غرق وارند* (apparently for *غروارید*, see later, C, 6), "and he is *as if* drowning in sweat" (cf. Horn, op. cit., p. 191).

(j) The old suffix *-āwand* (cf. C. Salemann, "Mittel-

¹ Jami (Naf., 161) reproduces the sentence intact, perhaps because this form did not seem to him obsolete.

² Cf. Nafahāt, 243; the difference is only that *همچون* is used instead of *همجو*.

persisch," *G.I.Ph.*, 1, i, 280, and P. Horn, op. cit., p. 187)

appears here only in the word خویشاوند (128).¹

(k) Probably a purely dialectic suffix *-ast* forming onomatopœia appears in شبی آواز— (121) ترکست

ترکست آمد — in the sense of 'crackling'.² So far as

I could find, formations of similar type are common at present only in the Southern Khorasan (districts of Birjand, Qain, Sunni-khana), as *tārākast* (as above), *shālāpast* "the sound of slapping", *ghurrast* "the sound of rapidly burning fire" (= *ghur-ghur*), etc. I cannot remember having seen it in the literary language.³

(l) A strange suffix (?) *-āmār* appears in two words

گشنمار (84) for تشنگی (as in *Nafahāt*, 156) and

گرسنگی (96 v., 123, 124) for گر سگی (*Nafahāt*, 305, etc.),

¹ This particular word, as well as generally the suffix *-āwand*, is quite forgotten (*khishū* خویشان or *qo'me khish* قوم خویش is used instead). Perhaps it will be not quite useless to recall that the suffix for the names of the various step-relatives, —اندر, mentioned by E. Browne in his description of the old *Tafsīr* (*JRAS.* 1894, p. 487), is still common in Southern Khorasan in *mārāndar*, *khārāndar* مادراندر (خواهراندر), etc.

² Jami reproduces this word as if it were quite all right (*Nafahāt*, 281).

³ Sometimes these formations are used in the same way of repetition, just as the monosyllabic onomatopœia: *shālāpast-shālāpast*, *ghur-ghurast*, etc.

the last apparently from گشنه, *gushnā* (133 v.), still used all over Persia but considered rather vulgar.¹

(m) The suffixes of the verbal nouns will be treated in the section dealing with verbs.

II. *Composition.* Nothing special can be noted in connexion with compound nouns. An extremely rare case of the use of a purely verbal form in the sense of a substantive can be registered (98 v.) در بند تو متوانی کشته “became powerless in thy ties” (in the *Nafahāt* this passage is omitted). This متوان is undoubtedly the negative form of the imperative and I can remember only one other case, i.e. میدان میهنکی in *Asrāru’-t-tawhīd fī maqāmāt Shaykh Abī-Sa’id*.² Compounds such as هیچمدان are very common, but cases where only the verb with this prohibitive particle is used as a substantive can be regarded as real archaisms.

(2) *Flexion.* (a) The suffixes of plural —ان and —ها are used indifferently, as in the contemporary colloquial, and the latter is the more common.³ No single case of

¹ Perhaps this has something to do with *mār*, ‘snake,’ to which the pains of hunger or thirst may be attributed? In such case the first *-ā* may be similar to that often used in the copulative compounds, cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 196, as in *sarāsar*, *barābar*, etc. I remember once having heard the word *gushnāmār* in Khorasan, but did not pay attention to it because I regarded it as an invention of the man who was talking.

² Ed. by V. Zhukovski, 1899. Unfortunately I cannot cite the page because I have not this book at hand.

³ The usual theory, based on the native grammars, that —ان is to be added to the names of the animate beings and —ها to those of the inanimate ones, is rarely correct, in any case as far as the colloquial is concerned. One hears invariably *mardā zanā amā dukhtarā* etc.

ات-- with a Persian word was noted. The form کان (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 105) after a consonant is rare, only one case registered here (139 v.) آزادگان. Another

irregular form is (29) خاصکیان (for خواص?), but it may

be explained as derived from the somewhat vulgar خاصگی.

Occasionally with nouns, but more commonly with the pronouns, the suffix of the plural does not appear at all, and the verb does not agree in number with its subject,

as in (87 v.) او که نه کوینده چیزی برخواندند or (59 v.) او که نه

اهل او بودند, etc.

(b) Nothing special can be noted about the *Idāfa* except that in several cases it is expressed in the text by ی:

(115 v.) درکاری کودک مبتلا شد or (71) بسری وی, etc.

(c) The oblique case is rarely formed here with را—مر

or ¹مر alone (it might disappear as a result of the activity of the later scribes). Only a few examples can be collected:

(75 v.) گفت فرایکی که مر این کار بکن (90) مر وی (75 v.)

ابن اعرابی را کتبست مر این طائفه را (108)

(ā = ها, because the h is imperceptible in the pronunciation). On the contrary, *dastū*, *churāghū*, *bāzārū*, etc., are freely used (ū = -ān).

¹ Needless to say that in the colloquial and the dialects this form is absolutely extinct.

(d) On the contrary, there are very frequent cases of omission of را where it might be expected, especially with the accusative,¹ as in (60) جنید دیده بود (116), توبتو بخشیدم (62 v.), او(را) بیند, شاشک خبر بگزید (115), عمو حصری ندیده بود (117 v.), etc. The same with the dative: (27) وقوم سدیگر می نه دوست توبود که توبا او مدارا باید (72), بنداری که کاراند علم آنست که تو او می باید جست (96), کرد, etc.²

(e) Uncommon use of را: (1) with the nominative: راه فرا الله شناختن آسانست یافت را عزیز است (28 v.), etc.; (2) with a preposition: (80, 127 v.) از بهر خدای را (121 v.), بهر الله را,

¹ It is a well-known fact that in the colloquial very often a special suffix *a, ā, e, u* is used for the accusative: *aspa biār*, etc. The particle

را (which becomes *rā, rû, ri* in various districts) is frequently omitted even if there is stress on the accusative and if it is quite definite, as in *ī bedey* 'give (me) this', etc.

² In Khorasan the construction with *bār, wār* (بر) is invariably preferred for the dative and only in one case it is similar to that used by Anṣārī, i.e. in the case of *mān*, as frequently: *bedey mān, buqu mān*, etc. The possessive still preserves *rā*, but the direct construction with *dāštūn* is more common.

³ Cf. Horn, op. cit., 110, and R. Nicholson, *Tadhkira*, introduction, 9. The verb *dāštūn* not rarely receives this intransitive sense (as in Samnani, cf. Geiger, op. cit., 367). There are similar expressions in the colloquial, as *injā chi dārūd* 'what is here'.

(122 v.) آدم زهرست بتوحیدرا, etc.; (3) in the sense of a locative (or simply a strange use of the possessive?):

(78) دوازده راه بشناسم بادیهرا.

(f) Several cases of the indefinite locative, as in the colloquial, can be noted, where the preposition is omitted, as in (116) خانه بود, etc.¹

(3) *The comparative degree.* The suffix of the comparative degree *-tar* is occasionally added here to substantives with a preposition (which suggests that these groups are regarded as adjectival compounds): (119 v.)

بی آلت تر (116 v.), بی جاه تر (119 v.), بی کس تر. In several cases it is added to the present participles کشنده تر, سوزنده تر, etc. Sometimes it is combined with the diminutive suffix *-ak* as in (129 v.) سخت راک, etc.² The

old به, که, مه are used without *-tar* in the comparative degree, but in the positive they accept the suffix *-īn*,

مہتر, مہین, کہین, etc. (Only few cases of مہتر, used as substantive (126 v.) can be noted.) Probably local are

cases of the use of جون instead of از as in (27) قادرتر

ندیدم جون (فلان).

¹ In the present colloquial the preposition is usually omitted when motion *towards* something is expressed: میروم بشهر (*murum shār*), برو بخانه (*burow khāna*), etc.

² The colloquial uses this form frequently, but the final *-k* is not pronounced, as in *bishtārū*, *durtārū*, etc.

³ Not used nowadays without the suffix *tar*.

(4) *Numerals.* The word *first* is invariably rendered with اول (نخست does not appear at all), but *second* and *third*, except in a few cases, have an old form ¹سديکر and ديکر.

(5) *Pronouns.* (a) Personal pronouns are often used here instead of the demonstrative, accompanied by the relative, e.g. (24 v.) ايشان که (57, etc., common) اوست که (71) او ويند که (145) او که نه اهل او بودند (59 v.) او stands for plural : (18 v.) ورا is probably a mistake for ويرا.

(b) The demonstrative pronouns آن and اين are often used in the plural, with the suffix ان.

(c) The interrogative and relative pronouns که and چه never appear in this copy in the plural and only rarely receive را (usually چه, but there are cases in which کرا is found as well : (132) هر کرا سيم بايد (131) کرا ياد ايد (135 v.) کرا دوستر داری, etc.). A striking

¹ Still in common use amongst the Heratis and in the south-eastern part of Khorasan.

example of the relative که used with a preposition (this cannot be a mistake) is found on f. 92 v. تو (چون) بودی

¹ آنجا ورکه من یش تو میرفتم

(d) The reflexive pronoun is as usual, only in a few cases it seems to appear pleonastically, as in (70 v.)

و خود هیجکس جون اونکوید etc., or in a somewhat peculiar way, still quite common in the colloquial: (4 v.)

ارنه خود سه بودند "if not, they would be four altogether" (he himself and three others).²

(6) *Pronominal suffixes*. They are used very freely in all possible combinations, with the prepositions and conjunctions and even independently. (a) Somewhat

uncommon combinations: کم، کش، کت، بم، تاش، etc.,

as in (78 v.) کم برو (i.e. کم برای او) (67 v.)

حجاب دارد تاش شناسند (29 v.)، کسیرا کش نخواهی

Occasionally they are combined even with the enclitic

form of the verb substantive, as in (96 v.) دیگر علم آنست

که نه محیط شدند بقدر دوست که کم شدند دروست

¹ This passage is not reproduced literally in the Nafahāt, where another expression is used.

² This use of the reflexive pronoun, as far as I know, has only some analogy in Russian. In the colloquial of to-day in Khorasan, and especially amongst the Parsiwans of Afghanistan, *khūd* is often simply an equivalent of *bā* 'with'. *Khūde qāflā umad* does not mean 'the caravan itself arrived' but 'he arrived with the caravan'; *khūde ū* is frequently not 'he himself' but 'with him', etc. The further development of the same is *khot*, as in *khot mu* 'with us' (Sabzawari).

(b) Used independently.¹ (40) ورنشاسم ام ويران كنى
 خداوندا اول مان (86 v.) . . . ورن باز كردم ام بيقرار كن
 بيافريدى, etc.

(c) In the sense of the nominative (= او), as in (103 v.)
 گفت ارباى داريد بخراسان شيد بزيارت كسى كش
 ما.² (كه او مارا =) دوستست

(d) As interjection with the demonstrative pronoun
 اينت شيخ واينت معاملت (119 v.)

¹ Although there are in the present colloquial forms, as *ish gūf*, etc., they probably can be explained as syncopated demonstr. pr. *i* (*in*) with pleonastically used *-ash*, personal suffix of the 3rd person singular.

² Nafahāt, 209 . . . بزيارت كسيكه مارا دوست است

(To be continued.)

The Introduction of the Cadmeian Alphabet into the Aegean World in the light of Ancient Traditions and Recent Discoveries

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April, 1921.

I.

EARLY PHENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER INGOTS FROM CRETE AND SARDINIA.

1. *The Metrological Problem of the so-called Axe-ingots.*

IN his review of my book on the newly deciphered Sinai inscriptions (JRAS., 1920, p. 301) the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce has already been good enough to mention my recent discovery of some short alphabetic biliteral inscriptions on certain copper ingots, unearthed from the very border-line of the so-called "Middle Minoan III" and "Late Minoan I" layers of the *Hagia Triada* palace by the excavation mission in Crete of Messrs. Halbherr, Pernier, Stefani, and Paribeni in 1903¹ as well as on similar pieces from *Tylissos*² and *Mochlos*,³ none being from Phaistos.⁴ All of them are at present in the museum of Heraklea, under the care of Professor Josef Hazzidakis, to whose kindness I owe the photographs reproduced in figures 1-8. Similar inscriptions have come from *Serra Ilixi* (Sardinia), and are

¹ Cf. Paribeni, Rendic. d. R. Acad. d. Linc., cl. sc. mor., ser. va, vol. xii, pp. 334ff.; Pigorini, *ibid.*, p. 304; and Bull. di Paleontologia Italiana, xxx, Apr.-June 4-6, pp. 91-107. Svoronos, Journ. Intern. d'Archéol. Numism., Athens, 1906, ix, pp. 167ff. (in Greek!) = (in French) Rev. Belge de Numism. 64, Brussels, 1908, pp. 312ff. Dussaud, Civilis. Préhelleniques, ², Paris, 1914, pp. 250f. R. v. Lichtenberg, Mitt. V. As. Ges., 1911, p. 112, fig. 21.

² Hazzidakis, Ephém. archéol., 1912, pp. 220ff.

³ Dawkins, Journ. Hell. Stud., 1908, p. 326.

⁴ It is only a *lapsus calami* of Svoronos to quote the *Hagia Triada* samples as from Phaistos.

now in the royal museum of Cagliari. I have to thank Professor Taramelli, director of this collection, for his kindness in sending me the excellent paper squeezes of these scribings, which the reader will find reproduced in fig. 10.

These copper ingots are of the greatest importance, first of all as marking a decisive stage *in the development of metallic currency*. It is well known to our numismatists¹ that metal casts of this peculiar double-axe-like shape² were widely used as a primitive kind of monetary unit. They are generally found in hoards, sometimes broken into pieces of approximately equal size. Pictures of these objects occur frequently, especially on the

¹ Regling in Pauly's Realencycl.² viia, 974. Rob. Forrer, Reallex., Leipzig, 1907, p. 79. Jahrb. d. Gesellsch. f. lothr. Gesch., xviii, 1906, pp. 1 ff.

² Professor Svoronos' theory (p. 324 of the above-quoted French paper), that casts of this shape, but of smaller size, were originally intended to be sharpened into real cutting axes by the customers of the metal foundries, would be acceptable only if it could be proved that there ever existed real cutting axes with concave edges, intended possibly for the felling of round timber. But such tools have never been found, and are not likely to have ever been used; for such an adaptation of the axe-edge to the cylindrical surface of the tree-trunk would have proved far from advantageous to the worker. Also if the peculiar shape of these ingots were intended to resemble the sacred double-axe (Svoronos, pp. 175 f.), we should expect them to show the convex edges of the latter. Therefore, Professor Forrer may be right in comparing (Jahrb. f. lothr. Gesch., xviii, 1906, p. 24) the shape of these casts to the *hide of a skinned animal* and in suggesting a possible reminiscence of *skin-money*. He also thinks (Reallex., p. 79) the shape was intended to facilitate *the binding together* of whole piles of such ingots (as a matter of fact they were found in such piles in Hagia Triada, Paribeni, l.c., p. 334, "posti l'uno sull'altro in colonna"), even as nowadays cards or boards of a similar shape are used for winding fishing-lines or cords of any other kind. The "handles" of such an ingot would also be very convenient for lifting the cooled cast from the mould. On the other hand, there is not the slightest doubt that real double and single axes and other metal tools of the ordinary serviceable shape and size were primitively used as a monetary currency. See Lissauer, Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 1905, pp. 519-25, 779 ff., 1007 ff. On axe-shaped copper ingots of the Haida Indians see R. Forrer, Antiqua, 1885, p. 125, pl. 28.

inscribed clay tablets from Knossos.¹ But not a few of our authorities, notably Willers² and Regling,³ have been unwilling to accept the theory of Svoronos,⁴ Sir Arthur Evans,⁵ and Robert Forrer,⁶ that these 'axes' had a certain metrologically well-determined weight.⁷

If my alphabetic readings—(below, pp. 39, 56, 45 ff.) תם "full weight" and נ or דק "pure", "clarified"⁸ and טוב "good"—of the four biliteral marks on three Hagia Triada and one Serra Ilixi ingot are accepted, it follows that both *weight* and *standard purity*⁸ were officially controlled in the foundries by special supervisors—the forerunners of the later mint-wardens, who engraved or stamped the result of their proving on the still hot metal lumps, even as we find gold and silver ingots of the Roman age stamped with such inscriptions as, for instance, *coxit NN* ("smelted by N. N."), *probavit NN* ("tested by N. N."), *signavit NN* (signed by N. N.), by the respective officials of the imperial mint.⁹ So, too, the

¹ A. Evans, *Corolla Numismatica* in honour of Barclay V. Head, Oxford, 1906, p. 356, fig. 11, p. 361, fig. 14.

² *Numism. Zeitschr.*, xxxvi, 11, 1. Cf. *Röm. Kupferpräg.*, p. 5, 2.

³ *l.c.*, 974, 1. 40.

⁴ *l.c.*, pp. 172, 178.

⁵ *Corolla Num.*, pp. 358-63.

⁶ *Jahrb. f. lothr. Gesch.*, xviii, 1906, pp. 23 ff.

⁷ The reader will do well to compare the materials collected by the two last-named distinguished authors with the recently published systematic table of ancient weights in Professor Lehmann-Haupt's masterly article "Gewichte" in Pauly's *Realencycl.*, ², iii, Suppl., 1918, 611-14. We can make things a good deal clearer to-day than Evans and Forrer could be expected to do on the basis of Nissen's now antiquated metrological researches.

⁸ Cf. the frequent description of the legal coin as "*denarii meri et pleniter pensantes*" in the *capitularia* of the Carolingian kings, v. Luschin, *Grundriss d. Münzkunde*, Leipzig, 1918, p. 60. Gold *solidi* of Constantine the Great and gold bars with the mark OB=ὀβρυσον=*purum*, Luschin, *Allg. Münzkunde*, Munich, 1904, p. 60, cf. *ibid.*, p. 141, about "*argentum purum*", "*purificatum*", *pusulatum* (= burnt silver), "*merum*," etc.

⁹ Hill, *Proc. Soc. Antiqu.*, xx, 90 ff. Dressel, *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1906, 4. Kubitschek, *Numism. Zeitschr.*, xlii, 33 ff. Cf. the medieval "getekente" mark, Luschin, *l.c.*, p. 37.

iron money-bars of ancient Britain were tested as to standard poise.¹

Indeed, the weight of all the existing copper ingots of the shape discussed above (p. 36, n. 2) are as near to different well-established standards of a so-called "talent"² as can be reasonably expected in their present state of corrosion and oxidization, regard being had to the technical difficulty of producing such large metal casts of exactly constant weight even from one and the same, let alone from different moulds.³ Yet the *plus* or *minus* differences from the regular weight are considerable enough to make a controller's sign attesting the *full weight* of an individual piece a very desirable commercial convenience.

The copper ingots of Hagia Triada scale according to Pigorini, l.c., kilogramms 29,400, 29,500, 29,400, 29,900, 30,700, 27,900, 29,400, 30,000, 30,900, 27,300, 29,500, 27,000, 29,300, 32,000, 32,000, 32,000, 29,200, 29,000, 29,000,⁴ 27,000.

This shows that in one group containing eleven or twelve of these they are intended to weigh one "Babylonian talent" or *biltu*⁵ of 60 *mana*'s, that is, 29,475, 29,574, 29,760 kgs., according to the different surviving stone-weights⁵ of one *mana gina* ("correct mina") weighing

¹ Caesar, Bell. Gall., v, 12: "taleae ferreae ad certum pondus examinatae." Such iron bars have been found in the south of England, and are reproduced after Read's Guide to the British Museum, in R. Forrer's Reallex., p. 79, figs. 68-70.

² The word *τάλαντον* seems to be characterized by its termination in -ντ like *ἀσάμινθος*, "bathing-tub," *πείρινθος*, etc. (Cuny, Rev. étud. anc., xii, 1910, pp. 154-64), as belonging to the same Prehellenic and Asianic stratum as the place-names ending in -νδα, -νθος, -ντος, that is, according to Dr. Emil Forrer's recent Boghazköy discoveries, to the Luvian language.

³ Pigorini's table, l.c., shows that no two of the ingots are of exactly the same size. Length and breadth vary by several inches. Therefore the similarity of the weights can in no case be attributed with Regling, l.c., 974, l. 33, to the use of one and the same or of a standard mould.

⁴ The weight of these two ingots corresponds exactly to that of the "Minoan" gypsum stone-weight from Knossos, Evans, Ann. Brit. School of Athens, vii, pp. 42f. Corolla, Num., p. 342, fig. 1.

⁵ Lehmann-Haupt, Pauly's R.E. ² Suppl., iii, 608-10.

489.6 g. (in the age of Ur-Nina), another, 491.22 g., 492.9 g. (in the age of the Dynasty of Isin), and a third, 496 g. (in the time of King Dungi).

Pigorini's No. 2, weighing 29,500 kgs., the one with the controller's mark $\text{𐎶} = \text{𐎶}$ = "full weight" (below, p. 56), is, as a matter of fact, *really a generous "full-weight" sample of such a Babylonian talent of 29,475 g. = 60 mana's of 489.6 g. of Ur-Nina's standard, or, equally well, of one talent of 29,472 kgs. according to the standard of the Πτολεμαϊκή μνᾶ or Ἰταλική μνᾶ of 491.2 g., which corresponds to the weight of 60 Roman aurei of 8.19 g. each, and to the Dutch "pound Troy".*

On the other hand, Pigorini's No. 11, of 27.300 g., the one with the mark $\text{𐎶} = \text{𐎶}$ "pure", is exactly one hundredweight of the old Italian so-called Oscian pound of 272.9 g.¹ as we know from the celebrated weight of Chiusi, this "Oscian" pound itself being nothing else but one half of the ordinary "light" Babylonian silver *mina* of 545.7 g. The use of this particular weight in "Minoan" Crete is proved by the limestone weight from Knossos, published by Sir Arthur Evans, *Cor. Num.*, p. 345, No. 4, fig. 2c, and calculated to have weighed originally 273.47 g., a weight which is evidently meant to be such an "Oscian" pound or half light Babylonian silver *mina*. This same ingot weight also, for reasons due to the system that has been lucidly explained by Professor Lehmann-Haupt, *l.c.*, is almost exactly one "talent" or 60 minas of the Solonian standard of an Attic and Eubœan *mina* (485.9 g.), that is 27,334 kgs., or sixty English pounds *avoir-du-poids*. Nos. 7 (27,900 kgs.), 13 (27,000 kgs.), and 19 (27,600 kgs.), are also meant for this weight.

A talent of 60 Babylonian light silver minas of 545.7 g. is 3,274 kgs., or an ordinary "centumpondium" of 100

¹ *Ibid.*, col. 632, l. 34.

"Roman" pounds of 327,45 g. Evidently No. 15 (of 32,000 klgs.) is meant to represent it. This is all the more interesting, since Sir Arthur Evans has published, without noticing the coincidence, in "*Corolla Numismatica*", p. 345, No. 3, a "Minoan" weight from Knossos, weighing 327,02 g., that is almost exactly such a "Roman" pound or one-third of a *heavy* Babylonian "weighing"-mina (982.4 g.).

The three ingots, Nos. 9 (30,000 klgs.), 10 (30,900 klgs.), and 6 (30,700 klgs.) are all "talents" based on the "heightened", "royal" standard of the Babylonian silver weight (1 mina calculated as the weight of 60 Persian darics of 8,4 g. each = 504 g.; a talent on this basis being 30,276 klgs.).

The two ingots from Mochlos and Tylissos of 26,500 klgs. each are "brutto" talents on the basis of the later so-called light Eubœan Attic mina of 436.8 g., that is to say of 26,196 klgs.

The one ingot, of 37,024 klgs.¹ or 37,094 klgs.² found in Enkomi, the ancient Salamis of Cyprus,³ and marked ⌘ SI i.e. Si(llu) or $\Sigma\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\iota$ (below, p. 47), weighs with surprising exactness one so-called Pheidonian or Ægeinean talent of 37,026 klgs.³ The corresponding mina of 617,1 g.—which I should call the "Cyprian mina"—has been twice found by R. Forrer (l.c., p. 13), in the remains of Swiss lake-dwellings.

Of the three copper ingots found in Sardinia at Serra Ilixi, in the province of Cagliari, now in the museum of that city, one weighs 27,100 klgs., and is accordingly a slightly underweighted or much corroded sample of the old Italic *centumpondium*, or rather of the hundredweight of

¹ These numbers are given by Dussaud, l.c., p. 250, after Murray (see note ³).

² Thus Pigorini, l.c., p. 97; probably through a *lapsus calami* or misprint.

³ Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 15, fig. 1535; cf. p. 17.

Knossos (above, p. 39, l. 21), or of the Eubœan talent on the basis of the light Babylonian silver mina. The other two pieces weigh 33,300 kgs. each, that is either an undersized "Median" talent (based on the *mina* of 560 g., the modern Austrian and Bavarian "old pound") of 33,654 kgs., or on a "Roman" *centumpondium* or "Alexandrian" talent of 32,745 kgs., that is, a talent of 60 Ἰταλικά μναί or "light" Babylonian silver minas of 545,7 g.

The large prehistoric tin ingot of Falmouth,¹ stated to weigh something over 72 kgs. is just two τάλαντα ἐμπορικά of the Attic Pre-Solonian standard (36,024 kgs.).

The copper ingot found in Mycenæ, now in the Athens museum,² marked as coming from Σόλοι (Sillu) with the Phœnician letter \neq (below, p. 49), of kgs. 23,625, weighs 65 light "Phœnician" silver minas, that is, a "talent" of the "royal standard" increased by one-twelfth.

The seventeen smaller ingots of the same shape found in the sea near the Eubœan Chalkis—two of 13,230 kgs., two of 13,360 kgs.—that is just 1,000 shekels of the heavy Babylonian gold mina—two of 17,000, one of 17,640, one of 11,970, one of 11,650, one of 11,340, one of 12,600, one of 12,900, one of 10,800, one of 9,450, one of 6,930, and one of 5,250 kgs., have been convincingly explained by R. Forrer as multiples of a mina of 630 g., that is, according to Lehmann-Haupt, l.c., in agreement with the system of the Ægean coinage, making the στατήρ weigh 12.6 g.

This metrological result is a very strong proof of the *monetary* character of these ingots. If such hoards of them as the one of 19 pieces were nothing else but the metal store of the palace smithy or arsenal, we should expect a quantity of metal blocks of equal size, weight, and marks of origin (below, pp. 47-55), as they would

¹ Olshausen, Z. f. Ethnol., xv, 86 ff.

² Pigorini, p. 102, n. 1.

arrive in ship- or cart-loads from a mine or foundry, the magazine being regularly restocked when the store was nearing exhaustion. On the other hand, a treasury-vault—as the room was, beyond doubt—would necessarily contain single pieces of different currencies, commercial exchange bringing them together from the different parts of the world, just as later treasury-finds regularly contain a number of coins of different age, origin, and value.

2. *The name of the axe-shaped ingot in Hebrew and Babylonian documents.*

The Greek name of these ingots, at least, of the really axe-shaped ones, if not of our biconcave, or rather "skin-shaped" samples, was certainly as Svoronos, i.e., has proved—*πελέκεις*. Ten *πελέκεις* and ten *ἡμιπέλεκκα*, half ingots of this peculiar shape, or axes weighing half a talent like some pieces of the Chalkis find, or even one-sided axes in contrast with the usual double-axes—were the prize offered by Achilles in the "Patrokleia" (Iliad, xxiii, 851). The grammarian Hesychius, s.v. *πέλεκυς* and *ἡμιπέλεκκον*,¹ has preserved the fact that these terms were used to denote certain fixed weights in Paphos (Cyprus!), and Bishop Eustathius, in his commentary on Odyssey, xviii, 573,² gives other values according to the ancient custom of Crete, so that the terms are found in use in those very Ægean islands where the corresponding ingots have been unearthed.

Archæologists have, however, overlooked until now that we know quite as well the Phenician—or at least

¹ . . . ἡμιπέλεκκον· τὸ τριμναῖον ἢ τετραμναῖον ἢ πενταμναῖον· τὸ γὰρ δεκάμνον πέλεκυς καλεῖται παρὰ Πάφιοις· πέλεκυς στάθμιον εξαμνιαῖον ἀρχαῖον· οἱ δὲ δωδεκαμναῖον. The two passages are obviously derived from two different sources, the second one referring to another standard than that of the Cyprian system.

² . . . ἰστέον ὅτι πελέκων μὲν οὐ μία σημασία· δηλοῖ γὰρ ἢ λέξις δμωνυμίας λόγῳ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς καὶ στάθμιον ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐξάμνον ἢ δεκάμνον.

the Hebrew—and the Babylonian names of these metal bars. They are frequently mentioned in certain Old Testament and parallel cuneiform passages.

In the great panegyric on Wisdom's priceless value in the book of Job (xxviii, 15), the text, which should not be tampered with, says that wisdom "cannot be gotten for a *s'gôr*, כֶּסֶד, neither can silver ("käs'ph") be weighed down for the price thereof."

Now this word *s'gôr* recurs in Ps. xxxv, 3. where it is correctly translated "battle-axe" by the Revised Version, and identified by most commentators with the "Asianic" word *σαγῆρις* for the double-axe of the Scythians and "Amazons" (= female Scythian warriors, from Iranian *āmaža*, "war").¹ Evidently Yahveh is imagined by the psalmist as armed with the tree-felling thunder-weapon of the double-axe which characterizes the Asianic Tešup or Juppiter Dolichenus.² Accordingly, *s'gôr* in the verse above is not to be arbitrarily transformed into < *zahab* > *s'gôr*,³ but simply to be explained as a "double-axe" (ingot). The priceless spiritual treasure "cannot be bought for an axe-(ingot), nor can silver be weighed down for the price thereof." It cannot be bought, as a Roman lawyer would say, *per aes et libram* (Festus, p. 165a), the most interesting feature of the verse being accordingly that a *s'gôr* or "axe" of metal *need not be weighed*. It has a conventional weight of one talent, as shown by the Cretan, Cyprian, and Sardinian finds, in contrast with shapeless, broken or hacked silver, which must be put on the scales when given in payment: you either pay "in *s'gôr*" (legal bars) or by weight. The verse means to say:

¹ O. Lagercrantz, *Xenia Lindeniana*, Stockholm, 1919 = Indog. Jahrb., i, 91.

² Wendland, *Hell. Röm. Kultur*, pl. xii; Gressmann, *Texte u. Bilder*, p. 78, fig. 142; *Alter Orient*, iv, 1, ², p. 25, fig. 6.

³ Thus, e.g. T. K. Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 1750, l. 1.

You cannot buy wisdom for coin¹ nor for a weighed down quantity of silver. Consequently the often-mentioned *zahab s'gōr*² is nothing else but "axe gold", "ingot-gold", gold as sold from the founderies either in its pure, unadulterated state without the copper alloy added by the goldsmiths to make it more resistant, or gold of a certain tested quality (זב, זג), as it is sold in ingots of controlled weight and standard alloy.

The Babylonian equivalent to *zahab s'gōr* has long been found³ in Akkadian texts like K538, 18 (R.F. Harper, Ass. and Bab. Letters, 114; Birch, Rec. of the Past,² ii, 184: *šalšu bilti xurāḡu sagru* (not *šakru*! written SAG-RU), *šiššu bilti lā sagru*: "three talents of ingot gold," "six talents of gold, not in ingots," or "not of legal ingot quality"; iii, R46, No. 523-4: *10 minas kaspu laxxu* (לה √ להה = "silver fresh"⁴ from the mine, or, as *laxxu* is literally "wet", "moist", fresh from the washer, that is, "nugget silver" or "silver dust"), *1 manē xurāḡu sagru* (48, No. 5, 17), Annals of Sargon II, xiv, 42, 47, n. 47.

3. Trade-marks certifying quality and origin.

An ingot may, of course, contain metals of very different alloy,⁵ according (a) to the various methods employed in

¹ The word "coin," Latin *cuneus*, denotes, of course, a peculiar kind of tool-money, i.e. metal bars or wedges. It is interesting to remember that the thunder-weapon—a hammer in the North, a double-axe in the Near East—is called "Donnerkeil" = thunder-wedge in German, because lightning cleaves tree trunks. A *ἡμιτέλεκκον* or indeed any primitive one-sided axe without its wooden handle, may well be called a "wedge". Cf. also Anc. Version Josh. vii, 21, Is. xiii, 12, a "wedge" of gold with the ancient British "taleae ad certum pondus examinatae", above, n. 16.

² E.g. 1 Kings vi, 20; vii, 49 f.; x, 21.

³ Muss-Arnold, s.v. *biltu*, *šakru*, *xurāḡu*.

⁴ = "fresh," said of new wire ropes, Judg. xvi. 7 f. Otherwise it may be a Sumerian loan-word from *luḫ* = pure. Cf. RTC., 23, ii, 4 (Lugalanda): 1 mana $\frac{1}{2}$ urud *luḫ-x-a* (pure copper) *an-na-bi gin* 134.

⁵ See Regling, l.c., vii, 780, on the greatly varying quantity of copper contained in ancient Italian *aes signatum*. Chemical analyses of the Sardinian ingots in Pigorini's paper, p. 93, of the Chalkidian ones, p. 105, of the Cyprian ingot, p. 97, 2. Cf. Dussaud, l.c., p. 253.

smelting and refining the ore, and (b) to the place of origin. Consequently the necessity of a kind of trade-mark guaranteeing standard purity and a certain place of origin must have been felt at a very early date. The inscription $\overline{\text{r}} \text{ 𐤓}$ "clarified", "purified" on one of the Hagia Triada ingots (fig. 1) corresponds exactly to the mention of *an-na za-gu-um* or *za-qu-um*.¹ = "purified tin" in the old Assyrian, so-called Cappadocian,² commercial

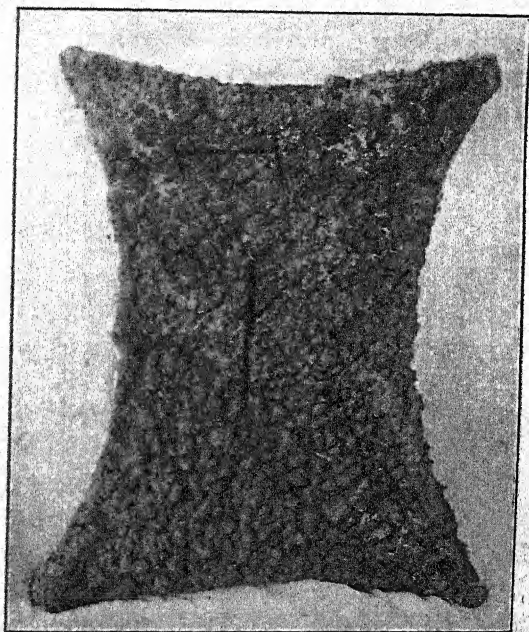


FIG. 1.

¹ Dr. E. Forrer tells me that the GU, KU sign is mostly used for the syllable *gu* in these tablets. See about the equivalence of the roots 𐤓 and 𐤓𐤓 , "to purify metals," Job xxviii, 1; Mal. iii, 3; Ps. xii, 7; 1 Chron. xxviii, 18, xxix, 4. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw. im Arab.*, 1886, p. 64; Gesenius, 16 ed., s.v. 𐤓𐤓 . Muss-Arnold, s.v. *zakû* "pure".

² This northernmost Assyrian colony goes back to the conquest of Asia Minor by Sargon of Agade (about 2800 B.C.), the historicity of which is now ascertained by new texts from Boghazköy through E. Forrer's perspicacity. Cappadocia was still called *Ασσυρία* by Arrian (ap. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg., 772) and Scylax, 89 (Apoll. Rhod., 2, 948, and Dionys. Perieg., l.c.).

tablets,¹ from the time of the dynasty of Ur 2350 B.C.

"Stamped" tin—*anna kunuku*¹—or "stamped gold",² or "inspected" (*ḫaṭu*) gold or silver³ are frequently mentioned in early and late contract-tablets. As a matter of fact, some of the monogrammatic signs on our copper-ingots, notably the \oplus on the Enkomi sample and the ∇ on one of the Serra Ilixi ingots, are not engraved but have been stamped into the hot metal.

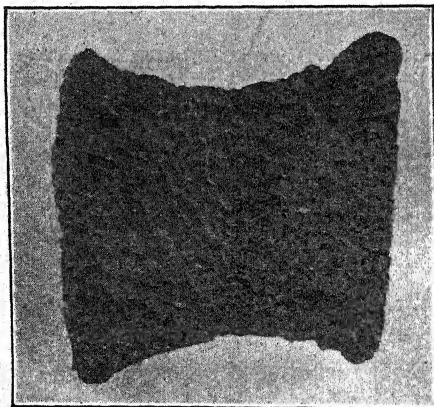


FIG. 2.

Another trade-mark or controller's sign attesting quality is to be seen in the rather awkward graffito of one Hagia Triada ingot (fig. 2) which Svoronos has in- exactly rendered in print by \oplus . The photograph shows clearly *two* clumsily engraved signs, טב טב , that is "good" or "fine" copper, the very quality which is called נחשת טבה ; *nexōšeth tōbāh*, "good brass," in Ezra, viii, 27;

¹ Contenau, *Trente Tablettes Cappadociennes*, Paris, 1919, p. 69. I owe this reference to Dr. E. Forrer.

² F. Hommel, *Gesch. d. alten Morgenlands*, Stuttgart, 1895, p. 147f., Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg, 1920, p. 356 (*kanku*).

³ Muss-Arnold, 309b, and 340b, s.v. *ḫaṭu* and *ḫurācu*.

cf. *zahab tob*, "good gold," 2 Chron., iii, 5-8; cf. Genes. ii, 12, and כתם הטוב,¹ "good ἡλεκτρον".

As to marks certifying the local origin of the metal²—as we should say, "Sheffield steel"—there is first of all the sign £ , which has long been identified with the character SI of the ancient Cypriote syllabary.³ Svoronos, l.c., has most ingeniously explained it as the trade-mark of Soloi (Cyprus), which is explicitly mentioned by the grammarian Hesychius, where he speaks of the famous "copper with the mark of Soloi" (Σολοίτυπος χαλκός, s.v. Σολοίτυπος). As Dr. E. Forrer tells me that the

¹ That is, "Khittim-gold," mentioned in Egyptian texts of Dyn. 18 as "good gold of *ktm*" or "of *ktm. t*", W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 75, which, I believe, is the land of the Kittim, the Greek Κητιεύς of Homer, the people of Κήτια and of Kition and Κήτις in Cilicia, perhaps of Καταμα-νη (-na, Asianic suffix for "town", Lehmann-Haupt, *MVAG.*, 1916, 138, note) in Syria Commagene (Ptol., 2, 15, 10), and possibly of Καταωνία (*ΚαταΦωνία < Katama-na?). The כִּיִּים should not be confounded, according to E. Forrer, with the הַתִּיִּים or Hatti! The name of a metal may be derived from or, conversely, be identical with the name of a land or people—e.g. κασσίτερον = Kaši-metal, that is, tin from Khorasan, Drangiana, Mazgerd, and Tabris; *küsp* = "silver" = "Caspian" metal; lead (*luaide*, *lauda*, *leod*, *lood*) = the Lydian (Lyd-) metal; *χάλυψ* = "steel", the Chalybian metal; copper = Cyprus metal; "messinc" = Μοσσύνοικος χαλκός; Skt. *yavaneshīha*, "tin," literally "Greek" metal (Lippmann, *Alchem.*, p. 588); *mlecchāsya* and *mlecchā-mukha* = "copper" (Liebich, *ZDMG.*, 1918, 286), see below, *μαλαχίτης* = *meluxā*; *χάτυς* = "silver" = *ḫatti-metal*. This is well illustrated by the cuneiform word-list V R 27, No. 1, col. 1, l. 25, the knowledge of which I owe to Dr. E. Forrer:

urudu NITUG-KI (copper-ore from Dilmun) = *dilmunū*.

urudu Maganna = *maganū*.

urudu Meluxa (= Sinai, Edom) = *meluxū* (= Greek *μαλαχίτης*!).

The last line decides, by the by, finally the position of *Meluxa* against Edward Meyer, Ethiopia having never had any copper, while the Egyptian copper-mines of the Fayyūm were not known before the age of the Ptolemies. In a vague sense *Meluxa* did sometimes signify, even as Muḡri, all the land west from the brook of Egypt.

² Cf. Luschin, *Allg. Münzkunde*, pp. 141f., about the mediæval *marcae argenti usualis signatae*, "Marken tokens," *getekente Marken*, silver bars (p. 142, fig. 85) with the stamp of the town of origin and fabricated according to the varying local standards of purity.















³ Pigorini, l.c., p. 97, after Murray, in Murray, Smith, and Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, London, 1900, pp. 1-54. Dussaud, ², p. 250.

Cyprian harbour $\Sigma\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\iota$ is called *Sillu* (*sillu*, *sullu*, the Hebrew *sullam* is the "mole" or "pier" of the harbour, the place-name being analogous to "Scala Tyrriorum",¹ "Scala Nova", harbour of Ephesos) in the Boghazköy records, SI would indeed be the correct Cypriote sign to serve as an abbreviation of *Sillu*, that is to say, as the $\Sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\upsilon\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$, the "Sillu trade-mark". Taken in this sense the sign would be analogous to the proud lettering ROMANOM on later Roman copper bars.²

Taking the apparently well-established Cyprian place-mark SI on the ingot of Salamis as a point of departure, we might be justified in explaining on the same lines the monogrammatic signs on the Cretan and Sardinian copper $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, presupposing always that, like the biliteral inscriptions upon them, they belong to some very archaic Phœnician alphabet.



As a matter of fact, these three hypotheses—as to the character of the script, as to the language, and as to the meaning of the marks—seem to work quite satisfactorily.

There is first of all the sign \mp or \pm on the ingot of Mycenæ (above, p. 41, n. 2), the weight of which represents a raised standard ($1 + \frac{1}{12}$) of the Phœnician silver talent (בלו),³ and on one of the Serra Ilixi samples,⁴ which is

¹ Κλίμαξ Τύρου , 1, Macc. xii, 59 Joseph. BJ., II, x, 2. See also Phœnician Arvad = Egyptian *erwad*   "stair", or the    
  "incense stairs", on the shore of Pwnt (Ῥπῶρη), W. M. Müller, l.c., p. 118; Inscr. Ppj, ii; Weill, Inscr. Sinai, No. 19; cf. pp. 49 f.,       "Malachite stairs", etc. Brewster, in Sethe, Unters., i, 53, n. b.

² Regling, l.c., vii, 983.

³ Hebrew in Esra iv, 13. Cf. Muss-Arnold, s.v. *biltu* = lit. $\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, German "Tracht", ובל "carry". The expression has not yet been found in Phœnician inscriptions.

⁴ As to the stamp on another of the Serra Ilixi ingots which is reproduced as a  by Pigorini, the paper squeeze does not apparently confirm his drawing. I should rather see a  on the squeeze and explain it as the "trident"-mark discussed on p. 52.

most easily explained as a 𐤀 , Hebrew *samekh*, Greek $\sigma\varsigma$,¹ originally the Babylonian 𐤀 SIL, ZIL, NUN. This may very well be the *Phœnician* trade-mark of Sillu- $\Sigma\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\iota$, used at a time when the "Foundery" (Tamassos, Temesē of Homer = 𐤏𐤍𐤌 with the 𐤍 prefix²), was worked by the Phœnicians, that is, at the latest, when the great Cyprian copper bowls with the *Ba'al Lebanon* inscriptions were dedicated by a scribe contemporary with Hiram I of Tyrus and Solomon.

The same mark $\text{𐤀} = \square$ in a more recent form of the character is found on a small *silver* ingot found near Pesth in Hungary³ and weighing 4.45 g., that is a *shekel* approximating 4.55 g., the weight of the Roman denar, and corresponding to the "Minoan" pound of 273 g. and the "Attic" "Eubœan" talent of 27,434 kgs., represented by the axe-ingot (Pigorini, No. 11), with the mark 𐤀 (above, p. 39). If there is here, too, the $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\tau\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$ or metal punch of Sillu- $\Sigma\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\iota$, it would be very interesting, for it would show that, although Cyprus never produced or exported silver, it had even in "premonetary" times a kind of "bimetallism" on the basis of exchange with the silver-producing southern regions of Asia Minor.

As Phœnician place-marks I should also explain the three single signs 𐤀 𐤁 and 𐤂 on three Hagia Triada ingots.

The first (fig. 3), which recurs on the strangely corroded fig. 4, has been explained as a 𐤀 in my reading of the biliteral inscription 𐤀𐤁 , "pure"—a value which did

¹ The 𐤀 or 𐤁 or 𐤂 is originally a "sharp" or "hissing" s ; so the name 𐤀 was pronounced $\chi\sigma\iota$ only when later on the sign began to be used for the double sound— $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\omega\acute{\nu}\iota\alpha$ as the Greek grammarians call it. As to the Babylonian origin of this and the other alphabetic signs compare my forthcoming book on the origin of the alphabet.

² Levy, *Semit. Fremdw. im Griech.*, s. v.

³ R. Forrer, *Jb. f. Lothr.*, 1906, p. 50, fig. 3.

not seem quite certain to Professor Sayce,¹ JRAS., 1920,

¹ I should like to add here that I cannot understand how my kind critic could say (p. 299 l.c.) that מֵאֵרֶב on the Sphinx of Serapi is a *plene* writing, when the **א** obviously belongs to the triliteral stem of אֶרֶב "love". Omitting the **א**, we should have מֵרֵבֶלֶת, that is simply "from the Lady", and nobody could possibly recognize any longer in this doubly curtailed phrase (haplography of the **ב** as in *Meribba'al* for *Meribba'al!*), the occurrence of אֶרֶב "beloved" (= "for love"). Again, as to the Phœnician *jōd*, "hand" Nöldecke's supreme authority in the matter of Semitic dialects has already proved that *lāra*, *jōd*, is the peculiar Cana'anite dialectic form for *jād*. Since then Bauer-Leander have pointed out that the Cana'anite *always* said *ō* for *ā*; it is therefore safe to suppose that the Cana'anite Amarna scribe pronounced *ljōdēhu* when he wrote *badu* in a script that had no *o*-signs! (Cf. e.g.

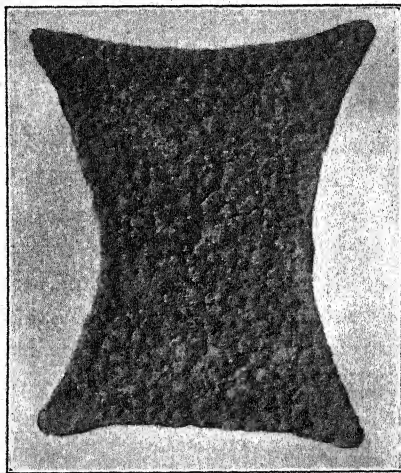


FIG. 3.

Cana'anite *Dagon*, written either *Dagan* or *Dagān*, MVAG., 1903, 5, 103, in cuneiform signs.) He cannot be expected to have written *badiu*, like *suffetes* for *šophetim*, for that is only the *latest* Phœnician darkening of the *ā* vowel. I have supposed on p. 37, of my *Ken. Inschr.* that this Cana'anite darkening of the Semitic vowels is due to race-mixture with a pre-Semitic Asianic people, and I see now with pleasure that Hüsing, Mitt. anthropol. Gesellsch., 46, Vienna, 1916, vi, 218, has explained this phenomenon very simply by the peculiar build of the so-called Hittite opisthognathic skull-profile, which must cause a shifting of *α*-sounds towards the dark vowels of the back tongue, while the strong under-jaw of the orthognathic and prognathic races favours the production of the fore-tongue vowels *α*, *e*.

p. 302. I have, however, amply shown in my forthcoming book on the "Origin of the Alphabet" that, beside the more generally known \uparrow and Γ forms of the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha$, derived from the archaic sign \surd GAM,¹ that is the later GAM \surd —there occur other characters corresponding to the sign-name *gaml*, *giml*: λ \times λ \times \succ \succ \succ \surd \surd in the Iberian, Palmyrenean, Sinaitic, and early Hebrew alphabet, which must be derived from the ideogram

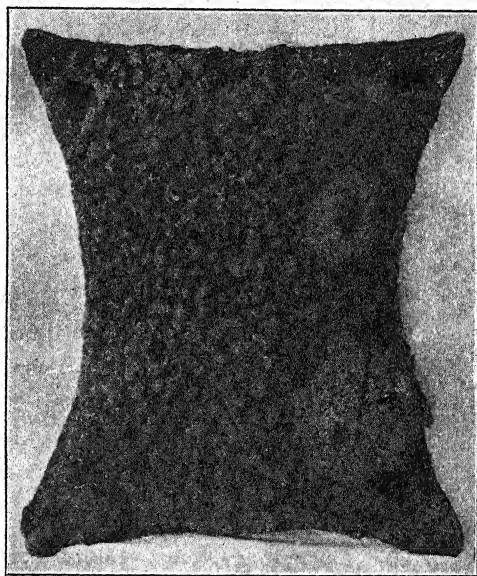


FIG. 4.

\succ \succ , cuneiform \succ , which is used—with the determinative \mathbb{Q} , cuneiform \mathbb{Q} GIŠ, *eḡu*, "piece of wood"—to signify *gamlu*, a "yoke," and which represents originally nothing else but a forked branch broken from a tree and used as a weapon (throwing-stick, boomerang) as well as for a primitive yoke.

¹ Förtsch, *Schriftdenkmäler Vorderasiens*, xiv, 1, 95₁. I owe this important sample to Professor P. Deimel, S.J., of the Roman Bible Academy.

This \mathfrak{h} I take to be the trade-mark of *Gublu* (Greek *Byblos*, read *Wublos* for *G^uublu*), the famous Phœnician harbour, the eponymous hero of which is called the "father" of "Kypros" in Greek tradition.¹ The Phœnician miners and metallurgists of Cyprus may have been originally Byblian colonists, and Byblos itself an old commercial and industrial centre for the famous Lebanon copper-mines; as stone-quarriers the Giblites were famous throughout Cana'an in Old Testament times.

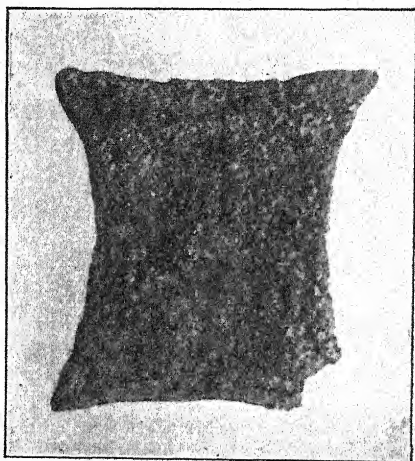


FIG. 5.

As to the "trident" sign \mathfrak{h} on fig. 5, I infer its correct position from the analogy of the position of the Cyprian SI near the upper edge of the Enkomi-ingot. Even as this SI is certainly *not* to be read as a \mathfrak{z} placed above the lower edge of the ingot, I think the trident is meant for an \mathfrak{h} not for an \mathfrak{w} . Both signs are foreign to the later Phœnician alphabet, but they occur in ancient Arabic epigraphy, as well in the Northern (Thamudenic, Safatenian, Lihjanic) branch as in the Southern Minæan Sabæan, Katabanian, and early Axumitic inscriptions. As

¹ Philostephanos, fragm. 11.

they are well known also from some Greek and Asianic alphabets as an *episemon* in the Milesian number-alphabet, corresponding to the obsolete (Greek) value of *çadē*,¹ we cannot be surprised to find one of them, apparently the real fisher's or *çadē*-trident,² in Proto-Phœnician inscriptions of the Hyksōs period (cf. below, p. 62).

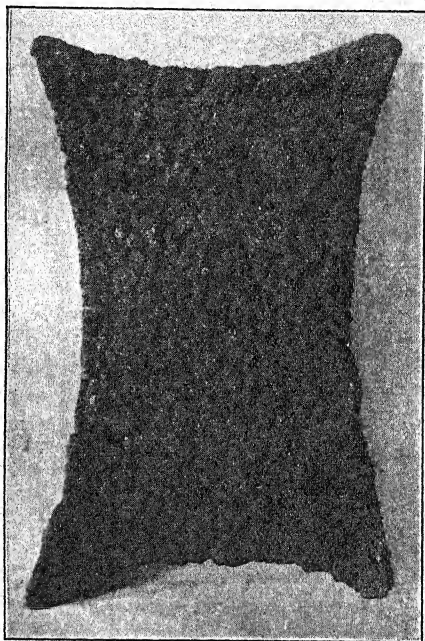


FIG. 6.

If this trident is, as I believe, a **Σ**, it may stand for *Çōr* **צור**, old Latin *Surra*, Greek *Τύπος*, as well as for *Çidōn*, renowned in Homer for its metallurgic export trade, or even for *Çarephat*, the actual metal "smelting"-place on the high road between Tyre and *Çidōn*.

¹ For the special documentation of this question I must refer the reader to my forthcoming book.

² In the Kenite inscriptions the *çadē* is represented by an unmistakable fishing hook. See p. 108 of my edition.

That the trident is not to be reversed and read as χ seems to be confirmed by the occurrence of a Δ sign on another of the Hagia Triada ingots (fig. 6). It is obviously a Π π^1 and the remarkable convergent form may be paralleled by the Δ -shaped $\eta\tau\alpha$ of the archaic Greek inscriptions on the Acrae of Syracuse.²

A peculiar interest attaches to this Δ sign, because it evidently recurs on the interesting "proto-monetary" silver dumps (fig. 7) from the *Pithoi*-magazine of Cnossos,³ where Sir Arthur Evans believed he could distinguish a "broad \neg like that on the ingot from Hagia Triada" (he means the \neg above, fig. 1), "or a \vdash , a regular character of the Minoan



FIG. 7.

linear script," but where the converging "ladder" of a Δ is not to be mistaken after a comparison with the—until now unpublished—copper ingot, fig. 6. For a π I have only one explanation: it must be the trade-mark for the copper of Chalkis-Nuxassi, worked in Halab, the modern Aleppo, the Harabu of the Amarna-letters, which has never ceased to be a most important

¹ To think of Sabaeen Δ $\bar{\alpha}$ ض *dappa* is scarcely possible. First, because there is not the slightest trace of this sign-value in the whole northern and Aegean world; and, secondly, because I do not know any plausible explanation of a *dappa*-monogram. Neither *Çör* nor *Çidon* nor *Çarephath* could possibly be written with a *dappa*.

² Generally dated in the fifth century B.C. For the shape compare the comparative table at the end of Larfeld's handbook of Greek epigraphy, ², Munich, 1914.

³ Evans, *Cor. Num.*, p. 363, fig. 15.

metallurgical manufacturing place of Syria. The silver-dumpling found in Cnossos would show that this place, too—like Soloi, whose sign on a silver bar was found in the centre of Hungary—had begun to use a silver currency side by side with the more primitive heavy copper ingots as early as the second millenium B.C.

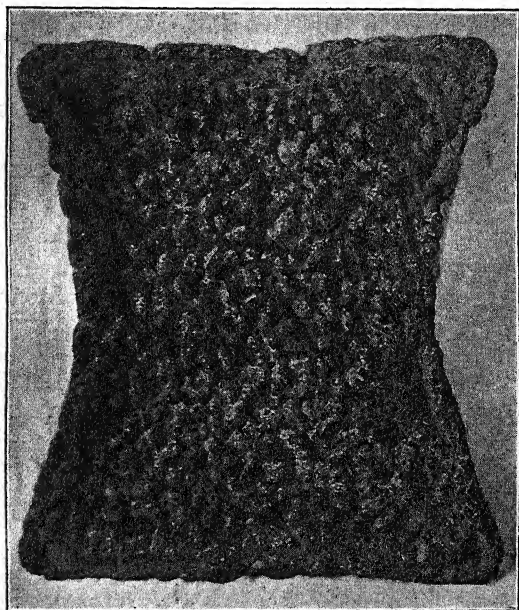

















FIG. 8.

4. *Peculiarities of the "Ingot" Alphabet.*

As to the *paleography of the biliteral marks*—without which we should certainly not dare to attribute a phonetic, let alone an alphabetic, value to the isolated signs on the other pieces—the ∇ for \beth of the ∇ mark (fig. 1) has already been explained on p. 10 with reference to the isolated \beth -mark of Gublu. The ∇ in the oblique form is the regular one.



Quite unexpected, although by no means unparalleled,

sign-shapes will be found in the "full weight" (𐤀𐤍) mark  on fig. 8. First, the reader will observe that the "water" or wave-line of the  is not in the usual position of an , but reversed, a *μῦ ὕπτιον*, as a Pythagorean grammarian¹ would have called it. This upside down —the ordinary  being used instead of  to signify a row of *teeth*, i.e. the letter *sin*—is a typical feature of the so-called Iberian alphabet, in reality a Phœnician script, the high archaism and rigid conservatism of which are best illustrated by its persistent use of that peculiar two-horned *naḥaš*-sign  for *n*, which can be explained now from the Egyptianizing alphabet of Serabit-el-Chadīm.²

The —erroneously rendered in print as an + by Svoronos, i.e., where this inscription appears as —is seen as a  on the photograph, and Ephoros Dr. Josef Hazzidakis has been kind enough to verify for me this peculiar shape of the letter on the original at the Heraklea Museum. It is, indeed, a puzzle for the palæographer, for the comparison of all known alphabets shows but two main types of the *tav*: first the rectangular type, either cross-shaped +, or oblique x, or hammer-shaped T; secondly, especially in the different old Italian scripts, a *γάμμα*-like *tav* (, ,  or ) the derivations of both groups of forms being quite obvious for the student of their respective Babylonian prototypes, which the reader will find identified in my forthcoming book. But an apparent contamination of both forms into a  seems hard to explain, unless the superfluous oblique bar³ should be attributed to an error of the engraver, which

¹ The Pythagoreans used letters reversed or placed askew for musical notation, as may be seen from the table at the end of Jan's *Musici scriptores Graeci*.

² See p. 111 of my *Kenit. Weihinschr.*

³ The horizontal bar could not be omitted, for  alone would be  in this script.

would be difficult to reconcile with its perfect neatness and the absence of any sign of attempted obliteration. To such a strained explanation I should have preferred the current opinion that the signs are non-alphabetic, that is "Minoan" and therefore at present unreadable. But a thorough search through Sir Arthur Evans' magnificent volume, "Scripta Minoa," will convince the reader that *there is no such sign in any Cretan script*.¹

So there remains but one hypothesis, and that, in my opinion, a very plausible one. The Iberian alphabet, which alone contains the "reversed" \mathfrak{M} (\mathfrak{W}), gives a series of quite different *tuv*-signs, among others like arrow heads (see below) or like \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{T} Ψ \mathfrak{W} also a Ψ or \mathfrak{V} ; of these I could show the $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}$ forms to be derived, either directly or through a common, still traceable Babylonian model, from the Cypriote syllabic sign $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}$ for *TI*, and the $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}$ \mathfrak{T} Ψ \mathfrak{W} forms from the Cypriote sign Ψ or \mathfrak{T} for *TE*. If we knew the whole group of Asianic syllabaries, of which Deecke and Sayce have correctly supposed the Cypriote script to be just one special branch, we might be able to discover the exact form of the *TE*-sign, midway between Iberian $\Psi = t$, and Cyprian $\mathfrak{T} = TE$, which seems to underlie the one-sided Hagia Triada form on fig. 8.

The fact that the peculiar $\mathfrak{W} = m$ of the "ingot" alphabet recurs only in the Iberian alphabet, while the $\mathfrak{M} = \mathfrak{Z}$ is a feature of the Ancient Arabic (and Milesian) alphabets, offer a welcome clue to the explanation of the fourth biliteral inscription² \mathfrak{X} (fig. 9) on one of the two heavier (33,300 kgs.) Serra Ilixi samples.

¹ Isolated signs of this shape occur, however, as mason's marks on stone-blocks of the Cnossian Palace. See Sir A. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, p. 135, Fig. 99.

² Pigorini, l.c., p. 98, reproduces these signs as $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}$. But his zincotype as well as the paper-squeeze show the respective position of the signs to be as rendered in the text. I have also been unable to find the \mathfrak{T} sign (which could only be an \mathfrak{T} , and which, if it existed, could possibly be a trade-mark of the Redenneh-mines of Sinai), reproduced in

The sign ∇ , resembling — quite accidentally¹ — a Cretan double-axe and erroneously explained as such by R. v. Lichtenberg, MVAG., 1911, p. 112, occurs like the two-horned n —the ∇ snake of the Sinai-inscriptions, in

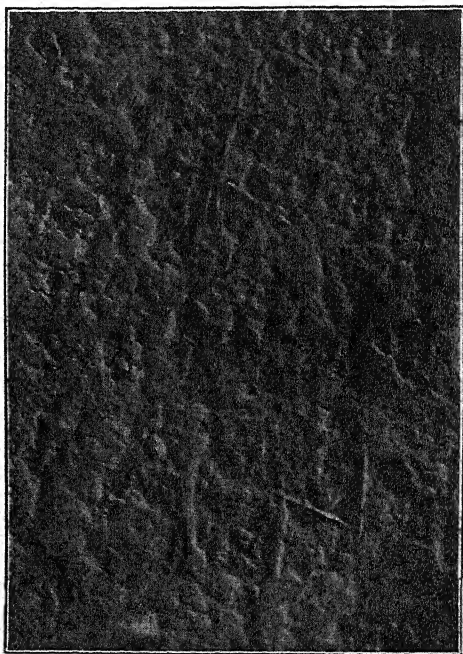


FIG. 9.

outline in Pigorini's paper, anywhere on the photographs or on the excellent paper squeezes. As it is technically unlikely that the sign should be on the smooth back which could not be got at as long as the cast was hot, I am at a loss to guess where P. could have believed he saw it.

¹ It is in reality—see ch. 34, note 1034, of my alphabet-book—the Babylonian sign ∇ , cuneiform ∇ , values HE, GAN, KAN, GAM, KAM. Its use for the emphatic k shows that the emphatic guttural was thought to be very similar to the value of the ∇ , as e.g. in the modern Egyptian Sinai dialects of Arabic the ∇ is pronounced, that is, as another slightly different GAM-mu, a KAM-mu by the scribes, where this ∇ sign was introduced for k (q). Others felt, as the names *káf* and *káf* (or *káf*) suffice to show, the q to be a differentiation of the k .

no other alphabet but the Iberian, where it has the phonetic value of a *k* (q).

On the other hand the "fork"-sign ∇ , placed askew, in this precise position, is met with in the so-called Çafathenian inscriptions found in the *Ruhbe* and the neighbouring *harras* of the Trachonitis as the sign for *dal* (Υ and Λ, Ψ, ϗ in Thamudenian inscriptions). This sign in a Proto-Phœnician inscription is not altogether unexpected, since a ∇ with the same value seems to have been used in the Kenitic inscriptions of Sinai.¹






However this may be, it cannot be attributed to mere chance that the two values *dal* and *k* for these signs allow again a very plausible reading of ∇ for this inscription: namely ∇ , a mere orthographic or dialectic variant of the mark ∇ that is ∇ "pure", on one of the Hagia Triada ingots (above, pp. 45 and 39). As a matter of fact the Arabic dialects have for Hebrew זכה "to be pure", Accad. *zakû* "pure", "free"; Piel. *zukkû* "clarify", "justify", both זכא *dkā* and זכ; *zkā* "to be pure", "unstained". Similarly in Aramean there is דכא, Syr. זכא "to be pure" and זכא, זכא "to be innocent".² As to the guttural sound we have besides *zakû* "pure", the above-mentioned Old Assyrian mention of *anna za-gu-um* or *za-qu-um* (above, p. 45, n. 1) "purified", "pure tin"; cf. *ziq-qu tabtu* "clarified", "filtered fruit-juice".³ With regard to the *anna za-gu-um* of the Cappodocian tablets, Dr. E. Forrer calls my attention to RTC. 23, iii, 3 (age of Lugalanda): *mana urud EN-DA anna HU-SI-A* or *UD-A*, to be read with F. Delitzsch⁴ *anna šaqû*, which is obviously parallel to *anna zaqu-um*. The extreme variability of the orthography suggests that we have before us the various renderings of a non-Semitic "Asiatic"





¹ p. 97, n. 4 of my edition.

² Gesenius-Buhl. Hebr. Dict., ¹⁶, p. 197a.

³ Zehnpfund, Beitr. z. Ass., i, 634.

⁴ Sumer. Gloss., 45.







word. Indeed, if we think of *zi-ig-qu* or *zi-ig-qa* "hose", "wine-skin",¹ Aram. , Syr.  "hose", "wine-skin", that is evidently the *filtering-bag* or *straining cloth* used for the extraction of musk and fruit-juice, as illustrated by the Egyptian hieroglyphs *mḏd*² and *st* ,³ cf. Greek *σάκκος* "sack-cloth" = ⁴, Accad. *šakku*, Egypt *sq*, Copt. COR; *σακκέω* Herodot IV, ²³¹, "to put through sack-cloth," "to filter" = *σακελλίζω*—then it would seem that the word and the thing may have been learned by the Semites with the culture of the vine.⁵ The conclusion is supported by the fact that the *σάκκος*, the peculiar hair-cloth web used for filtering and purifying, is also called *cilicium*, that is, "Cilician" web, just as rough cloth is called "fries" = Friesian cloth in German. As we know from the Egyptian hieroglyph for "gold" *nub* , that a similar straining cloth was also used by the gold-washers for drying the "moist" gold dust (see above, p. 74, n. 35, on *kaspu laχū*), the adoption of the word into the technical language of the originally equally non-Semitic metallurgists⁶ is easily understood.

If  =  "pure" on the Serra Ilixi ingot is really, as I believe, a perfect synonym of the Hagia Triada mark   "pure", the fact would lead to important linguistic, palæographic and archæological conclusions.

¹ Sb. 199, *zi-ig* | ZIG | *zi-ig-qua*, Hommel, *Sum. Lesestücke*. Brünnow, 4690.

² See the different forms in Is. Levy's *Vocabulario, Geroglifico*, i, xcvii, No. 1264, and lxxvii, No. 962.

³ L. Borchardt, *MVAG.*, 1917, xxii, p. 345, n. 6.

⁴ Hebrew  could stand for Phœnician , the  for  being conformed to the specific Phœnician phonetism (Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, Berlin, 1916, p. 72, § 88, like  for ). Egyptian *sq* is an Asiatic loincloth.

⁵ *win* in the new "Canesian" Boghazköy texts, Greek *Φῶνος*, Arab. *wain*, Hebr. *yajn*. See on this class of Asianic words A. Cuny, *Rev. Ét. anc.*, xii, 1910, p. 161.

⁶ That all metal-names in the Semitic languages are foreign loan-words has been shown Kenit. *Weihinschr.*, pp. 74 f.

We knew already that the phonetism of the Phœnician language did distinguish orally the two Proto-Semitic sounds ḥ and ḥ , even up to the Greek period.¹ For the existence of a Phœnician ḍal , however, the new linguistic Hebrew Grammar of Bauer-Leander² could offer no proof, although the analogy of the two other "spirants" was a strong argument in favour of the hypothesis that the third phonism was also used. The $\text{ḍ} = \text{ḍq}$ on the Serra Ilixi ingot, compared with the orthography $\text{ṭ} = \text{zg}$ of the same word on the Hagia Triada sample, seems to prove definitely that the Phœnicians did distinguish, like the Arabs, between zā and ḍal , and were occasionally uncertain with which of the two sounds an uncertain foreign sound in a loan-word should be equated.

Palæographically the Serra Ilixi inscription seems to show that the Phœnician proto-alphabet was *not* the poor and *characteristically non-Semitic* series of 22 signs—with one sign for ḥ and ḥ , one sign for w and w , one sign for ṣ and ṣ , ḍ and ḍ , etc., but an alphabet similar to the early North and South Arabic and even to the Milesian series of 27 signs. The later excessive simplification, especially the confusion of such sounds as ḥ and ḥ —a characteristically West Aramean feature (H. Grimme)—would be due to growing phonetic insensibility of a population largely mixed with elements of those Asianic races, whose pronunciation made possible a script like the Cypriote syllabary, which does not distinguish between g , k , kh , b , p , etc.

Archæologically the different orthography of the "standard purity" mark on the Serra Ilixi and on the Hagia Triada ingot would suggest a different local origin for these two samples of primitive currency, a result

¹ Greek τύπος = Phœnician ṭuru . Plutarch, *vita Sullæ*, c. xvii, " $\text{θάρος Βοῦν Φοίνικες}$ " for Hebr. שור , Aram. תור , Arab. ṭaur = Phœnician ṭor .

² Halle a. S., 1918, p. 35a.

which accords perfectly with the fact that they belong to different weight-systems, and that they were found together with similar pieces bearing *different* alleged local trade-marks.

As to the general probability of the proposed alphabetic reading of all these marks, the reader is invited to consider the hypothesis as at least a working one. It offers a very simple and common-place explanation of four different biliteral and four different monogrammatic marks. The readings are in accordance with the established character of the objects that bear the signs and quite parallel to analogous later inscriptions on similar finds.

I cannot make up my mind to believe that such simple and in themselves so plausible results could be obtained on the basis of merely accidental similarities of non-alphabetic "Ægean" signs to the letters of the Semitic alphabet.

II.

THE ANCIENT TRADITIONS ABOUT THE INTRODUCTION OF THE "CADMEAN" ALPHABET.

1. *Kedmah and 'Erubah.*

The general historic probability of alphabetic inscriptions on objects found on the border-line of the so-called Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I, that is to say, dated with comparative certainty somewhere near the end of the Hyksōs period and the beginning of the 18th dynasty in Egypt—let us say about 1630 B.C.—would not have been willingly admitted a few years ago. But after the latest discoveries of quite a series of early Phœnician inscriptions dating back at least¹ to the 18th,

¹ Petrie's dates, dyn. 12, for the wooden "'Ahitob" inscription found in Kahun and for the scribings on black pottery sherds from the same mound have been vehemently attacked by v. Bissing, Sitz.-Ber. Bayr. Akad. Wiss., ph. h. Cl. 1920, 9, p. 12. He would rather place the

if not to the 12th dynasty,¹ it would, on the contrary, be very strange if other examples of this Proto-Phœnician script should not turn up, earlier or later, outside Egypt and Sinai.

There is, moreover, a remarkably close correspondence between these alphabetic controller's marks on copper ingots found in Crete and Mycenæ on the one hand, and certain Greek traditions about the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet into Hellenic lands on the other—a fact which I had, unfortunately, not yet realized when I first tried² to determine the age of the *Φοινικῆα γράμματα* among the Greeks.

It is well known that ancient scholars, beginning with Hecatæus and Dionysus of Miletus, Herodotus, Hellanicus, and Ephorus,³ almost unanimously attributed *the introduction of their alphabet and of the practical arts of mining and metallurgy*⁴ to Κάδμος, the Phœnician, and his followers.

Sinai inscriptions attributed by Gardiner to the age of Amenemmes III (dyn. 12) in the Amarna period. See, however, my reply in the Lehmann-Haupt sixtieth anniversary volume of the "Janus", vol. i, p. 18, n. 1. But even v. Bissing does not go lower than dyn. 18.

¹ **Q** inscription on Abydosvase dyn. 18, O. A. Wainwright, *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, 99; **ON**, **†N** and **EΠ** on Kahun potsherds; **𐤒𐤓𐤕** inscription on wooden tool from Kahun (dyn. 12 according to Petrie). See my *Kenit. Weihinschriften*, Freiburg, 1919, pp. 124 ff. and 172.

² p. 118 of my last-quoted book. Had I then known the Cretan copper *πελέκεις* I should not have thought of connecting the "Cadmean" colonization of the Ægean with the Amarna period on the basis of a too limited interpretation of the ethnological term *Kadmeioles*. The explicit palinode of this mistake is to be seen in the text above.

³ Ap. Bekker, *Anecd.* i, p. 783. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* i, p. 362. Herodot., 5, 58 f.

⁴ Hellanicus is probably the author on whose authority Aristotle (*Pseudepigr.*, ¹, p. 493, Rose, No. 105, cf. *ibid.*, p. 472) attributed in his *Θηβαίων πολιτεία* to "Cadmus" the working of the Theban quarries and mines (*Hygin.*, f. 274c; *Plin.*, N.H. 7, 57, 197) and the opening of the gold mines around the Pangaion (*Plin.*, l.c.; Clem. Alex., *strom.* i, p. 307b; *Demetr. Skeps.* in *Strabo*, 14, p. 680; *Callisthenes fr.* 29; *Gaede*, p. 20 M.). Herod., 6, 47, attributes to the Phœnician settlers the great Thasian gold mines at *Κοινοῦρα* and *Αἰνοῦρα*. Both names are

It is equally well known—although the old and plausible explanation has been unduly abandoned of late by the advocates of an absolute autochthonic *parthenogenesis* of Greek culture—that *Kádmos*¹ or *Kádmov*² is nothing else but the eponymous hero of the “Easterners”, “Eastmen”, “Levantines” (or “Orientals”),³ as the

indeed transparently Semitic; קִינָה אֹרֶרָה “fire-smithy” and עֵינן אֹרֶרָה “fire-pit” (for smelting). Ps. Dicæarch, fr. Paris. 12, Geogr. Graeci Min., i, 102, makes “Cadmus” build “water-tunnels” (σωληνες) leading down from the “Cadmean” acropolis of Thebes to a hidden fountain. Exactly such σωληνες are typical for the Canaanite fortresses at Jerusalem, Gezer, Gibeon, and Etam. See Dalman, *Palestina Jahrbuch*, 1915, p. 66.

¹ A god *ḫudmu* occurs in CT., xxii, pl. xv, l. 28f. Cf. the god “Oriens”, Cumont, *Text. Mon. Cult. de Mithra*, i, 128, *g. Kádmos*’ fighting against the dragon is parallel to the Babylonian god Marduk’s, i.e. the rising sun’s fight against Tihamat.

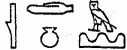
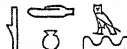
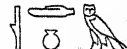

² Eustath. *Geogr. Gr. Min.*, ii, p. 289; Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἰαλόνια*. This form of the name is not “epical” (Crusius in Roscher’s *Lex. Myth.*, ii, 1, 852, l. 46; Fleck. *Ib.*, 143, 1891, p. 390), that is, due to the requirements of the hexameter, but corresponds to the Semitic קַדְמוֹנִי, nom. gentil., Gen. xv, 19, and קַדְמוֹן, *qadmōn*, = “eastern” (s. the relevant art. in *Ges.-Buhl.*,¹⁶ 702), Ez. xiv, 8. O. Crusius, whose article is generally quoted by the antagonists of the “Phœnician” etymology (thus again quite lately in Latte’s *Pauly-Wissowa* article on the subject, 1919), told me himself in 1908—he had just accepted for the “Philologus” Assmann’s paper on Semitic place-names in Crete—with his characteristic frankness that he was by no means sure whether his old Cadmus article was not fundamentally wrong on this point. Dussaud—certainly not a believer in Phœnician influence on Mediterranean culture—says quite correctly (*civ. Préhell.*,² p. 391): “la généalogie de Cadmus est un simple mythe ethnographique analogue à celui du chapitre x de la Genèse (filiations de Sem, Cham, Japhet). Les quatre enfants d’Agénor, fils lui-même de Libyë: Europe, Cadmus, Phœnix et Cilix sont de la géographie mise en mythes”; the same holds good of course also of Cadmus’ “brother” *Thasos* and of his wife *Ἀρμονία*, “queen of the Amazons” (see above, p. 43, n. 1), that is, the cuneiform *mat Armanu* = *Ἀρμήνη* or *Ἀρμένη*; ethnic *Ἀρμένιος* and eponym *Ἀρμόνιος*, Plut. *qu. symp.*, 9, 52 and the Thracian town *Ἀλμυνία-Mynias*.

³ Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*,² London, 1883, vol. ii, p. 19, has well compared the “Ostmen” (Danes) of Dublin and the name “Easterlings” given to the Lubeck merchants by the English of the fourteenth century, which survives in the name of the “pound (ea)sterling”, originally the Hanseatic coinage. Other good analogies are Old-German

Eastern or Syro-Phœnicians appear to have called themselves in opposition to the Western Cana'anites¹ of the Cretan, Peloponnesian, Sicilian, and Hispanic colonies,² that is to say in opposition to the Cana'anites or Phœnicians of

Osta-richi, "Eastern realm" = Austria, Francian "Austrasia", (opp. Neustria, Neustrasia), and the modern "Australia" (= Extreme Orient, far East). Also Japan, the "empire of the rising sun".

¹ Even in the days of S. Augustine, Bishop of African Hippo (Expos. in Epist. ad Rom. 13), the Carthaginian peasants called themselves still "*Chanani*, i.e. *Chananaeos*". It must not be objected that the name *Kadmeia* occurs as well in the West (Carthage, cf. Hygin, f. 178; Steph. Byz. s. *Καρχηδών*) as in the East (Thebes) for the legendary Cadmean colonies, for in both cases the *Kadmeia* is nothing else but the "original", the "old" town, from קדמ, "first," "old," "archaic," "primitive." Also in Egyptian documents the place-name *Kdm* (already in the Pyramid texts, N. 868, cf. W. M. Müller, MVAG., 1912, pp. 294 f.,

written  with the determinative of *kdm*, the foreign desert-mountain-land),  (Berlin Pap. 29),  (Kd-m-i'-land, Papyr. Ramess., 53),  (Kdm', Pap. Berl.

182, 219), the land of the Bedawin in the "East", where *Simhe* takes refuge (12th dyn.), refers to the *Kedmah* of the O.T., the Syrian and North Arabian desert.

² These colonies are far older than could be supposed hitherto before we knew—through E. Forrer's discovery (s. "Janus," vol. i, p. 21₂)—that the tin-lands of the West were part of the world-empire of Sargon I of Assur (2150 B.C.). But even if they were not older than Karthago, the "new town" (קרתחדשת), that is according to Philistos, one generation before the fall of Troy, or according to Timaios 814/3 B.C. (Meltzer, Gesch. d. Karth., ii, 149 ff.)—not to speak of *Utica*, עתיקה, the "old" town—this would be sufficient to account for the earliest mention of *Kadmeiores* in Homer (*Ilias*) and of their eponymous hero *Kadmos* in the *Odyssy*. In the native sources (inscriptions) of the Phœnicians no ethnic name whatever—not even *Cana'anî*, let alone *Phnîc*, *u-phônikes* or the like—is ever mentioned, as has often been noticed. In the O.T. the Benê *Kedem* or *Kedmah* or *Kadmonim* are the "Eastern" desert tribes on the other "Transjordanic" side of the "Arabah". It was a similar error of mine to apply this limited local sense of the term to the explanation of the *Kadmeiores* in Greek tradition (Kenit. Weihinschr., p. 119), as if a student of mediæval history should confuse Austrians (of the German "Ostmark") with the Austrasians of the Francian empire (opp. Neustria, Neustrasia).

the "West", the "sunset" or עֶרֶב, *Eṛṓpa*.¹ *Eṛṓpa* and Ἀσίη correspond exactly to עֶרְבֵי שָׁמֶשׁ² "sunset", and אֶצִּית שָׁמֶשׁ³, Assyrian *eribi šamši* and *aḫi-e šamši*⁴ "sunset"

¹ Cf. Hesych. s.v. *Eṛṓpa*: χάρα τῆς δύσεως ἢ σκοτεινῆς. See Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus², 1862, vol. ii, p. 70. Lewy, *Semit. Fremdw. i. Griech.*, 139. The apparent phonetic difficulty of the initial pseudo-diphthong of *Eṛṓpa*/η is not to be explained on the hypothesis that this *eu-* was pronounced like *eu* (-ō). It is the well-known *Eolian* digamma *F* before *p*. Cf. *ἔρρηκτος* = *ἔφρηκτος* for Attic *ἄρρηκτος* (Thumb), *Hdb. d. griech. Dialekte*, Heidelberg, 1909, 258). This accords perfectly with the tradition about the Cadmean settlements in the Ionic-Eolian northern parts of Greece (Thasos, Pangaion). The Greek π for Semitic 𐤀 is by no means unparalleled in loan-words (cf. *ὑσσώπος* = 𐤅𐤍𐤔, *κάρπασος* Lat. *carbasus*, Pers. *karbas* Skr. *karapāsa*, A. Cuny, *Rev. Ét. Grecqu.*, xii, 1910, 161 f.). As a matter of fact, the Greek π π̄ is palaeographically the ancient Arabic (and Qenite) 𐤀 π, while the Greek βῆτα β̄ is certainly the Proto-Arabic *mīm* 𐤀. As we know that the equivalence of *m*- and *b*- signs (cf. Merodach, Berodach, Mekka-Bekka, Meroë-Barua; *Λαμάρης* - *Λαβάρης*, *τερέβινθος* - *τέρμινθος*, *τρέμινθος*, etc.) is due to the occasional—specially Babylonian—*v*-pronunciation of *m* as well as of *b* (*bh*, *bét rafé*), it follows that the (later) Greek β̄ was pronounced *bh* or *v* (as in modern Greek) by the Pre-hellenic Aegean people—the Greeks themselves had no spirant *bh* at that time (Cuny, l.c., 155 f.)—who first adopted the Phœnician alphabet. The mythic abduction of "Europa" and the search for the goddess celebrated in Tyrus at the *κακή δύση* feast (Malal. Chron., ii, p. 31 Ddf.) refers to the heliacal setting of the evening star. It is a parallel to the Babylonian myth of Ištar's descent to Hades. In Crete the heroine is most appropriately married to one Asterios.

² Targumic, see Levy, *Nhbr. Wb.* iii, 693.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 236a.

⁴ Muss-Arnold, 84b: *itti a-ḫi-e šamši itti eribi šamši*, ii, R 18, 42. It is very characteristic that the Greek Ἀσίη—first derived from Assy. *aḫi* by Kiepert, *Hdb. d. alt. Geogr.*, 26—corresponds only to the *Babylonian* or *Assyrian* pronunciation of 𐤀𐤔, not to the Phœnician or Aramean phonism, just as we have the East Semitic *Bḫalos*—and no *Baal* of any kind—in the genealogy of Cadmus. The Phœnician form 𐤀𐤔𐤕—see the late Hebrew term, note 3—is, however, represented by the Egyptian equivalent of Ἀσία—thus Sethe, *MVAG.*, xxi, 1916, 330₂; it has nothing whatever to do with *Alaḫia*-*Aláḫso*-Cyprus, as v. Bissing has shown (*Statist. Taf. v. Karnak*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. xxxvii, 47)—

𐤀 𐤔 𐤕 𐤕 *jsii* (the 𐤕 because of *isj* "to go" = 𐤀𐤔 "to go out") and by Ἰαίη (read Ἰασίη!) sister of Φοίνιξ (= *Fnh-w* = "Phœnician") and wife of Ἀἴγυπτος in the genealogy of Agenor, *Kádmós*, etc. (Pherekyd. *Leros*, Schol. *Apoll.* 3, 1186, p. 478 K.). The Accadian pronunciation of

and "sunrise", the terms being perfectly analogous to the later Arabian names *al Gharb*—Portuguese *Al-garve Algaroes*—and *Ma-ghreb* (=Morocco); *aš Šam*, "the North" (ancient *Sam'al*, North Syria), *al Jemen*, "the South" (South Arabia), *the Levant*,¹ מִשְׁרָק—hence Σαρακηνολί—*for the "four quarters" of a Semitic world-empire.* Similarly the later Jews were wont to distinguish between the Palestinian "Westerners"² בְּנֵי מִעֶרְבָא and their Babylon correligionists, the "Easterners", or אנשי מִזְרָח בְּנֵי מְדִינָה.³

On the basis of this well-established explanation of Κάδμος and the *Kadmeioi*, the tradition about the *Kadmeia γράμματα* or *Φοινικῆα* being introduced into the western world, together with the arts of mining and metal smelting, by Phœnician prospecting colonies, receives a most striking confirmation from the discovery of copper ingots with alphabetic controller's marks, and weights in agreement with Babylonian standards as recovered from the soil of Crete, Mycenæ, and even Sardinia.

The tradition accords also perfectly—as Taylor has well seen (l.c.)—with the fact that Crete, Melos,⁴ and Thera,⁵ the traditional "Cadmean" stations, can boast of

Βῆλος and Ἀσίη is a *vestigium* of the Assyrian dominion over Asia Minor and the whole Ægean in the time of Sargon I of Assur (2150 B.C.), see above, p. 65₂). It should also be noticed that the *v* in the name Λιβύη—the third continent of ancient Ionic geography—presupposes the -*w* plural of Egyptian *Rb-w*; the corresponding singular will be found in *Libs* or *Libs*, the god of the south-western, the Libyan or African wind (cf. *Scirocco*, the wind from šrq!) beside *Libus*, the eponymous hero of Libya.

¹ Cf. Gesen. Buhl., ¹⁶, 794b, s.v. מִשְׁרָק, ii.

² Niddah, 51b; Levy, l.c., iii, 195b.

³ זְרָה and זְרָח (=Σαρακηνολί) occurs also in the OT. as a clan-name (Gen. xxxvi, 13–17, in the list of Edomite tribes), which is quite parallel to *bene Kedem*.

⁴ On the Phœnician colonization of Melos compare Thukyd., v, 81-Steph. Byz., s.v. Μῆλος, on the island being originally called Βύβλις from its Phœnician colonists.

⁵ Cadmean settlement on Thera, Herodot., iv, 147. "Seriphos," where iron is produced in quantity even nowadays, is probably

the most archaic Greek inscriptions. Indeed, the hoary antiquity of the Mesa Vouno and Exomiti funerary inscriptions¹ has been considerably *underrated* until now, and I should not hesitate, in the light of the recent discoveries, to date them back into the period of the first Dorian settlement² on the island of Thera. In my opinion there is no longer the slightest reason to deny the historic possibility of stone and bronze inscriptions of the period of the Dorian invasion, such as are mentioned by Tacitus (Ann. 4, 43). On the contrary, it is quite probable that, while the highly civilized Prehellenic inhabitants of the Cretan palaces did *not* give up their own quite satisfactory, probably syllabic *Πελασγικά γράμματα*,³ that

Phœnic. *Sarephat* = "smithy" (cf. German "Essen"). It is mentioned as a Cadmean colony by Tzetzés Lycophr., 1206.

¹ Taylor, loc. cit., ii, 29 f.

² Cf. the name *Δορείς* on Taylor's No. 1. The monuments do not contain any intrinsic chronological features.

³ The use of *Πελασγικά γράμματα* are attributed to "Linus"—the mythic hero of the flax-durge—to Orpheus and to Homer's alleged teacher Pronapides of Athens by Diodor., iii, 67 (an Alexandrian of the second century B.C., after Dionys. Skythobrachion). As he mentions and amply quotes *Διονύσου πράξεις*, written with these signs by "Linus", there must have existed a Pseudepigraphon with this title, which pretended to be copied from an old original in "Pelasgic script", even as the original of the forged "Dictys Cretensis" is said to have been written in "Punic characters" in the Latin preface of the alleged translator and editor. Diodor., l.c., and Zeno Rhodiensis (Bekker, anecd. Gr., ii, 784, l. 24ff., cf. Diod., v, 58) identify the "Pelasgic script" with the *Φοινικία γράμματα*, differing only in so far as the one author attributes the real invention of them to "Kadmos", while the Rhodian local antiquarian makes the Phœnician learn it from the Pelasgians and reintroduce it under their own name in Hellas, where the memory of it had been destroyed by the Deucalionic flood. The Cretan grammarian Lukios of Tarrha (Zenobios, Leutsch 4, 45, s.v. *Καδμία ρίκη*) also knows of a rival script invented by Linus—according to Cretan antiquarians a native of Apollonia Cretensis (Steph. Byz., s.v. *Απολλώνια*)—which "Kadmos" is said to have suppressed by "killing" Linos. As is presupposed in the first quoted theories, the Cretan linear script A—dated between 1800 and 1400 B.C. by Sir Arthur Evans—has, indeed, a certain resemblance in some signs (as $\Psi \oplus \Theta \equiv \Xi \equiv \epsilon$) with the alphabet (comparative table in Dussaud, civ. ², pl. xii), while the later

is, the developed linear systems A and B of Sir Arthur Evans' "Scripta Minoa", for the Phœnician alphabet, until the final decline of their incomparably brilliant national culture (end of Late Minoan III) any more than they ever accepted the Babylonian and Egyptian scripts, and any more than the early Cyprians exchanged their old Asianic syllabary for the *Φοινικία γράμματα* of the Syrian invaders—so the *illiterate immigrants* from the North¹ were only too glad to accept the Phœnician alphabet wherever they came into contact with the Canaanite trading and mining settlements of the Ægean, just as they took over the Cypriote script when they landed in ancient Alas̄ia.

The variations between the different local alphabets of the Dorian colonies in Crete and the islands, and in the Peloponnesos, which have been used as a chronological argument in order to prove that the alphabet was *not* introduced into Greece before the Dorian colonization,² can easily be understood as Prehellenic local variations of the time-honoured "Cadmean" script accepted *tale quale* by the analphabetic invaders.

2. The Phœnician Terminology of Writing.

It should also be observed that all the Greek terms for writing materials are of the same characteristically *Phœnician*—not only generally Semitic—origin as the well-known sign-names of the Greek alphabet.³ That

script B is again more pictographic. Only when we know the phonetic value of the *Πελάσγικα* shall we be able to say how far the coincidence with the Phœnician signs is accidental or not.

¹ Schuchhardt, *Alt. Europa*, Strassburg, 1919, p. 232.

² Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, ii, 281.

³ Nöldeke, *Beitr.*, i, 58₂, and 136, has proved that the dark vowel of *lōta*—the Phœnician *kōmes*—is characteristic only of the *Cananean* dialect. Cf. *Kenit. Weihinschr.*, p. 37, on **𐤌**—with the *vowel-sign* 𐤌, as I shall develop at greater length in the chapter on *matres lectiones* and *original vowel-signs* of the Proto-alphabet—for **𐤌** on the Sinai Sphinx, Gardiner-Peet, No. 345. As to the *τ* instead of the expected *δ*—*iōda* in Coptic—it is easily explained from the Babylonian rules of sign

πάπυρος, Mishnic פפירוס, is the Egyptian *p3-p3-ıdr*, "that from the Nile" (G10OP, Hebr. פפיר for old Egyptian *ıtr*), has already been observed by Bondi¹ and W. M. Müller.² The same term—only without the more recent use of the Egyptian definite article, *p3*—is the Babylonian word for paper,³ *niyaru*,⁴ late (Babylonian) Hebrew פפיר that is, H G10OP "from the river". The fact that the Greeks got their paper from the Phœnician export-harbour Byblos⁵ accounts for the words *Βύβλος*, *Βίβλος*, surviving in the customary title of the Book of Books. It is a term like our "Imperial Japan" for the famous art-paper.

Χάρτης, Χάρτη. Lat. charta, our "chart" and "card" is obviously a feminine form of חֲרֻט "writing" (Is. viii, 1)—this, and not "leaf of paper", being, indeed, the original meaning of the Greek term.⁶

Διφθέρα—the very word used by Herodotus (5, 58) in connexion with the introduction of the *Καδμήια γράμματα* for the sheep and goat-skins used by Greek and Oriental

nomenclature. **ıwδ-τα* is a "two-value sign-name" for a sign with the values ID/T and T/DA. The interpretation of the final *-a* in *ἄλφα βῆτα* as an *Aramean status emphaticus* is quite obsolete. This *a* is the accusative *-a* frequently met with in the corresponding Babylonian lists of sign-names (Christian, MVAG., xviii, 1913, p. 41) beside the regular nominative *-u* and (rarer) genitive *-i*, which we find both adopted in the second half (*ıwδ*, *ıwv*, *ıwδ*) of the Greek sign-list.

¹ Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Spr., xxx, 1892, 64.

² Encycl. Bibl., 3556.

³ Papyrus manufactured from papyrus plants of the Euphrates near Babylon is mentioned by Pliny, n.h., xiii, 73.

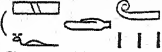
⁴ Zimmern, akk. Lehnw. Leipz. Progr., 1914, p. 19.

⁵ The homonymous place in the Egyptian delta (Ctesias, 33) is probably an old *fondaco* of the Byblian papyrus trade, since no native Egyptian place-name is known which could be transcribed as *Βίβλος* into Greek letters. The well-known Osirian myth seems to indicate that great papyrus rafts were floated down the Nile and by means of the natural current, which is still choking the Phœnician harbours with Nile mud, up the coast to Byblos, where the export-manufactures seem to have flourished.

⁶ Josephus speaks, e.g. of *μολυβδινὰ χαρτὰ*, "writings on lead," (not = "tin-foil!" "Stanniolpapier" in German).

writers¹ instead of papyrus, but elsewhere applied to every kind of writing material and surviving in the form *دفتر* *defter*, "document," "register," "book," throughout the whole Orient²—has no satisfactory etymology in Greek.³ As we have, however, in Hesychios the characteristic gloss *διψάρα* *διφθέρα*, *δέλτος*, and as we know (above, p. 61, n. 1) the Phœnician form *θῶρ* for Hebr. *šōr*, it is easy to see that *διψάρα* (= *διφ-σάρα*) and *διφ-θέρα* are but two different Greek transliterations for DUB-SAR (also DIM-SAR—for *div-sar*?)⁴, also Hebrew *שפסר* *šip̄h-sar*⁵ (Jerem. li, 27,


¹ Babylonian scribes writing on vellum scrolls are reproduced by Messerschmidt, *Or. Lit. Zeit.*, 1906, c. 187. Cf. Schroeder, *Zeitschr. f. Assy.*, xxx, 91. On the *amel* Kuš-SAR "scroll-writer" mentioned in the Warka-texts of the Seleucid era (VAT 9183, VAS, xv, 6) see Schroeder, *OLZ.*, xx, 1917, 204, where reference is made to the Assur-texts VAT 10497 (KAV, i, No. 76), with records of white ox- and sheepskins delivered to certain priests, temple- and city-scribes (*amel* ABA *bit* *li* and *amel* ABA *ali*). Egyptian writing on leather scrolls

( šfd. w) seems to be first mentioned under Thutmosis III (Sethe, *Urk.*, iv, 661, 14-662, 6); cf. A. Alt., *Paläst. Jahrb.*, x, 1914, p. 93. Cf. R. Pietschmann in *Dziatzko's Sammlung biblioth. Arb.*, viii, 107.

² Cf. G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 269; Herzfeld, *Klio*, viii, 97. *Βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι* of the Royal Persian Record Office, Ctesias ap. Diod., ii, 32. A "defterdar" is a functionary concerned with "defter", a "defter-holder" or "-keeper", a "keeper of records" or "chancellor". In Abyssinian *deftera* = *homo literatus* (vulg. *debtera*, a canon of Levitic descent, a precentor; see Dillmann, *Lex. Aeth.*, s.v.) is certainly not derived through the medium of the Greek language, but through the Sabæan directly from DUB-SAR (kind communication of Dr. E. Hommel).

³ See Boisacq's *Etym. dict.*, Heidelberg, 1916, s.v. p. 191. Derivation from *δέψειν* "tanning", does not explain the vowel *i*, not to speak of the supposed *-ερα -αρα* affirmative.

⁴ Muss-Arnold, c. 265a, line 2, DIM-SAR "Nabium."

⁵ The equation is due to Lenormant. See P. Leander, *Sum. Lehnworte im Assy.*; *Akad. Abh.* Upsala, 1913, p. 8. The  is due to the late Assyrian change of *tu* into *ti*. The vowel in DUB was probably slightly deadened (French *u*), since *duppu*, "tablet," becomes *ti-pi* (read *ti-vi*) in Mitannian and Elamitic (Hüsing, *OLZ.*, 1900, 402) and *dip*, "to write," in ancient Persian; hence—from *duppani*, "tablets"—*divan*, "chancery," Skr. *dippi*, "document" (also *tif-nar*, Libyan for "writing", "letters",

Nah.iii,17), of which the one with θ is typically Phœnician,¹ if it is not a late loan-word acquired through the medium of the Persian (Aramean) chancery-language,² where e.g. Aššur is written Atura. A vellum scroll may possibly have been called *kuš düpsara*³ "skin of the tablet-writer," which proves that the "scroll-writer" proper, *kuššaru*, is a later (perhaps foreign) figure in the Babylonian chancery, even as e.g. the Greek language uses the term *χαλκεύς* of the bronze age also for the later iron and goldsmith. This would be translated into Greek as **δέρρις διψάρα* or *διφθέρα*, and naturally tend to a fore-shortening into the technical term *διψάρα* or *διφθέρα* without the appellative.

In the Cyprian gloss *διφθεράλοιφος γραμματοδιδάσκαλος* (Hesych.), the second part of the composite word has nothing to do with *ἀλείφω*, "to smear," "to oil,"⁴—as if "parchment-smearer"—but is obviously a Paël of the Semitic root *אָלַף* "to teach", "to educate". A *diph-bar'aleph* is a "tablet-writing teacher".

is *tup-pi nari*, "(clay) tablets and stone-(tablets)." Cf. Tell Amarna Letters, London, 17, 36, *anna tup-bi u narišu.*) Also South Arabian
 ◇ □ *tp* = "tablet".

¹ The resulting pronunciation *jār* for SAR compares well with Semitic *אָרַח* "to draw", "to delineate". This may well be a Sumerian loan-word from SAR, "to write," and proves that one of the four graphically undifferentiated Sumerian stems written SAR is really to be pronounced *thar*. DIB-SAR, translated "writing utensils" by Hommel, PSBA., 1893, xv, 292, should probably be read LU-SAR, "sheep-worth," and is a vegetable, as Professor Hommel kindly tells me.

² See n. 2 on previous page.

³ The final *a* is the regular Sumerian genitive-suffix (*casus obliquus* sign). As Sumerian SAR alone would mean "write" and "writer," and as the irregular syntactic position—like E-A for A-E *ʾAš*—is not unfrequent under the later Semitic influence, DUB-SARA could itself mean "writer's tablet" or "writing-tablet". But in extant texts it always means "writer of the tablet", "tablet-writer".

⁴ The supposed analogy of Lat. *littera* from *lino* is an equally inadmissible etymology. See Walde, ², s.v., p. 436. Neither has *littera* anything to do with *διφθέρα*, as has been supposed. I think it might after all prove to be an -ar plural of Etruscan *litu-us* "staff" (K. O. Müller, Etr., ii, 211) like *stafs*, *Buch-staben*; Egyptian *md'w ntr*, "staffs of the gods" = hieroglyphs.

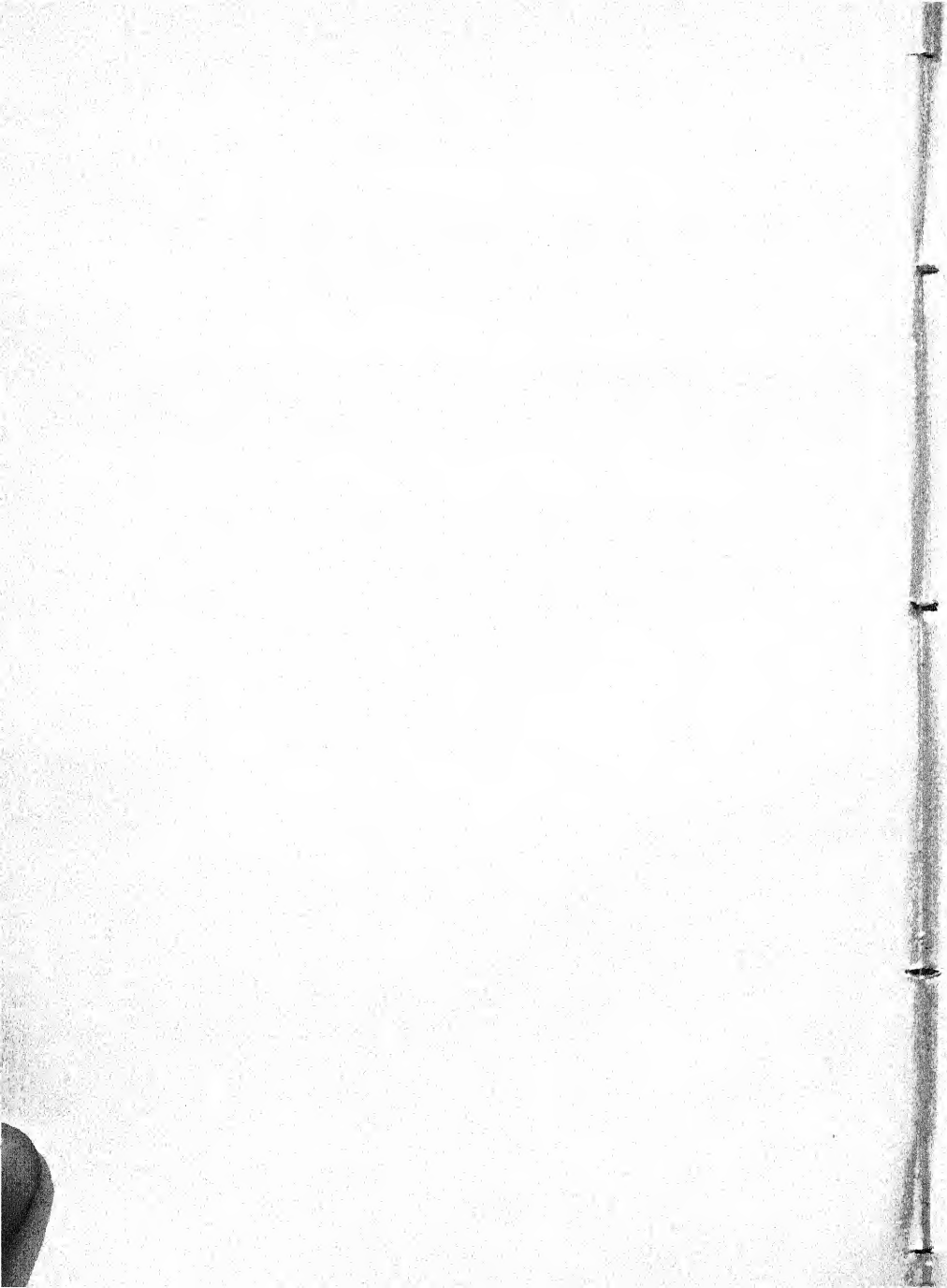
So also δέλτος, Cyprian δάλτος, the folding writing-tablet (Greek δίπτυχον) in its characteristic form is nothing else than the Semitic דלת "dalt", the expression *daltain*, "door-wings," being a regular Hebrew word for the *columns* of a book.

Even the word ῥυσμοὶ τῶν γραμμάτων for the figures (σχήματα)¹ of the Cadmean letters which is used by Herodotus, l.c. and Democritus,¹ is absolutely unexplicable, in spite of E. Petersen's efforts² on the basis of Greek roots like ῥέω, *ῥύω, ῥύζω, but is simply the שרשם, the "drawing" or "figure" of the letter (vowels like in *Rusaddir* or in *rušū* of the Amarna letters for רשם or in *suffētes* for שפטים), as my friend the Rev. Dr. Eberhard Hommel first pointed out to me in 1918. The variants ῥυσμοί and ῥυθμοί, are exactly parallel to διψάρα-διφθέρα.

¹ Diels, *Fragm. Vorsokr.*, ², p. 359, 35 (Demokritos).

² Rythmus, *Abh. Gött. Gesellsch.*, 1916, No. 1.

(To be continued.)



Further Notes on Baburiana

By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE

I. THE IDENTITY OF THE "BUKHĀRĀ BĀBUR-NĀMA"

II. PATERNAL COUNSELS ATTRIBUTED TO BĀBUR IN A BHOPAL MS. [Dec. 1922].

I

*Description of the "Bukhārā Bābur-nāma"*¹

THE full story of the Turki book on which, in Kehr's Codex, Ilminski based his *Bābur-nāma* (1857) is a very comedy of blameless error and mischance, primarily due to textual poverty; it has yet to be told but is too long for admission in the *Journal*; hence the purpose of this article is restricted to showing, on the evidence of its colophon and contents, that it is not the *Bābur-nāma* proper it passed for in Europe from 1725 to 1903, but is a work of independent authorship, plan, and date.

Its colophon, which is preserved by the "Senkovski *Bābur-nāma*" (*JRAS.* 1900, p. 474), is to the following purport: "*Known and entitled Wāqī'-nāma-i-pādshāhi (Record of Royal Acts) this script and composition of Mullā 'Abdū'l-wahhāb-akhrund of Ghaj-davān in Bukhārā—God pardon his mistakes and the weakness of his endeavour!—was finished on Monday, August 31st, 1709 (Rajab 5, 1121). Thank God!*"

As Kehr shows the book it is a Compilation planned to contain the histories of *Bābur* and *Humāyūn*; as Ilminski's rescension shows it, it is a History of *Bābur*, in varied diction, true to fact but supplemented by alien items. Being a rare book, it should be described here somewhat in detail in order to preserve a record of what its author made it. To thus describe it has been made practicable by the presence on loan

¹ For economy of space reference is asked to the *Babur-nama* in *English* and to my earlier Notes (*JRAS.* 1900-2-5-6-7-8(ii)-9).

to the India Office, through many years, of Kehr's autograph Codex. Its contents are as follows :—

A. PRELIMINARY ITEMS

1. Memo. concerning the purchase of Kehr's archetype (1714): "*I, Tīmūr-pulād, son of Mīrzā Rajab, son of Pāy-chīn, bought this Bābur-nāma book after coming to Bukhārā with the Russian Florio Beg Beneveni, envoy of the Pādshāh*" (Peter the Great) "*whose army is numerous as the stars. . . . May it be well-received! Amen! O Lord of both Worlds!*"

2. A letter dispatched on 3rd January, 1527, by Bābur to Kāmrān; it is not known elsewhere (*B. in E.*, p. 544; *JASB.*, Vol. XV, 1919, H.B.'s trans.), verses and another letter (?) (*JRAS.* 1908, p. 828).

B. PART I. BĀBUR-NĀMA

3. Memo. of a transfer of Kāmrān's Codex of his Father's book, in 1550, to a victor, presumed by its presence in Bukhārā in 1709, to be his Aūzbeḡ opponent of 1550 (*JRAS.* 1908, p. 828; 1909, p. 452; and Klaproth's articles).

4. Compiler's Preface of Praise.

5. Bābur's Acts in Farghāna, introduced by a few alien lines, and in singular diction, seemingly due to retranslation into Turki of the Persian text of 1589, employed to piece together tatters of Kāmrān's Codex (No. 9; see *JRAS.* 1908, p. 87, for example).

6. Spurious "Rescue-passage" attributable to Jahāngīr (*B. in E.*, Preface, xlv, and App. D).

7. Babur's Acts in Kābul, retranslated like No. 5, but having a sounder Turki basis.

8. Spurious passage about Hindāl's adoption (*B. in E.*, App. L).

9. A few lines of Bābur's own Hindustān Section, much damaged and thus indicating the condition of Kāmrān's Codex in 1709. Near their page is a fragment about a Feast.

10. The "Fragments" of discussion, a continuous passage translated from the *Akbar-nāma* winding up Bābur's story to

his death and Court (Ilminski's Preface, (*trans.*) *JRAS.* 1900 ; Teufel, *ZDMG.* 1883 ; A.N. *trans.*, cap. xix ; De Courteille, vol. ii, pp. 443-64 ; *JRAS.* 1908, p. 76 ff.).

Here in Kehr's volume follow a few pages blank, except for a Library-mark, (trans.) "Here end the writings of Shah Babur."

C. PART II. THE HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA

11. Compiler's Preface of Praise, followed by several brief notices of Khāns and Sultāns, leading down to "*Bābur Mīrzā who was the Father of Humāyūn Pādshāh*". Of Bābur what is said concerns the battle of Ghaj-davān (1512) and reads like local tradition, known to the Ghaj-davāni Compiler.

12. Under the heading "*Humāyūn Pādshāh*" is an account (presumably) of his Accession Feast ; it breaks off after a short while, and with its lost pages may have gone the story of Humāyūn's expulsion from Hindustān, exile, and efforts for the upper hand.

13. The last item in the Compilation is the surprising one of a good copy of Bābur's authentic Hindustān Section, apparently taken by the Mullā to describe Acts of Humāyūn, because it bears the scribe's date 1714, Kehr copied from his archetype, and because the tattered No. 9 is replaced, not by it, but by the Akbar-nāma Fragment.¹

On the fly-leaves at the end of Kehr's volume stand a quatrain in his large script, a library memo. of pages in 1825, and the signature of "Fr. v. Adelung", the then Director of the F.O. School.

ILMINSKI'S BĀBUR-NĀMA (1857)

Ilminski, primarily a missionary and teacher, wishing to publish a Turki reading-book, constructed one containing a History of Bābur by using from Kehr's Codex (my) Nos. 5, 6, 13 and the spurious passages Nos. 4, 6, 8, guiding himself entirely by the L. and E. *Memoirs* (1826). The "*Fragments*" (No. 10) he relegated to the end of his volume ; and he omitted

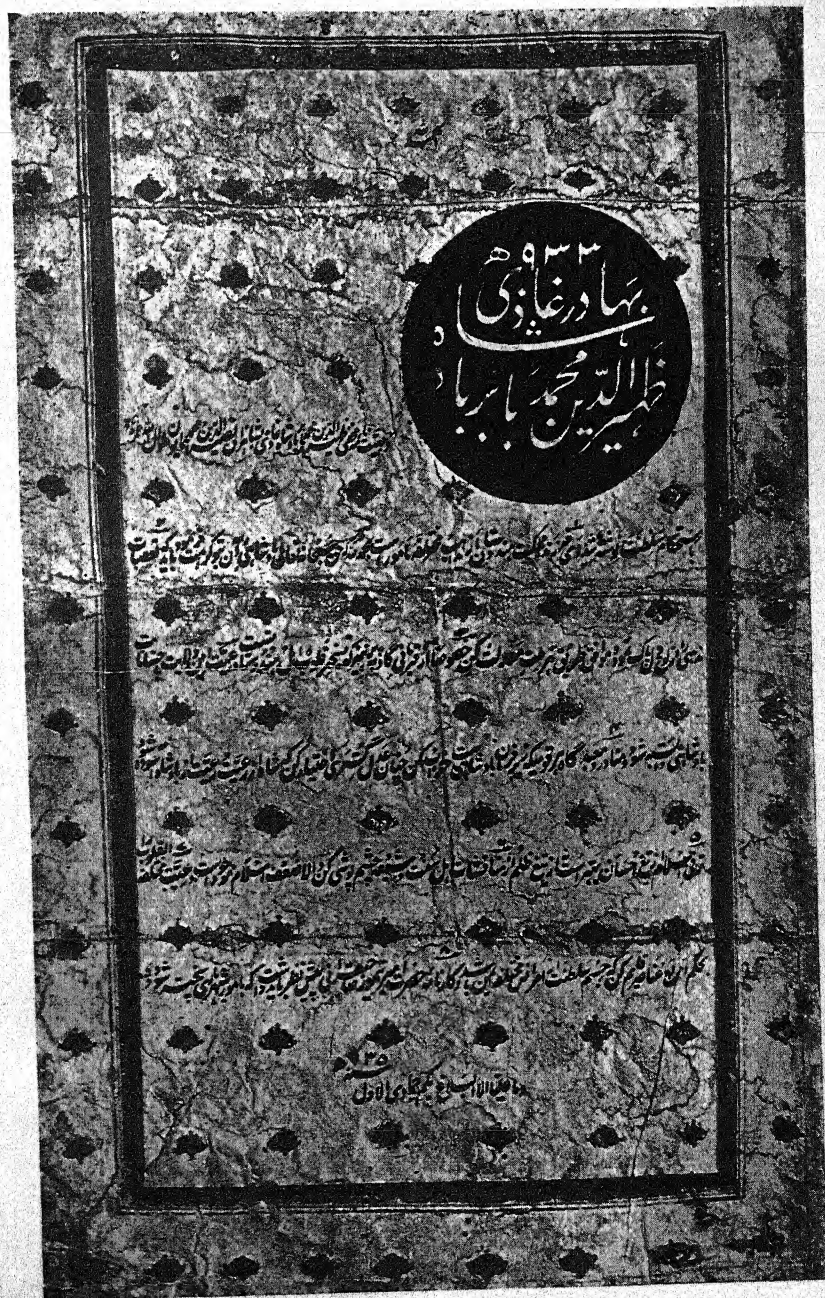
¹ Perhaps the order of the *Senkovski Bābur-nāma* varies from Kehr's ; nothing valid leads to this surmise however.

the whole of the Mullā's Humāyūn-nāma, Preface and compositions. Looking as he did towards a reading-book, his drastic procedure was justifiable but it effectively hid the *Wāqī'-nāma-i-pādshāhi*, and, over and above this, led to an over-estimate of his text by those unable to learn what his enlightening Russian Preface tells of his doubts and his doings. He did not know what book he was using in Kehr's Codex ; he never saw a true text of Bābur's, never saw the Mullā's colophon. Not even in 1883-5 does he appear to have seen that useful entry of Senkovski's, since he makes no reference to it in the Proceedings of the Russian Imperial Academy (*Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk* 46) to which he frequently contributed. The Senkovski MS. was sent to him at that time and returned to Petrograd in March, 1885, but he was then occupied with the publication of another work (on Translation), and appears not to have taken up the completion he was asked by the Kazan Academy to undertake, viz. that of Senkovski's list of variants (1858) between his autograph copy of the *Wāqī'-nāma* and Ilminski's Imprint. The whole of the incident of the variants is an episode in the comedy of blameless error and mischance.

II

The Bhopal Wasīyat-nāma-i makhfi

The document shown opposite, somewhat under its full size (5 × 8 in.), belongs to the Bhopal State Library and purports to contain secret exhortations of Bābur to Humāyūn. It was sent for the consideration of the Royal Asiatic Society by Colonel Luard, who gave the following particulars about it. When the starting of the now fine Bhopal Library was advertised, MSS. were brought in from all sides, and amongst them was this *Wasīyat-nāma*, which was then purchased from an indigent Tonk Musalman, who stated that it had been for some time in his family and had been obtained from Dihli. As, if genuine, it would add to recognized Babur-writings, it has been examined from the Bābur-nāma view-point and also from that





of experts in literary technicalities, Mr. A. G. Ellis and Mr. Ghulam Yazdani taking the greater part, but also by Sir T. Arnold, Mr. L. D. Barnett, Mr. 'Abdu'l-majid Belshāh, Mr. E. Edwards, and Sir E. D. Ross. The results are embodied in this Note.

Unfortunately we have not seen the original document; hence no opinion is offered about the date of paper or the cause of defects in the rectangular enclosure of the script. The script itself suggests rather the eighteenth than the sixteenth century (Mr. E. E.); it is Indian *nasta'liq* of poor quality, seeming the work of one accustomed to write the *naskhi*; its crowding up to make *nasta'liq* is greatly exaggerated and rather unnatural (Mr. A. G. E.).

The contents of the page divide into two parts, the first formed by the invocation, seal, descriptive heading, and foot-entry; the second containing the *Waṣīyat-nāma-i makhfi* itself.

Part I. (a) The seal differs by its great size, over-clear *naskhi* script, abbreviated Hijra-sign, redundant titles, and omission of paternal descent from Bābur's authentic ones in the regal Shāh-nāma Codex owned by our Society. Its legend runs *Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥ. Bābur Bādshāh Bahādur Ghādhi* [sic] H. 933. Bābur's known seal bears *Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥ. Bābur Bahādur ibn Sl. 'Umar-shaikh Kūrkan* 900 (?); other family seals from the same Codex bear *Humāyūn bin Muḥ. Bābur Bādshāhu'l-Ghāzi* and *Jahāngīr Shāh bin Akbar Shāh*. The "*Bahādur*" of the *Waṣīyat-nāma* is an anachronism after Bābur's assumption of the higher title Pādshāh in 913-1506.

The *naskhi* of the seal resembles the *nasta'liq* of the text; the seal and heading are linked by a common error in spelling "Ghadhi" (*zāl* for *zā'e*); the seal and foot-entry are linked by the use in both of the abbreviated "Hijra", which is in common use in the later Arabic writings (Mr. A. G. E.). The items of Part I, seal included, appears to be from one hand.

(b) The heading thus translates: (*These*) *secret exhortations* of *Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥ. Bābur Bādshāh Ghādhi* [sic] were written

for (or to) *Shāh-zāda Naṣīru'd-dīn Humāyūn*, (God grant him long life!) for the consolidation of the Sultanate. It contains two things disassociating it from Bābur's compositions:—(1) its use of titles, he using none for himself or his sons; (2) he mentions the Timūrid style as *Mīrzā* (*B.N.* in p. 344). Jahāngīr used *Shāh-zāda* in posthumous titles for his brothers.

(c) The foot-entry translates:—*And only its announcement is incumbent on us, Jan. 11th, 1529 (Jumāda I. 1, 935; Qoran, cap. xxxvi, v.16; Sir T. A.).* Does its imperfect "H. 9" indicate an underlying date of Jahāngīr's reign, i.e. 1035? It is not apparent from the Bābur-nāma record why, where, or when secret exhortations should be made to Humāyūn at all; still less why they should be announced—by and to whom?—on Jumāda I. 1, 935 A.H., when Humāyūn was operating against Samarkand and Bābur allotting sites in his Dulpur Garden. Moreover, if the *waṣīyat-nāma* were a dying charge, its date is premature, Babur not dying until 26th December, 1530.

Part II. A primary obstacle to the acceptance of the *Waṣīyat-nāma* as composed by Bābur is its Persian form; this cannot be explained as a translation from Bābur's Turki because of the non-Bābur-like character of its contents. The eight exhortations thus translate:—(1) O Son! The realm of Hindustan is peopled by various creeds. Almighty God be praised that he confers its sovereignty on thee. (2) Thou must cleanse the tablet of thy heart from sectarian bigotries and do justice according to the custom of each creed. (3) Above all, abstain from sacrificing cows; thus will the hearts of Hindustanis be won and the peasants be made loyal by the royal bounty. (4) Destroy not the temples or worshipping places of any tribe under the royal rule; thus shall the Shāh be satisfied with the peasant, the peasant with the Pādshāh (cf. *B.N. in E.*, pp. 281-2). (5) Islām is advanced better by the sword of kindness than the sword of oppression. (6) Close the eye to the disagreements of Sunni and Shi'a; otherwise the rift in Islām is made manifest. (7) Control thy

many-minded subjects by the Four Elements ; thus will the body of the Sultanate be freed from various distemper. (8) Let (him) keep before his eyes His Highness Amīr Tīmūr Šāhib-qirānī's *Kār-nāma* so that he may become expert in government affairs.

Comments on the exhortations.—Sect. 1. No sovereignty was conferred on Humāyūn before his father's death in 937-1530. 2. The "bigotries" of e.g. Akbar's day were Musalman fidelities in Bābur's. 3. This prohibition suits better the time when treaties of Pādshāh and Rāja contained agreement against the sacrifice of cows in Rajput territory. 4. In 935 A.H. was completed Bābur's Mosque built on part of the site of an ancient Adjodhya temple. 8. This section appears to have another than pacific origin ; hence perhaps its change from direct to indirect imperative (if it be not a grammatical error). It is disassociated from Bābur because he writes uniformly (*ex. excp. B.N. in E.*, p. 256) plain "Timur Beg" without posthumous title ; also because he mentions no book entitled *Kār-nāma* is this the *Zafar-nāma* ? or the *Malfūzāt* of Shāh-jahān's reign ? Whatever it be, a History of Timur's Battles is a strange text-book for pacific exhortations !

Further linguistic defects.—1. 2, *bāstihkām* for *ba istihkām*(?) ; *māmūr* for *mā'mūr* ; *ba hamdu'l-lāh*, vulgar ; Sect. 2 has its first clause verbally misarranged ; Sect. 4, *manādir* as used in Hindustani but not in Ar. or Pers. (is it for Pers. *manawar*, idol-temple, Steingass ?) ; *ma'bad-gāh* for *'ibadat-gāh* ; Sect. 8, *qirānī* for *qirān*. ; foot-entry, *yakam*, rare in dates ; etc.

In conclusion, one cannot but ask where the document was when archives and memories were searched for Abu'l-fazl's help in 996-1587, and where it has been hidden so long ?

Not to appear discourteous, through omission to argue against the view of the Bhopal Librarian Mr. Ghosal—kindly communicated to me by Colonel Luard—that the Persian form of the document argues in its favour because Persian

was the language of civilization and literature and because Humāyūn kept close to Persian traditions having lived much in Persia, I mention two matters of fact negating this argument, firstly, that in Bābur's time and before and after it, Timūrid families attained a high degree of culture in the arts, literature included; and secondly, that Humāyūn's residence in Persia, being in 950-1544, does not affect the question of the document of 935-1529. To both Bābur and Humāyūn Persian was a second home-tongue; they had constant companionship in childhood with Persians; they read great Persian books; their proficiency argues against accepting as genuine a document so defective as the *Waṣīyat-nāma-i makhfi*. Not to accept it is a matter of regret, for who would not welcome new sayings of Bābur Pādshāh?

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ORNAMENTAL KUFIC

Dr. S. Flury remarks, in his instructive article on this subject in the issue of April last (p. 364), that "the highly developed script of Kisimkazi [Zanzibar] is not only unique on the African coast, but also on the Asiatic continent". This recalls to my mind an article I wrote in the *Indian Antiquary* as long ago as 1885 (vol. xiv, p. 181) on a Modern Ornamental Kufic Alphabet from Kabul, containing a facsimile of an alphabet found (on the 12th October, 1879) on a slip of paper lying on the floor of one of the rooms in the Amir's palace at Kabul during the Second Afghan War, 1879-80. It afterwards found its way into the possession of the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, who handed it over to me for explanation. It is interesting in reference to Dr. Flury's paper, as it shows, not only the spread eastwards, but the continuance of the script to the present day. I take it that the alphabet in question was drawn up as a sample or *memoria technica* for use in buildings being, or likely to be, erected in Afghanistan as lately as 1880.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MOUNT DELLY, THE RAT HILL

One of the difficulties of modern Indian research lies in the number of competent Indian scholars at work on the subject, so that the ink on your manuscript is hardly dry before a statement on any specific point becomes liable to correction by someone else. In the April issue of this *Journal* I had some remarks to make on Dames's note on Mount Delly in his *Barbosa*. The purport of those remarks was that the Portuguese terms translated by "Mount Delly" represent Elimala (Elimalai), meaning the High Hill or else the Seven Hills. This was on p. 285, while on pp. 161 ff. of the same issue

appeared Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer's most interesting and illuminating article on "An Unidentified Territory of Southern India". This territory he shows to be the land of the Kōlāttiri Rājas, kings of Kōlam, and that there were two Kōlams, this one on the banks of the Agalappualai River, being called by way of distinction Pandalāyani-Kōlam, now a station on the South Indian Railway.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer shows the land of the Kōlāttiri Rājas to have been the country of Rāmaghaṭa-Mūshakośvara, Rāmaghaṭa (Rāmghāt) translating the Dravidian name Irāmakudam, and to have been ruled by a dynasty known as the Mūshakas or Mūshakośvaras, who, with their people, appear to have migrated southwards at some ancient time from the region of the Vindhya. Now the meaning of the Sanskrit *mūshaka* is rat, and it translates the Dravidian *eli*, and to quote Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, "As a rule the chieftains of the Deccan were lords of one or more divisions (*nāḍu*), possessed a favourite hill (*malai*), and a capital city (*ūr*). The principal hill of the Mūshaka king was the Elimalai, his *nāḍu* was Irāmakudam, and his capital Kōlam."

So the real meaning of the Eli in the Portuguese and European Mount Delly (d'Eli) is Rat Hill, and not the High Hill nor the Seven Hills. Therefore myself, Dames, Yule, Burnell, and the rest of us have been all wrong. After the manner of India, the *Mūshakavāṃśa* (*Mūshaka Genealogy*) has a legend, according to which the Kshattriya mother of the first Mūshaka king took refuge from her enemies in a mountain cavern (i.e. in the Elimalai Hill), where she brought forth a son by a Rat-incarnation, a Parvata-rāja, "as big as an elephant." This son was eventually crowned king of the country in which the "Rat-mountain" stood.

The interpretation of Elimalai as the Seven Hills is due, according to Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, to Indian and not to European scholiasts, and appears to have come about by the peculiar Dravidian *?* being used by some of them in

writing Eli. He tells us that "the dental *l* of the word was sometimes changed into the lingual *l*, which gave rise to the name *Saptaśaila* applied to the territory in some Sanskrit works, such as the *Kēṛala-Māhātmya* [*Ancient History of Kēṛala*, i.e. of Malabar]. Local tradition also perpetuated this name".

Incidentally, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer notes that in the term "Kōlāttiri" the "suffix *tiri* is nothing but an adaptation of *śrī*". This supports Mr. Thorne's derivation of the Portuguese term *Zamorin* from *Swāmi-śrī* [through ? *Sāmudri*]. See my remarks on p. 285 *ante*. It would be useful to search local MSS. to see if the word has ever been actually written *Swāmittiri*, or *Sāmuttiri*, or even *Sāmudri*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

(JOHN DE LAET AND FRANCISCO PELSARTT)

The treatise *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* is of sufficient importance to students of the Mogul period to justify an examination of the sources from which de Laet derived his information. Dr. Vincent Smith wrote as follows (*Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 473): "The 'Description' is a good compilation from the works of Sir Thomas Roe, Purchas, Peter Texeira, and other authors, including some statements of which the source is obscure." De Laet himself says that he has relied partly on Dutch authorities, and it is among them that we should look for what is not supported by the English and Portuguese literature.)

One of de Laet's sources is the *Remonstrantie*, or Report, which Francisco Pelsartt¹ drew up at Agra in the year 1627. This Report does not seem to have been published in Dutch, and is, I think, known to students only from the "translation" included in M. Thévenot's *Divers Voyages Curieux* (1663-72). Some parts of that translation struck me as unconvincing, and

¹ Or Pelsaert: both forms are used in the MS. In the French translation the name appears as François Pelsart.

inquiry from The Hague Algemeen Rijksarchief showed that a contemporary Dutch MS. is in existence, a photograph of which I was enabled to purchase through the kindness of Dr. J. de Hullu, the Archivaris. Examination of this MS. shows that Thévenot greatly curtailed the original, made various mistakes, and "hedged" more or less judiciously when he did not understand an Indian word; his translation is therefore a dangerous document for students.

The important section of de Laet's work entitled *De moribus et studiis incolarum e nostrorum relatione* (p. 116 of the second issue), is simply a scholarly condensation of a part of Pelsartt's Report. The same topics are dealt with in the same order: the facts stated are the same; and the language is similar. To prove this proposition would require the printing of the whole passage, but the nature of the evidence can be grasped from the following selection of phrases from de Laet, accompanied by literal renderings of Pelsartt; it will be seen that the renderings from Pelsartt will serve as translations of de Laet.

De Laet: Mercedem admodum exiguam dietim capiunt, puta quinque aut sex Taccas, id est quatuor aut quinque stuferos nostrates.

Pelsartt: (The first scourge of the artisan is) his very low daily wage . . . 5 or 6 *tacka*, which makes 4 or 5 stivers.

De Laet: Hinc cibum fere vesperi calidum pauxillo butyri affuso sumunt; per diem autem eadem pisa aut alia farra tosta mandunt.

Pelsartt: Which food, sprinkled with butter, they eat hot in the evening; in the daytime they munch a little roasted pulse or similar grains.

De Laet: Supellex admodum rara, aliquot vasa argillacea; lectisternia duo, unum pro viro alterum pro femina; nam conjuges unum lectum hic occupare insuetum.

Pelsartt: Furniture there is little or none, except some earthen vessels . . . two cots, one for the husband, the other for the wife; for it is not the custom that the wife sleeps beside the husband.

De Laet (enumerating servants): *Zanteles* sive cursores; ii plumas in capite, duo cymbala cincturae appensa gestant.

Pelsartt : *Tzantels* or runners, having a plume on the head, and two bells at the girdle.

(Comparison of the entire long passages from which these phrases are taken will show that de Laet, who published in 1631, had access to a Report prepared in 1627 for the use of the Directors of the Dutch East India Co., and it is reasonable to infer that he had access to other papers of the same kind, whether he found them at the office, or received copies from Pieter van den Broecke, the Dutch Chief at Surat, to whom he owed the chronicle translated by him. Pelsartt was subordinate to van den Broecke, and apparently the latter took steps to have such information sent to Amsterdam, for an extensive series of reports from Gujarat of this period is in existence at The Hague : none of them appear to have been published in any form, but Dr. de Hullu informs me that they will appear shortly in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Amsterdam ; and it will then be possible to say whether they were among the materials used by de Laet. So much, however, is clear, that de Laet made judicious use of Pelsartt's important Report ; but, as was inevitable, most of the fire and colour of the original disappeared in his condensation, and, for those who can read Dutch, the Report as originally drafted is a much more satisfying authority than either the Latin condensation or the French version.

W. H. MORELAND.)

THE WORD MA'UNE

In the last number of this *Journal* (p. 530), starting from the belief that the first letter of the above word was servile, I questioned its genuineness ; but whether the *Mim* is servile or not it cannot affect the genuineness of the word which is catalogued in the *Thesaurus* (p. 2185) on the authority of the lexicographer BA, who, I am pleased to notice, is right in this particular instance. I have never found the word used by any other writer besides Ephrem ; but Ephrem is a sufficient authority.

The following misprints in the references should also be noted : p. 524, l. 13, 27 for 21 ; p. 529, l. 5, 13 for 19 ; and *ibid.*, l. 24, 26 for 2 ; p. 525, l. 7, " a few," instead of *three*.

A. MINGANA.

PETENIKAS OF ASOKA'S ROCK EDICT XIII

Among the several countries who accepted his order, Asoka mentions Āndhras, Bhōjas, Petenikas, and Puḷindas (Edict No. xiii). Of these the identifications of Bhōjas and Puḷindas are unknown and uncertain. The Āndhras have been identified with the Śātavāhanas. But scholars have not yet located their original home. There are two opinions : P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar says " the Āndhras were a Vindhyan tribe, and that the Āndhra kings originally ruled over Western India. . . The extension of the Āndhra power was from west to east down the Gōdavari-Krishna valley ".¹ On the other hand V. A. Smith suggests Śrikākulam,² for their capital which D. R. Bhandarkar identifies near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces.³

They all try to identify the capital of the Śātavāhanas with a place on the east coast, because the early works locate the capital of the Āndhras there. Thus it becomes our first duty to examine and establish the connexion of the two. Scholars identified the Śātavāhanas with the Āndhras simply on the Purāṇic evidence. The Purāṇas call them by both names, Āndhras and Āndhrabhṛtyaḥ without making any distinction for the word *bhṛtyaḥ* (" servant "),⁴ and themselves confuse with each other.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar is the first to raise this question, and he thinks that the Āndhras and the Śātavāhanas are different from one another for the following reasons : ⁵ (a) " In none of

¹ Misconceptions about the Āndhras in *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 281.

² *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 206.

³ " Dekkhan of the Śātavāhana period " ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 156.

⁴ Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, see " Āndhras ".

⁵ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 21, etc.

the inscriptions (about two dozen in number) engraved during the regime of these kings is there any reference to their alleged affinity with the Āndhras".¹ They are always referred to as Śātavāhanas. (b) Contemporary records, as the Hāthi-gumphā,² Girnar,³ and Talaganda⁴ inscriptions, also refer them as Śātavāhanas and never as Āndhras. (c) Khāravēla says that he, "without entertaining any fear of Śātakaṇi, sent a large army to the west."⁵ If it really meant the country of the Āndhras he should say to the south. (d) Almost all their inscriptions were found (near Nāsik) in Western India and only of the later kings four were found in the Āndhradēśa. (e) Almost all their coins were found in Western India.⁶ (f) And, lastly, their inscriptions are in Prakrit, and "no Śātavāhana inscription written in a Dravidian tongue has yet come to light".⁶ I also share his opinion that the Śātavāhanas are not Āndhras, and that their original home is not Āndhradēśa.

But what is their original home? From what we said above we are led to think that they lived in Western India. But Dr. V. S. Sukthankar argues that their original home is in the Bellāry district, for the following reasons:—

(1) In the Hira-Hadagalli grant⁷ and in the Myākāḍōni inscription⁸ (both of them were found in the Bellāry district) that portion is called Śātāhani-rāṭṭha and Śātavāhani-hāra respectively. The words *rāṭṭha* and *hāra* denote a province and a district respectively. Like all the early inhabitants lending their names to those countries, Śātavāhanas also lent their name to that part of the land.

(2) Since the Śātavāhanas are different from the Āndhras,

¹ Ibid., p. 30.

² Luders' List, No. 1345.

³ Luders' List, No. 965.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 24, etc., ed. Kielhorn.

⁵ Rapson's *Catalogue of Andhra Coins*, etc. (B.M., 1908), see coins Nos. 1-90.

⁶ *A.B.I.*, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 37.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 2.

⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

where is the necessity to call them by the name Āndhras ? He explains that " the Śātavāhanas have to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras " and " this branch had separated itself early from the main stock of the Āndhras (which was settled in the region of the deltas of the Gōdāvari and the Kṛṣṇa), even before the time of Śimuka and Śātakarni, and settled in the west ".¹

Let us examine how far these statements are true ? The Hīra-Haḍagalli grant is of the ancient Pallavas, and so it is after the destruction of the Śātavāhanas and the establishment of the Pallava empire. The Myākaḍōni inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of King Puḷumāyi. Dr. Sukthankar identifies this Puḷmāyi with Vāśiṣṭhīputra, the son of Gautamīputra.¹ But Dr. G. J. Dubreuil identifies him with the last king of the Śātavāhana line.³ Sukthankar says : " The alphabet resembles that of the Joggyyapēṭa inscription of Purisadata " ;¹ and " the inscriptions of Purisadata at Joggayyapēṭa have been attributed to the third century (A.D.) by all the authors who have spoken of it, and no one doubts that Purisadata reigned after the Śātavāhanas. The alphabet of the Myākaḍōni inscription is incontestably much more developed than the alphabets of all the other Śātavāhana inscriptions, and very much resembles those of the Chūṭūs and the ancient Pallavas ".² Again, we do not find the usual prefix of Vāśiṣṭhīputra of the son of Gautamīputra. Thus the Bellāry district was known by that name only at the beginning of the third century A.D.

A large number of coins with " the ship with two masts " on the obverse and the " Ujjain symbol " on the reverse, have been found along the Coramandal coast as far as Cuddalore. These ship coins are special to that part, and the " Ujjain symbol " indicates the Śātavāhana dynasty.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xiv, pp. 153, etc.

² *Ancient History of the Dekkhan*, by Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (Pondicherry, 1921), p. 51.

Professor Rapson has been able to decipher the inscription on them and read it to be "*Śrī Puḷumāvi*".¹ I attribute this also to the last king of the line. Again, we also know of the ship coins of Yagña Śrī on the east coast.²

Thus the inscriptions and coins of the later Śātavāhanas are found only on the east coast and not in the Western India, the seat of early inscriptions and coins. How does this happen? The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman bears the answer to this question. There he says that by his own valour (*Svavīryy-ārjjitānām*) gained Ākarāvanti (Mālwa), etc., destroyed the Yaudhēyas, "defeated Śātakarṇi, lord of Dakṣiṇāpṭha, but on account of the nearness of their connexion did not destroy him," but himself acquired the name of Mahākṣhatrapa.³ An inscription at Kāṇhēri, which "exhibits the neat characters of Western Kṣhatrapa inscriptions"⁴ mentions the queen of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, as the daughter of Mahākṣhatrapa Ru[dra].⁵ We know of three Śātavāhanas who bore the name Vāśiṣṭhiputra, the great Puḷumāvi, Śiva Śrī, and Chandra Śrī. It is impossible to bring in the great Puḷumāvi, because he was the contemporary of Chashtana,⁶ and so it becomes impossible for him to have married the great-grand-daughter of Chashtana. So, Vāśiṣṭhiputra is no other than Śiva Śrī or Chanda Śrī.

The coins of Yagña-Śrī "are similar in fabric and style to the Kṣhatrapa coins",⁷ and resemble those of Rudradāman.⁸ For this Yagña Śrī should have some connexion with the Kṣhatrapas, and it is more probable that his mother was the daughter of Rudradāman. On an examination of the coins

¹ Rapson's *Catalogue*, p. 22.

² Rapson's *Catalogue*, pl. vii.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 47 and Luder's List 965.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiii, p. 43, Bühler.

⁵ Luder's List, No. 994.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 366, Ptolemy.

⁷ Rapson's *Catalogue*, 87.

⁸ Rapson's *Catalogue*, pl. vii.

Rapson thinks that Chanda Śrī is the immediate predecessor of Yagña.¹ Thus it is more probable that our Vāsishthīputra is Chanda Śrī.

From what we said above we shall propose the following theory: "About the middle of the second century A.D. the Kshatrapas became more powerful in Western India and conquered the Śātavāhanas. The Śātavāhanas, who once ruled all over the Dekkân, did not want to rule there as feudatories of the Kshatrapas, and so they moved to the East Coast." In moving to the east they had to conquer many countries, and in a similar way Bellāry went under their sway. Thus it is more probable that they named the conquered country by their name.

The second reason of Sukthankar is based on the first. Since we have shown that the first is baseless, the second also follows that. We shall now see how the Purāṇas apply the name Andhras to the Śātavāhanas. I have shown above that the Śātavāhanas ruled Andhradēsa from *circa* A.C. 140. At that time we do not know of any Āndhra king, and so we are led to conclude that they lived as feudatories of the Śātavāhanas. We know that the Purāṇas were written only after the third century, and so they were fresh with the Śātavāhanas; and, since they ruled over the Āndhras, they were called by the name of Āndhras. In this connexion it should be borne in mind that the inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas are all in Prakrit, and not in the Dravidian tongue, and they imported that language even in the Āndhradēśa, since we find their inscriptions there and those of the ancient Pallavas who ruled there, in Prakrit.

Thus the Śātavāhanas have no connexion with the Āndhras, and their original home is in Western India. The Jain legends say that Paithān on the Godāvarī is the capital of Śālivāhana.² Ptolemy, the Greek traveller, says that Baithāna (Paithān) is the capital of Siro-Pulomoi (Śrī

¹ Ibid., pp. 30 and 32.

² Jinaprabhā Śūri's *Thīrtha-kalpa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., x, 123.

Puḷumāyi).¹ Thus, I think that Paithān was their capital from the earliest times.

Till now scholars have thought that the Śātavāhanas were under the rule of Aśoka, because they found the word Āndhras in his edict. Now, the raising of the question: "Were the Śātavāhanas under the rule of Aśoka?" is natural. I think the Śātavāhanas were under the rule of Aśoka. There, along with the other names, we have one word, Petenikas, which is the Pali form of Sanskrit Paithānakas. Then the word Petenikas denotes the people with Paithān as their capital. We have shown above that Paithān was the capital of the Śātavāhanas. Thus I identify the Petenikas of Aśoka's edict with the Śākavāhanas of Western India.

T. N. SUBRAMANIAM.

VAMBA-MŌRIYAS

It has been accepted by all scholars that India is divided into two natural divisions, one Āryāvārtha and the other Dhakshināpatha with the Vindhya mountain at the middle. But the limit did not remain as the same for all time, as they think. About the second century A.C. the boundary of the southern division was about the river Pennār, with "the river Kalyāṇapuri on the west coast (about N. lat. 14), which forms the northern boundary of the Tuḷura country".² Tirupati (Vēṅkaḍam) hills in the middle,³ and lake Pulikat (Paḷavērkkaḍu) on the east coast.⁴ To the south of this lived the Drāviḍians, who remained distinctly in the history of ancient India, with Tamil as their language, and to the north lived the Aryans with Prakrit and its allies as their

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 366.

² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 163; also *Aham* 15.

³ The general limit of the Tamil land is between Kumari (Cape Comorin) and Tirupati Hills. Specially see Māmālanār's poem in *Aham* 210.

⁴ Kuṇṭhokai 11.

languages. That Tamīlāham, i.e. the Tamil land, remained aloof even from the time of Aśōka is evident from his second rock-edict.¹ But it appears that the Mauryas tried to conquer the Tamil land.

In the poems of Māmūlanar, a poet of the third Tamil Academy, there are numerous references about Mōriyas, also called Vamba-Mōriyas. They are said to have invaded and disturbed the Tuḷu land. All the scholars believed *Vamba* to mean *new*, and tried to find a support in the history of Northern India to establish the invasion of a New Maurya.

Mr. M. Rāghavaiyangār interprets this to mean the invasion of Samudra Gupta, about the year 340 A.C.² He identified Palakka with Pālghat, Kauṭtura with Kōṭṭūsa (= Polḷāchī) and Kaurāḷāka-Manṭarāja with Māndarañchēral-Iṟumporai of Kēraḷa country. But scholars have proved and identified with Pālakkada, Kōṭṭūra Hills, and Manṭarāja of Kōrala (all of them in the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, instead of all in the Kēraḷa kingdom).³ Again, it is impossible to call the Guptas as "New Mauryas".

Professor S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar also took the same meaning and interpreted this to mean the Mauryan invasion of South India.⁴ If so, how would they become "new"? So with the aid of another poem of our author from *Aham*⁵ he propounded the theory "that the *Mauryas* came south pushing the *ḍukar* in front".⁶ *Vaḍukar* in Tamīl means Northerner. So he thought that his theory was quite right and sane.

Are *Vaḍukars* really Āryans? If they are so, why did the poets of the Madura Academy make distinction between them?

About *Vaḍukas* there are numerous references in Tamīl literature. They are said to have occupied the northern

¹ Buhler in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii; also V. A. Smith's *Asoka*.

² *Life and Times of Seran Sengutturan in Tamīl*, chap. xiii, pp. 171 ff.

³ Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60.

⁴ *Beginnings of South Indian History*, chap. ii.

⁵ Adam 281, "Muraṇmiku *Vaḍukar* Munnuṟa mōriyar Thenṇisai . . ."

⁶ *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 90.

boundary of the Tamil land. Some may argue that the term *Vaḍukas* implies to all the northerners. The lines of Aham we have quoted in footnote 8 means “Mōriyas with Vaḍukas of enormous strength (of great opposition ?) in front”. This would also mean that the Vaḍukas opposed the Mōriyas. If this would be the meaning, then Vaḍukas would really become the natives who lived on the border of the Tamil land. There is also a *Veṇba* in Tamil, which runs as follows :—

Vaḍukar aruvālar vānkarunāḍar

Ṣuḍukāḍu pēyyerumai yeuṛivaṛṛaik

Kurukār aṛivuḍaiyōr.

[Learned men would not connect with Vaḍukar, Aruvālas, Karunāḍas, crematorium, ghost, buffaloes, etc.]

Aruvālas are the natives of Aruvā-land (the country between Villupuram and Kāñchipuram) with Māvilangai (near Tindivanam) as its capital and generally considered to mean the Nāgas. Karunāḍas are the Karnāṭakas and believed as Kaḷabhras. Vaḍukas are famous for their bravery. They are called as “Vaḍukas with dogs of anger”,¹ etc. Thus, as their allies, Vaḍukas also becomes the natives of the border of the Tamil land. Thus it becomes impossible for us to say that the Mauryas pushed the Vaḍukas in front. Thus Krishnaswāmy Ayyangar’s theory that Vamba-Mōriyas refers to the Mauryas of Maghada becomes baseless.

Again we do not see of any “New Mauryas” in the history of the whole of India. So we are to seek a new meaning for the word *Vamba*. In *Tholkāpiyam*, the oldest work of the now existing Tamil literature, which dates from eighth century B.C., there is a Sutra “Vamba nilaiyinmai”, i.e. *Vamba* is *unsettled*.² There are also numerous instances in Tamil wherein this meaning was used. In *Kurunthokai* we have “thinking the unsettled cloud (of summer) as the (real) cloud (of winter)”.³ In *Śilappadikāram* the author

¹ Kathanāy Vaḍukar.

² Tholkāpiyam Ṣollathikāram uriyiral Sutra 29.

³ Kurunthokai, verse 69, line 5, “Vamba māriyaik kārēna mathitte.”

makes a reference to a whore as "the unsettled wife of another".¹ Thus we see that *unsettled* is the real meaning. In this case Vamba-Mōriyas would mean "*unsettled Mōriyas*" thereby meaning a nomadic tribe.

Is it possible? Pliny says: "At the present day voyages are made to India every year, and companies of archers are carried on board, because the Indian seas are infested by pirates." About Muziris he says: "It is not a desirable place of call, pirates being in the neighbourhood." Ptolemy says of a port Ariake Andron Peiraton, meaning the Ariaka of the pirates of his time, between Nitra and Mandagara. Periplus also does make mention of pirates and gives a straightforward account of its active prevalence at the time in regard to the ports in the neighbourhood. The *Pentingerian Tables* state clearly that two Roman cohorts were maintained for the protection of Roman Commerce. Thus, all the Greek travellers of that time make mention of pirates both on land and sea near the Tuḷu land. Mōriyas are also said to have disturbed the places about Tuḷu land. So I think I can identify the *Vamba-Mōriyas* with those unsettled pirates.

If they are so, how did they become connected with the name of Mauryas? We know that the Mauryan Empire under Aśoka extended up to the Tamiḷ land, and who conquered these portions. Since Aśoka, whose only recorded war was the conquest of Kalinga, inherited the other portions from their fathers. So Chandragupta or Bindusāra should have conquered them. It is also impossible to attribute the conquests to Chandragupta. V. A. Smith notes that the Tibetan historian attributes to Bindusāra and Chāpakya the conquest of the country between the eastern and western seas.² My Gurusū Guru, late Pinnathūr Nārayaṇaswami Iyer, has written in his commentary on Naṛṇṇai, a Śāṅgam work, that the Tuḷu-nāda was established by the son of Chandragupta.³ Perhaps his name was Tuḷiyan or Tuḷuvan,

¹ Śilappadikāram Nāḍukāṅkāthai, line 219, "Vambap parattthai."

² Scheifner, p. 89. ³ Introduction to Naṛṇṇai, see Māmūlanār.

and Tuli (Tamil) and Bindu (Sanskrit) both means a small particle. Thus we see that Bindusara conquered the lands up to Tamilaham and Aśoka inherited them from his father. After Aśoka the empire was parcelled, and the Mauryas, who remained at Svārnagisi in the Mysore State, perhaps did not deign to go to their original Maghada home.¹ Thus it is natural for them to live upon others' properties and lived in the same fashion of the Companies in India of the seventeenth century, helping one party or the other.

Thus it is no more necessary to find a new support in the history of India for the invasion of a Maurya from the Maghada on South India, and we can safely say Vamba Mōriyas are the nomadic tribe on the border of the Tulu land.

T. N. SUBRAMANIAM.

KUMBakonam.

17th November, 1921.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

Communication

I. Le conseil de la Fondation n'ayant subi aucun changement depuis le mois de novembre 1921 est composé comme suit : M. C. Snouck Hurgronje, président ; MM. M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. de Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave, et C. van Vollenhoven, secrétaire-trésorier.

II. Sont encore disponibles un certain nombre d'exemplaires des six ouvrages publiés par la Fondation ; le vente de ces ouvrages se fait chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill à Leyde au profit de la Fondation. Ca sont : No. 1, Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Ḥamāsah d'al-Buḥturî (1909) au prix de 96 florins hollandais ; No. 2, Le Kitāb al-Fākhir d'al-Mufaḍḍal, publié par C. A. Storey (1915), au prix de

¹ Siddhāpura Edicts, Ep. Carn., vol. xi, Mk. 21, 24, 34, and Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions by Mr. Rice, p. 11. See also *JRAS.* for 1903, p. 829, and 1904, pp. 1 and 355.

6 florins ; No. 3, Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte, par I. Goldziher (1916), au prix de 4,50 florins ; No. 4, Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove together with some chapters from his Ethikon, by A. J. Wensinck (1919), au prix de 4,50 florins ; No. 5, De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, par C. van Arendonk (1919), au prix de 6 florins ; No. 6, die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung, par I. Goldziher (1920), au prix de 10 florins.

III. Les frais d'impression de ce dernier ouvrage ont absorbé encore cette année tous les revenus de la Fondation, mais ils seront acquittés dès le commencement de 1923.

Novembre, 1922.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE FIRST BOOK OF PSALMS IN THE TEXT G. 1. MR. HENRY WINTER SHEPPARD. Transcribed with frontispiece and introduction. Small fol., xix + 49 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Mr. Sheppard has had the good fortune of lighting upon a manuscript which, though known to the late Mr. Ginsburgh and briefly described by him under the sign G in his introduction to the Bible, did not attract his special attention. He was satisfied with a short description and made very scant use of it in the notes on the Hebrew Bible edited by him. The manuscript is comparatively modern; it was written in the year 1419, and on the first glance offers no striking peculiarities or marked differences from the published Massoretic text. Mr. Sheppard has subjected this manuscript to a minute investigation, one might say microscopical. He has studied every jot and tittle, every vowel and accent, has examined carefully all the erasures and corrections, and he has come to the conclusion that this manuscript, although modern, still represents a very important type, which ought to be taken as basis for any future edition of the Bible. He has drawn up very careful lists of the variations, which, however, could be greatly reduced, as they are of minute importance, but some of the readings found in the MS. find their corroboration in one or another of the ancient Versions.

Mr. Sheppard ought to be thanked for the immense labour he has bestowed upon this manuscript, and for the beautiful publication of the first book of Psalms. He has spared neither time nor expense to reproduce in type an exact facsimile, nay, even more, of the original, since he has printed in different colours the variations from the M.T., which, of course, are found only in black in the original. He has thus made it easy for the student to recognize at once the differences and peculiarities of this MS.

One cannot, however, refrain from expressing some doubt as to the unique value which Mr. Sheppard ascribes to the MS. Whoever has handled Hebrew MSS. of the Bible is aware of the fact that there is not one which agrees absolutely with the rest. As shown by me elsewhere (*PSBA.*), no attempt has hitherto been made to group the very numerous Hebrew MSS. found in public and private libraries and to reduce them to some archetype or archetypes, as has been done with the Greek text of the LXX, nor has anyone yet adequately recognized the source of the variations in vowels and accents, so often found in Hebrew MSS., or that they are due to different Massoretic traditions, and to the work of copyists and correctors, who endeavour to reduce them to one standard. It is an immense task which awaits the future editor of an absolutely reliable Hebrew text of the Bible. Moreover, no copyist is free from mistakes, which make the work of the later corrector and punctuator a more complicated task. Not even in this MS. has the copyist proved himself superior, since Mr. Sheppard points out omissions and repetitions of a very considerable character. Still, even if the MS. should not be of that extraordinary importance, every contribution to a critical examination of the printed Hebrew text at the hand of old MSS. must be gratefully accepted. The yield from this MS. will unquestionably be greater when Mr. Sheppard publishes his exhaustive inquiry on the vowel points and accents. This subject has hitherto been scarcely touched upon by any editor of the Hebrew Bible, or when mentioned, it was simply described as the work of ignorant copyists and quietly ignored. Yet it is of very great value for determining the archetype from which the MS. has been derived. Of no less value, unquestionably, are, then, those readings in the MS. which agree more or less with the ancient Version. Mr. Sheppard ought to be encouraged to continue his work which is labour of love.

M. GASTER.

THE HEART OF ARABIA. By H. ST. J. B. PHILBY. 9 x 6.
Vol. I, xxiii + 386 pp., 40 plates, 1 plan. Vol. II,
vi+354 pp., 8 plates, 2 maps. London: Constable, 1922.

Amongst the many excursions prompted and projected by our war policy into strange lands, the results of the mission undertaken by Mr. Philby, of the Indian Civil Service, are of the most lasting interest. Mr. Philby makes a very good book of them. He has the faculty of close observation united to a lively sympathy with his subject, and he also possesses the pen of a good descriptive writer who knows how to avoid the tedious formality of the official route reporter. No work descriptive of the customs, the life, and the psychology of the Arab race as well as of the nature of the country in which the Bedouin lives and moves has ever been written which leaves such a live impression upon the mind. It is much as if one were appealing to old memories of Arabian travel, shadowed by a doubt whether one would have seen quite as much as Philby did, or understood the Arab quite as well. The object of this remarkable journey was in the first instance political. Incidentally it was splendidly geographical. There was at the back of it the Utopian ideal of a united Arabia rising in its strength to wipe out the Turk. Arabia has never been united since the days of the prophet, and its unique geographical conformation, which places the centres of Arabian civilization and activity at wide intervals about the continent, with vast spaces between them which, without being unrelieved desert, are exceedingly hostile to the movement of large bodies of troops, intensifies the comparative isolation of the ruling chiefs and promotes a local independence which none of them are prepared to surrender. Philby set out to reconcile Ibn Sa'ud, the Imam of Najd (the land of the Wahabi fanatic), who was favourable to us, with the Sharif of Mecca, who ruled the Hejaz on the extreme west, and if possible to effect a coalition between them against Ibn Rashid, the Chief of Hail. Ibn Rashid was altogether pro-Turk. On this mission, which led from the eastern coast of

Arabia, opposite Bahrein, via Hofhuf and Riadh (the capital of Najd), to Taif and finally to Jeddah on the Red Sea coast, Philby was alone. He failed in the main object of his enterprise. Ibn Sa'ud was always bitterly jealous of the Sharif of Mecca, who styled himself "King of Arabia", and the Sharif, on the other hand, was so determined to have nothing to say to Ibn Sa'ud that he would not allow a British envoy to leave Taif for Riadh. He would not even allow Philby to return to Riadh by the way he came, and thus it happened that he had to return to Mesopotamia by sea from Jeddah. But there was another political object in view in this mission, i.e. to secure the "blockade of the Euphrates", and prevent arms and ammunition from passing through Wahabi land to Ibn Rashid or his friends the Turks. In this Philby was more or less successful, and he further persuaded Ibn Sa'ud eventually to take the field himself against the Turko-Arabian forces in Central Arabia. If, politically, the mission was only partially successful, the scientific results were great. We not only have a most interesting description of that famous city of Central Arabia, Riadh—of its social life, and the ritual of the Wahabi with its incessant call to prayers and its fierce denunciations—but a sympathetic account of the well-known courtesy and hospitality of the Arab chiefs, whose lives are often but a modern illustration of the lives of the patriarchs of old. A few thousand years has made but little difference. The science of geography owes a lasting debt of gratitude to Philby for his adventurous journey southward from Riadh to the Wadi Dewasir, unvisited so far by any previous traveller. This was undertaken during his second visit to Riadh. In many ways that excursion contains a world of new information, and opens out a splendid vista to future explorers; but there is too much in it to justify a sketchy notice. It must be read to be appreciated—as surely it will be.

T. H. HOLDICH.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HUMAN NATURE. By CHU HSI. Translated from the Chinese by J. PERCY BRUCE, M.A. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5, xvi+444 pp. London: Probsthain & Co., 1922.

This work claims to be a considered rendering of the philosophical chapters 42-8, inclusive, from the complete works of Chu Hsi, whose 49th chapter was translated many years ago by Canon McClatchie, under the title of "Confucian Cosmogony".

The latter translation provoked such caustic criticism that the author wound up his defence by a severe denunciation of the critic (Dr. Chalmers), saying "*Foenum habet in cornu ; longe fuge !*"—in other words, "He's dangerous ; keep away." That is, perhaps, not quite the method by which to dispose of honest objections. Dr. Chalmers replied by publishing his version of "One page from Choo Foo-tsze" (= Chu Hsi), and there, so far as I remember, the matter dropped, no one intervening on either side.

The general reader may fairly ask : "Who was Chu Hsi ?"—a satisfactory answer to which Mr. Bruce does not provide in the present volume.

Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130-1200) was a philosopher, historian, Government official, and commentator. It is in the last character that he is best known. He revised and greatly altered the interpretation by the older scholiasts of the Confucian Canon, his method being uniformity of rendering in dealing with like texts. He was not infallible, he regarded T'ien as an unsubstantial principle. But we are now sure, owing to the philological labours of Mr. L. C. Hopkins, that T'ien was an anthropomorphic being—God. Mr. Bruce, however, keeps to the old non-committal term, "heaven," which is scarcely suggestive of Chu Hsi's principle.

As a specimen of Mr. Bruce's work, we may quote a few paragraphs from chapter vi, p. 312, on Love, which word he adopts as a translation of *jên*, rendered by Dr. Legge, inadequately as I think, throughout his *Chinese Classics* by "benevolence", instead of by the word "charity" in its

theological acceptance as "charity of heart", now widely recognized as the true rendering. "Love" is at once objectionable on the ground of ambiguity; and in note 1, Mr. Bruce is driven to state that *jên* is "the disposition love", and that *ai*, the word in general use, is "the emotion love". In note 3 he adds that "*jên* is a principal (*sic*) or law and purely immaterial, but Law can only be discerned in the Ether as its medium of manifestation". What Chu Hsi himself said, according to Mr. Bruce, and to quote a few lines only, runs as follows:—

312. "The two elements which make man to be man are Law, which is the law of Heaven and Earth, and Ether, which is the Ether of Heaven and Earth. Law is without traces and invisible, so that it is only in the Ether that we can see it and if we would understand the meaning of Love, we must think of it as manifested in an all-comprehensive, mild, and gentle Ether."

There is no index, which makes a work of 444 pages little available for reference.

H. A. G.

THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF SUMER AND AKKAD. By C. J. GADD, B.A. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$; 150 pp. London: Luzac, 1921.

AN OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION OF THE GILGAMESH EPIC. By MORRIS JASTROW and ALBERT T. CLAY. 10×8 ; 106 pp., 7 plates. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.

LA CIVILISATION ASSYRO-BABYLONIENNE. By Dr. G. CONTENAU. $16\frac{1}{4} \times 4$; 143 pp. Paris: Payot & Co., 1922.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF SENNACHERIB, KING OF ASSYRIA, B.C. 705-681. By SIDNEY SMITH, M.A. Luzac, 1921.

HITTITE TEXTS IN THE CUNEIFORM CHARACTER FROM TABLETS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. $14 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$; 8 pp., 50 plates. Printed by order of the Trustees, 1920.

LES PRINCIPAUX RÉSULTATS DES NOUVELLES FOUILLES DE
SUSE. By P. CRUVEILHIER. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. ix + 154 pp.
Paris: Geuthner, 1921.

THE LIFE AND GROWTH OF ISRAEL. By SAMUEL A. B.
MERCER, Ph.D., D.D. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. xvi + 170 pp.
Milwaukee, Wis.: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1921.

The above group of recently published books not only testifies to the industry of Assyriologists during the last two or three years, but also to the wide range of the subjects treated of—and the above list by no means exhausts their variety. Earliest in point of date is Mr. Gadd's *Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, which deals with Babylonian chronology from the Flood until about the twentieth century B.C. The new text dealing with this period which he publishes is the British Museum Tablet 108857, with kings of Opis, Kis, Ur, and Agadé. This is supplemented by a text of Šudurkip of Agadé, and another of Libit-Ištar, king of Isin, Šumer, and Akkad. The texts are well translated, and the chronology cautiously treated. It is another step towards something definite.

Notwithstanding its importance, chronology is a dry subject, and many will probably turn, therefore, by preference, to the old tablets dealing with the legend of Gilgameš, from the pen of Jastrow and Clay. This is a most attractive and excellently printed book, dealing with older versions than those already known, with additional details of the hero's career. The new text, which runs to 124 lines, refers to Giš's dreams (Giš is the abbreviation of Giš-gan-maš or Gilgameš, in fullest form Gišbilgameš), which he tells his mother, the goddess Ninsun, who explains to him their significance. An excellent examination of the whole legend is given, and the renderings are justified by philological notes. A fragment of the version to which this addition belongs was published by Meissner in 1902, and repeated by me for the information of English readers in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* for March and May,

1903, pp. 113-122 and 195-201, under the title of "Gilgames and the Hero of the Flood".

La Civilisation Assyro-Babylonienne is a small book of 144 pages 32mo. It deals with Assyro-Babylonian geography, races, writing, and history; explorations and decipherment; religion, art, and institutions. Thirty illustrations add to the interest of this monograph, which can be recommended not only on account of its fullness of detail, but also for its attractive and tasteful form.

Turning to the reign of Sennacherib, Mr. Sidney Smith regards the new cylinder which he publishes as ante-dating the well-known Bellino-cylinder by several months, and argues for an interregnum at Babylon after the death of Sargon, which seems a reasonable contention. In dealing with the pretensions of Merodach-baladan to the throne of Babylon (to which, as a Chaldean of Babylonia, he must have thought that he had a better right than the Assyrian king), the author rejects the theory of Lenormant, that Merodach-baladan ought to be considered as a Babylonian patriot. The book has a good introduction and a clear sketch-map. It is a pity that this book and Mr. Gadd's *Early Dynasties* have not been printed in the same form—books of the same series ought always to be of the same height.

The Hittite tablets issued by the Trustees of the British Museum are a welcome addition to our knowledge of that ancient nationality. The copies are by the late L. W. King, and are accompanied by an introduction drawn up by Mr. Sidney Smith, the translator of the Sennacherib cylinder noticed above. In this previous contributions to the subject are noticed, including Monograph XI of the Asiatic Society Monographs, *The Tablet from Yuzgat in the Liverpool Institute of Archæology*, by Professor Sayce and myself.¹ The inscriptions of most of the plates published belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries B.C., the date of these last being "fixed by the historical inscriptions of Shub-

¹ The copy of the text and the transliteration are by T. G. Pinches.

biluliuma (the Sa-pa-l-l of the Egyptian texts), and of his son Murshili[sh],¹ who were contemporaries of Amenhetep IV, king of Egypt, and of his immediate successors”.

The texts are of a ritual nature, and it is pointed out that, in one inscribed with a list of cities, *al Halib Súra*, Aleppo of Syria, occurs.

It is needless to say that the texts are reproduced with all the correctness for which the late Professor King was noted.

Of even greater importance than the Hittite inscriptions are the results of the French excavations at Susa, the capital of Elam, which, personified, appears in Genesis as one of the elder sons of Shem. The decipherment of the non-Semitic Susian inscriptions belongs, as is well known, to Professor V. Scheil, to whom all honour is given. This work deals, in an exceedingly interesting manner, with the excavations, history, religion, laws, social and economic conditions, and philology of the country of which the author treats. Among the titbits of this little book may be mentioned the *šit šamši* or “sunrise”—a bronze relief-plan of which the most prominent monuments are two strangely formed stage-towers; and three fragments of cylinders of Esarhaddon, on part of which the murder of Sennacherib by his sons (in the plural) seems to be referred to. The whole gives a very attractive picture of Elamite life and history.

Professor Mercer's *Life and Growth of Israel* deals from a new point of view with the “great little nation”, as it may be called, whence came so many noteworthy things, Christianity not being the least of them. Taking the original home of the Semites to have been Arabia, he depicts the time when emigration from that district was forced upon the inhabitants owing to the oases having become too small, and from that point he traces their history about 3,500 years B.C. until the days of the early Christian Church, into which a portion of the

¹ The Hittite cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphic original forms of the names are given.

Jewish nation was merged. The change in the religious views of the Jews during this period is well set forth.

If it be asked why the notice of this book is included in a group of Assyriological works, the answer is : the list of dates on pp. xii-xiv, in which Professor Mercer, as an Assyriologist, shows—and rightly shows—the importance of his subject for Jewish history.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE PHONOLOGY OF THE BAKHTIARI, BADAKHSHANI, AND MADAGLASHTI DIALECTS OF MODERN PERSIA. By Major D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xi + 205 pp. London : R.A.S. (Prize Publication Fund, Vol. VI), 1922.

This slender but most important volume is one more valuable contribution to the studies which have lately appeared under the auspices of the Prize Publication Fund of the Society. It is a worthy sequel to the similar invaluable volume of Sir George Grierson noticed in the January number of the *Journal*. Little by little these various hitherto almost unknown Eranian dialects of Central Asia are receiving a thorough scientific examination on the part of such competent scholars as Sir George Grierson and Major Lorimer. Their value is not confined to the study of these Central Asiatic peoples and their languages, but will be appreciated also by students of the Avesta and Old Persian, owing to the numerous comparisons with the phonology of those ancient languages. It would take too long to go into details : it must suffice to call the attention of Avestic scholars to these monographs.

Major Lorimer's book falls into two distinct parts : namely, (1) a study of the Bakhtiārī dialect, which has a certain independent individuality of its own, and (2) a similar examination of the Badakhshāni and Madaglashti, which, as the author explains, "are merely a form of the ordinary

modern Persian of Persian literature known as 'Classical Persian', and not separate Iranian dialects, but very similar to the form of Persian used at the Afghan court.

The chief value and importance, therefore, of the volume is in the first part, especially as, according to the author, "there is every reason to believe that the Bakhtiāri are Iranians of the Iranians. This presumption is not belied by their language, and it is further strengthened by the nature and situation of their country. . . It seems more than probable that the Bakhtiāri of to-day are the modern representatives of a long series of ancestors who have occupied the same territories and followed a similar mode of life from a remote past." The introduction contains many acute and suggestive observations which may be of use in considering the phonetic developments of other languages and dialects: for instance, speaking of the "range and nature of his speech", Major Lorimer remarks: "We have seen that the typical Bakhtiāri is a shepherd, cattle-owner, and nomad; we have seen that he is also an agriculturist, that the country he inhabits is wild and savage, and that he is constantly exposed to the severities of nature, to heat and cold, to rain and snow, and parching dryness. All these conditions postulate a vocabulary sufficiently variegated to deal with them, for they constitute the crude material of necessary conversation. As to manner of speech, the Bakhtiāri is an out-of-door animal and a mountain-dweller, and is accustomed to exercising his lungs, if occasion require, across a valley or down a hillside. The less sophisticated tribesman is, therefore, apt to be a noisy companion in a drawing-room; on the other hand, he has, as a rule, the merit of articulating clearly."

It is also shrewdly remarked, with reference to the fact that there is considerable latitude of pronunciation especially of vowels, that this is a phenomenon which is particularly marked where the steadying or petrifying effect of a script is absent: Bakhtiāri has no literature and is seldom or never

written, so that " anyone who learns to read and write does so in ordinary Persian ".

But even in these remote tribes a great change is evidently coming about. Not only do many of the chiefs and their followers spend long periods in the principal cities of Persia—and incidentally learn to smoke cigarettes—but " several of the older Khāns have paid visits to Paris and London, and more than one Khān's son has been, or is being, educated in Swiss or English schools ". We can understand, therefore, the author's general conclusion that " like all languages that are not dead or moribund, the Bakhtiārī language is growing and incorporating extra-tribal elements, and the range of vision of the tribesmen is becoming extended beyond the geographical limits of their habitat, and this process is likely to continue until the dialect gradually approximates, both in vocabulary and in grammatical forms, more and more closely to a universal form of Persian. It will, however, be many a long day before the names of the concrete objects of everyday life are ousted, or characteristic forms of inflection give way to those of ordinary Persian. Such matters rest with the mothers of the tribe, who do not travel beyond the shadows of their own eternal hills ".

The Society may be congratulated that its Prize Publication Fund has already contributed such valuable monographs as these towards the scientific study of the Central Asiatic Eranian languages.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

THE THEOLOGY OF TULASI DAS. By J. N. CARPENTER, D.D.
7 × 5 in., vii+202 pp. Madras: Christian Lit. Soc. for
India, 1918.

Like Mr. Keay's *Hindi Literature* reviewed in our April number, this is a scholarly work with an appeal to learned and simple alike, but liable in these busy days to escape notice. Both are written by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, and are incidentally a testimony to the earnest,

thoughtful, and thorough way in which the writers and men like them approach their daily task.

At the outset we notice an apparently different attitude on the part of the authors to a question hitherto not discussed, but likely to assume importance in days to come, viz. the spelling of vernacular names. Mr. Keay spells Hindi names and names used in Hindi as they are pronounced by educated men when they converse together or read their native prose literature; Dr. Carpenter has followed the custom of clothing names in an ancient garb. He does not carry it out quite consistently; for example, *Bharat* is allowed two spellings for his name, and in a number of cases vowels are omitted. I have said advisedly an "apparently different attitude", for I believe that Dr. Carpenter would be the first to endorse what follows, and that he has in the spelling merely slipped into the common habit. He will no doubt forgive me for taking advantage of this opportunity to point out a danger into which he personally has not fallen and is not likely to fall. Others have not escaped it. The innocent matter of spelling raises a question of principle. Are languages to be kept in slavery to an inexorable past or are they to be encouraged to enter upon vigorous life with liberty to develop according to their natural genius? The problem is world-wide. We find it in Greece and Norway to-day. In India the condition of Bengali has been pathetically described by Sir George Grierson; Hindi and Urdu are not in so parlous a state, but their innate power and usefulness are impaired by a false devotion to models of other languages, Sanskrit on the one hand, Arabic and Persian on the other.

There are men who look upon all word-change as deterioration; they believe not in linguistic growth or development, but only in decadence and death. For them Hindi is corrupt Sanskrit or Prakrit, Urdu is a decaying mass of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. It seems to me that it is time to make a new protest. Let it be realized that language is a living organism, pulsating with life, glorious in the beauty

of growth ; that it must follow the laws of life and develop free and unhindered. Let us take a pride in the languages of to-day as fully equal to their ancestors, and give up the habit of calling the pronunciation and forms now used by educated men "corrupt" and "vulgar". Words like *Rām Candar*, *Lacchman*, *pavittar*, *kirpā*, *āgyā*, *gyān*, are correct according to the highest of standards—the standard of to-day. Some scholars are afraid of being thought ignorant if they discard an ancient spelling, but let them take courage. The day will come, I trust, when the use of old forms and spellings in the discussion of modern languages will be regarded in the same light as the wearing of Elizabethan ruffs and sleeves over a modern evening dress suit.

Dr. Carpenter has given us an admirable statement of Tulsī Dās's religious views as expressed in the *Rāmāyan*. Part I treats of introductory subjects ; Part II of the Supreme God, the Hindi Triad, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, and *Śiv*, of *Rām* and his incarnation, of *bhakti* and *māyā*, of sin and salvation. The author believes that the doctrine of *bhakti*, though originating in Hinduism, has been much influenced by Christianity. The printing of the book is not worthy of its contents. The Hindi type employed in the very full quotations is ugly, and the English translations of these quotations are in the same type as the main body of the book—a serious defect which makes it difficult to distinguish the author's theme from the illustrations by which he proves it. This difficulty, however, can be overcome. The quotations are well chosen and admirably fulfil their purpose. There is one fault which might be removed in a second edition. The book suffers from a certain lack of cohesion which sometimes makes one think rather of separate notes than of a continuous thesis.

It is small and easy to handle ; it would make a good companion for a railway journey. The author is to be congratulated upon having found time amid his other labours to write this excellent monograph.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

A HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS. By JAMES CUNNINGHAME GRANT DUFF. Revised annotated edition, with an introduction by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., late of the Indian Civil Service. Two volumes, 7½×5, xcii+585 pp. and xxi+572 pp. Oxford University Press, 1921.

Though it is true, as Mr. Edwardes says, that both as a monument of careful research and an authoritative account of the political rise and decline of the Maratha power, Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas still commands unqualified praise, it is the raw material of history which its author supplies rather than history itself. The book is a very faithful chronicle of events from 1323 to 1819, much of which is based on materials no longer accessible; but though enlivened here and there by shrewd comments on men and policies, it is singularly destitute of any merit as literature and the reader loses himself in a jungle of details and unfamiliar names. None the less, this reprint is very welcome, especially as in the most recent history of the Maratha people the literary charm is far more prominent than the historical sense. Grant Duff's work was first published in 1826 by Messrs. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, of Paternoster Row. Reprints were published in Bombay in 1863, 1873, and 1878, and in Calcutta in 1912. The last of these was a most unsatisfactory production, whilst copies of the earlier editions are very scarce. Mr. Edwardes, whose intimate knowledge of Bombay history and topography rendered him specially well qualified to undertake the task, has now given us what will undoubtedly remain the standard edition of what, in spite of all its defects, is a great work. The notes, in which he corrects the few minor mistakes made by Grant Duff and embodies the results of the historical, archaeological, and ethnological research of the last sixty years into the history of the Deccan and Hindustan, and the manners and customs of their peoples, leave nothing to be desired, whilst the Introduction contains valuable essays on the origin of the Marathas and on Maratha literature. Mr. Edwardes, in agreement with Mr. Enthoven, holds that

the modern Marathas of the upper class are in origin identical with the great Kunbi tribe and are now differentiated from it merely by the accident of social status, and that, both in the Maratha and the Kunbi ranks, there is a distinct aboriginal strain which facilitates the absorption of clearly aboriginal people like the Kolis and which justifies the conjecture that the Marathas, whether of high or low status, are descended without any appreciable foreign admixture from the primeval tribes of the Deccan and Southern Maratha country. We have only two faults to find with the book. The first is the absence of genealogical tables showing the descendants of Sivaji and the lineage of the Peshwas. The second is its cost. The increase in the price of the Oxford reprints of the great Anglo-Indian classics from 7s. 6d. to 18s. a volume must unfortunately place them entirely beyond the means of the class to which they most appeal.

F. NOYCE.

BERICHT ÜBER DIE GRABUNGEN DER AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN WIEN AUF DEN FRIEDHÖFEN VON EL-KUBANIEH-NORD, WINTER 1910-1911. By HERMANN JUNKER. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 181, 24, plates and 1 plan. Wien : Alfred Holder, 1920.

This work contains a full account of the finds made by the Nubian Expedition of the Vienna Academy in the season of 1910-11. The site comprises a Nubian cemetery (the main subject of the Report) an Egyptian cemetery of the Middle Kingdom, and a few burials of other periods. For each of the groups a description is given of the nature and construction of the graves, of the arrangement and treatment of the bodies, and of the pottery and other articles found with them. The descriptive portion of the work is preceded by discussions of various interesting problems connected with Nubia and the Egyptian inscriptions referring to it. The precise meaning of the words *Nehsi* and *Kash* is fully dealt with, as also the

question of dating. The conclusion is reached that the usual translation of "Negro" for *Neshi* is erroneous. Altogether this report should prove a valuable contribution towards our knowledge of ancient Nubia.

F. W. REID.

SHORT EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR. By Professor GÜNTHER ROEDER.

Translated by Rev. S. A. B. MERCER, Ph.D. 17½ × 5,
viii + 88 pp., 56 plates. New Haven : Yale University
Press ; London : Humphrey Milford, 1920.

This little work is intended to fill a want which has not hitherto been supplied in Egyptology, viz. "to convey the rudiments in a practical manner, in the cheapest possible form," together with all the necessary apparatus for reading, writing, and translating. The author assumes throughout that the theories of the Berlin school are beyond question, stating, for instance, that "all scripts render only the consonants". The student will, however, soon discover for himself that these theories are far from being universally accepted ; and in the meantime there is nothing to mislead him as to the meaning of the texts, which is, after all, the really important matter. The translation has, on the whole, been made into good, readable English, but it may be doubted whether it always expresses the exact sense of the German. The proposition that *s* changes to *ś* and the reverse can hardly be maintained ; the fact being rather that the signs *s* and *ś*, which stood for separate but closely related sounds in the Old Kingdom, came later to represent one only, so that they could be used interchangeably. It is interesting to note that the author does not recognize in the text Sethe's reading *ny-św.t*, "king," merely giving it as an alternative in the list of hieroglyphs and vocabulary, with a note of interrogation.

F. W. R.

VORSTUDIEN ZUR GRAMMATIK UND ZUM WÖRTERBUCHE DER SOQOTRI-SPRACHE. III. Eine Soqotri-Version der ersten sechs Kapitel aus dem Markus-Evangelium. Von Dr. MAXIMILIAN BITTNER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 141 pp. Vienna : Hölder, 1918.

Among the MSS. of the late D. H. von Müller, Dr. Bittner found a version of Mark i-vi in the dialect of Southern Arabic spoken in the island of Socotra. This version was made by Müller with the help of a Socotra native, to whom he read the Arabic text. The Soqotri and Arabic versions are here printed on opposite pages, with German literal translation and grammatical notes. This interesting study of a little-known form of speech will prove extremely valuable for comparative purposes, especially in connexion with the author's previous work on the Mehri and Shauri dialects.

A. WERNER.

THE STUDY OF PATANJALI. By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA, M.A. (Griffith Memorial Prize, 1915.) $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 260 pp. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1920.

The purpose of this book is said to be an account of the Yoga system of thought as contained in the Yoga sūtra of Patañjali, as interpreted by Vyāsa, Vācaspati, and Vijñāna Bhikshu. Consequently it does not deal with the history of the system, but expounds it in its consistently developed form. It is this which gives the peculiar value to the work, as the author is quite at home in the literature of the commentaries, and is able to base his statements on evidence that as yet has been little studied in Europe. He is, moreover, interested not only in stating the technical details of the system, but also in showing how the philosophical conceptions deal with many problems that have been and still are debated in the West.

One of the most characteristic doctrines of the system is that of Īśvara. It may be true, as Garbe says, that the idea of God is introduced without being mediated, and without

flecting any transformation of the nature and content of the āmkhya system. It did not restore to God the functions of first cause or prime motion or teleology, which had been placed elsewhere by Sāmkhya. But it does not follow that those who introduced the idea of a personal God merely had the purpose of making the system acceptable to wider circles. Philosophy must either explain or explain away the religious instinct that finds its expression in the love of God. Yoga accepted this, and thus embraced in its system a fundamental feature of human experience. Whether the result was really eclecticism is a question that remains.

Dr. Dasgupta thinks that the pioneers of scientific evolution do not give any reason for the growth of the animal world into man. It may be that they did not give a good or adequate reason, but surely it was just because a brilliant explanation was given both by Wallace and Darwin that the evolutionary theory has become so widely accepted. As for the general form of the evolutionary process "according to Darwin", is it not the fact that Darwin confined himself to biology and left the general process alone? In any case, it is not likely that the notion of teleology will be restored through the Yoga theory of God. This theory corresponds closely with the same feature in Western theology, which to the evolutionists was the great bugbear from which they hoped to be freed by the doctrine of natural selection.

The author promises us a larger work on Yoga, in which he will perhaps enlarge on the historical aspect. In this book certain views are, perhaps unintentionally, made to appear as if they were due to Patañjali, while they really come from Sāmkhya. Further, what did Patañjali do with the Sāmkhya views that conflict with his system? There is probably no one better equipped than Dr. Dasgupta with his intimate knowledge of the literature to make clear these questions of the real historical descent and development of the conceptions.

E. J. THOMAS.

LITERARY HISTORY OF SANSKRIT BUDDHISM (FROM WINTERNITZ, SYLVAIN LEVI, HUBER). By G. K. NARIMAN. 9 × 6, xiii + 382 pp. Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., 1920.

As the title of this work implies, it is largely a compilation. For the first thirteen chapters, i.e. half the book, the author tells us that he has entirely depended on Winternitz. The rest consists of appendices and valuable bibliographical notes, but much matter by the author has been embodied, not the least interesting being his own views on the relation of Pāli works to Sanskrit and the existence of a Sanskrit canon. He heads one section : " Enormous Buddhist Sanskrit literature in original and vernacular versions—Great discovery of the century ; Pali *not* the mother tongue of Buddhism," and tells us twice over that he drew upon himself a storm of indignation from Burmese monasteries for his refusal to look upon Pāli as the prime word of Buddha. But surely, apart from the question of taste, it was a waste of time to labour a point which every serious scholar accepts.

That there should be a Sanskrit canon, or at least a canon varying from that of the Theravādins, is a natural supposition, but with Mr. Nariman it remains so. Unfortunately he never feels bound to substantiate the statements which he is paraphrasing or enlarging on. He tells us that Sanskrit Buddhist literature contains texts which date from an antiquity as respectable as any of the Pāli texts, and then leaves the statement in the air. In chapter ii he asserts the existence of a Sanskrit canon, but this turns out to mean that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. From chapter vii it appears that there is no canon of the Mahāyāna, and there can be none. However, he tells us much about the large literature of Sanskrit Buddhism, though it is doubtful if the authorities translated by him would approve of all his statements. In his account of the Mahāvastu he says that Nalinī was seduced by " Eka Shringa ". Rather it was the other way about. The story of the pious beggar (p. 16, Mahāvastu, i, 317)

is not about the Bodhisattva but about Ghaṭikāra, and instead of being unknown in Pāli, occurs in the Majjhima. He compares the story of the three birds and the portrayal of hell with the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Both are in the Pāli canon. It is not exact to say that Rajendralala Mitra brought out an incomplete text of the Lalita Vistara. The vexed question of the cradle of Pāli is settled in one word. It is Ceylon (p. 201).

The book is printed in India, and allowance must naturally be made for the limitations of the Indian compositor, but Mr. Nariman cannot escape all responsibility for things like Bhuddist, Cowel, Bandall, Keath, Wallaser, Sanart, Grunwendel. He intends to translate Winternitz's book in full, and hopes it will not take him long to bring it out in English. Perhaps he will reflect again. An accurate translation will be a great boon to Indian scholars.

E. J. THOMAS.

ARDA-GVĪRĀ. (Part V of collected Sanskrit writings of the Parsis, edited by ERVAD SHERIARJI DADABHAI BHARUCHA.) 19 × 6, 100 pp. Bombay: Published by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties, 1920.

The collection to which this work belongs is to consist of seven parts. The four previous already published are the Sanskrit versions of *Khorda-Avestā-Arthah*, from the Pahlavi version of the Khorda-Avestā (1906), *Ijisni*, a part of the Yasna (1910), *Mainyō-i Khard* (1912), and *Skanda-Gumānī-Gujāra*, containing interesting confutations of other religions (1913). The remaining parts are minor works, among which are to be comprised a treatise on astronomy and Pāzand and Avestā glossaries. The whole was to have been carried out by Ervad Bharucha, but after his lamented death in 1915, the work is being ably continued by Mr. M. P. Khareghat.

The present work is known from the Pahlavi text published

by Haug and West as *The Book of Arda Viraf*. It is a type of literature well known in other religions, being an account of the visions of the high priest Viraf, in which the destinies of the virtuous and sinners in the next world are revealed. Unfortunately, the Pāzend text from which the Sanskrit version was made is abbreviated, so that it has not the importance that might have been hoped. Mr. Khareghat also gives an old Gujarati version, made likewise from the Pāzend, and has conferred a boon on Parsi scholars and philological students generally by giving a sketch of old Gujarati grammar, as well as by his valuable notes on the text. Four photographic facsimiles of the text have also been given, with a table of the old Pāzend and Nāgarī alphabets, for which students of the manuscripts will be very thankful.

E. J. THOMAS.

JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

The last number of this Journal, dated April, 1921, but only recently received, is more interesting than usual. Mr. J. A. Stewart shows that the irrigation works of the Kyauksè district were a cause of the removal of the capital from Pagan to the north-east.

Major Enriquez contributes an article on the Taungbyon festival, none the less interesting because written, apparently, without reference to Mr. Stewart's description in Professor Ridgway's *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, or to the detailed account in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. It would be more valuable still if he gave the sources of his information.

Maung Tin's translation of the Chronicle of the City of Tagaung may be from a Burmese manuscript of unknown origin; but in a scientific journal one expects at least an attempt to fix its date. (This criticism applies with still greater force to San Shwe Bu's story of the Turtle, which for anything that appears in the text may be a story invented by San Shwe Bu himself, instead of genuine folk-lore.) It

contains two versions of the story of the Dragon of Tagaung (*JRAS.* October, 1917) apparently by different hands, and one of the authors has indulged largely in the common Burman amusement of inventing Burmese etymologies for place-names, most of which are probably not Burmese at all. There is internal evidence that the main version of the world-wide story of the dragon is at least not more primitive than that recorded in this Journal, for the Queen's seven husbands have grown into thirty-five! Some of the variations, however, are interesting, especially the ruse resorted to by the prince for killing the dragon. The translator's commentaries on the manuscript might be very interesting. Perhaps they will appear in a future number.

Mr. Stewart's next translations of Mon songs make one regret that he has not put on record the originals. The Journal can perform no more useful function than the recording of valuable literature, which now exists only in the memories of the people and may soon be lost for ever.

R. G. B.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PERSIAN PRINTED BOOKS IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM. By E. EDWARDS. 11 x 9, v + 967 pp.
London: British Museum, 1922.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the value of Mr. Edward Edwards' work, and that of his predecessor, Mr. A. G. Ellis, in the recently published *Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*. The catalogue, which is the first of its kind, has at last made it possible accurately to estimate the number of Persian texts which have been edited and published, and what quantity still remains in the obscurity of manuscript form. The amount of work already done is by no means insignificant, particularly in the realm of poetry, but there has been an unaccountable neglect of history and romance by scholars. For the first time also, the catalogue provides that complete and efficient bibliography of Persian printed books which students frequently need when

deciding upon the choice of an edition. Unfortunately, the choice is too often restricted, but here, at any rate, is an efficient index of what actually exists.

In the matter of arrangement, it is to be regretted that names of authors could not be set down in the order of the letters of the Persian alphabet, but doubtless there were difficulties in the way of providing a separate list for non-Persian editors and translators which that would have necessitated. However that may be, the present system of transliteration and arrangement is lucid enough for all practical purposes, and the work as a whole, with its general index of titles and classified subject index, forms an admirable guide to accessible Persian literature.

R. LEVY.

THE PRIMITIVE CULTURE OF INDIA. James G. Forlong
Fund Lectures. By Colonel T. C. HODSON. 10 × 6½,
133 pp. London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1922.

In his study of the primitive cultures of India, Colonel Hodson has selected an interesting subject, which he has discussed with considerable ability and wide reading in sociological literature. The question naturally arises: which tribes in India retain a form of culture that can be justly regarded as "primitive"? In one passage he seems to attempt a definition of the term: "There are still groups where agriculture is not practised, where the weapons of the chase are the products of nature, stones, sticks, bows whose strings are sinews, where the dominion of nature is almost absolute." Now, no one knows better than Colonel Hodson, the author of two excellent monographs in the series descriptive of the frontier tribes of Assam, which we owe to the enterprise and liberality of the local government, who naturally draws much of his materials from the tribes with which he is personally acquainted, that they conform to his definition only in an imperfect way. To take agriculture, for example, they are

skilled in farming, use irrigation and terraced cultivation. Mr. Mills, in his account of the Lhota Nāgas, tells us that they grow thirteen varieties of rice, maize, and other crops, including cotton, of which there is a considerable export trade. Some of these people, again, are skilled in weaving, dyeing, and basketry. They retain, of course, certain survivals, like head-hunting and other objectionable practices, which the higher culture condemns, but this is more or less the case with the other forest or menial tribes of India. The only people in the Empire who can be justly classed as "primitive" are some pre-Dravidians in the south—Kadirs, Chanchus, or Irulas—the last of whom, according to Captain Harkness, used to grow a little corn the ears of which they used to parch by lighting a fire on the nearest rock, and then brushing away the embers, so as to form a cooking-place. Some of the semi-nomadic tribes in Chota Nagpur, the Kheriyas and Birkors, answer these conditions, as do certain groups in Upper Burma and the Shan States. When Colonel Hodson, as it may be hoped he will, advances his survey, he may with advantage extend it to groups which more closely agree with his definition. Meanwhile his lectures are interesting and instructive, and furnish a useful contribution to our knowledge of the lower culture in India.

W. CROOKE.

A PROVISIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MUHAMMADAN ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA. By K. A. C. CRESWELL, Hon. A.R.I.B.A. Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*. 10½ × 8½, Vol. LI, 11 × 8, pp. 81–108, 165–79. Bombay: British India Press, 1922.

Students will be grateful for this work. The items are arranged in a few broad groups, such as names of authors and place-names, and much care must have been devoted to the individual notices, the particulars given being concise but clear and adequate. There may be about 400 entries. The

amount of labour that such a guide will save can easily be appreciated.

Mr. Creswell mentions that this bibliography is a section of a bibliography of the architecture, arts, and crafts of Islam, which could not now be published in book form owing to the war, and that he hopes to publish other sections in the near future. The compilation of the main bibliography seems to have reached a fairly advanced stage, and it is a pity that the whole book cannot appear in one volume, for to judge from this instalment it would be most valuable.

A. R. GUEST.

QUELQUES PAGES DE L'HISTOIRE RELIGIEUSE DU JAPON :
 CONFÉRENCES FAITES AU COLLÈGE DE FRANCE. Par
 MARAHARU ANESAKI (Annales du Musée Guimet,
 Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, tome 43). $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$,
 ix+173 pp. Paris : Edmond Bernard, 1921.

In these six lectures Mr. Anesaki undertakes a task of immense difficulty. He treats almost exclusively of one religion, Buddhism; yet so varied were its manifestations in Japan that a description of them all would constitute a veritable encyclopædia of religion. The lecturer has effected with great skill the work of rigorous selection and compression which circumstances imposed upon him. In these few pages he supplies an ideal introduction to the study of Japanese Buddhism, and in the last chapter finds space to describe some very interesting phases of modern, semi-Buddhist mysticism.

A happy feature of the book is the author's wise avoidance of all fads and whims, fanciful analogies and ill-regulated enthusiasms. A few glaring misprints require correction, e.g. *Yokkekyō* for *Hokkekyō* on p. 19. The transliteration of Chinese words is occasionally eccentric, e.g. on p. 138, *Tch'e-yong* for *K'i-yun*, "spirit-rhythm." I give the phrase in its French transcription, since this is the one Mr. Anesaki on the whole adopts.

A. WALEY.

SHER SHAH. By KALIKAYANJAN QANUNGO, M.A., Professor Ramjan College, Delhi. Calcutta : Majumdar & Co., 1922.

This is a careful and well-written life of the famous Afghan ruler of India in the sixteenth century. It is a cheerful evidence that the spirit of research is abroad among the Bengalees and that the East is no longer to be put off with rhetoric and exaggeration. It was a reproach of the illustrious Christian Lassen that the Oriental was without feeling for accuracy or measured language, but the remark has had to be modified of late years. I only hope that the new spirit may not be carried too far, and that we shall still have poetry and picturesqueness of statement from the East. The works of the venerable Jadu Nath Sircar show that there is a danger of this happening. His life of Aurangzeb, for instance, has great merit, but does it really show us the pathetic figure of the great Muhammadan Puritan ? Aurangzeb was in several respects a greater and better man than Akbar, and to this day he is the real hero of the Moslem. But as depicted in Jadu Nath's several volumes he has but little attraction. His letters are poor and uninteresting. And yet he seems to have been beloved as well as admired by his own circle. He had an interesting love affair, and when that was over he, a wearied Titan, went on steadily to his goal for fifty or sixty years.

Professor Kalikavanjan has executed his task with great labour and thoroughness, and he has told us much that is not generally known. But he seems to be afraid of picturesque writing and generally eschews it. He has not told us of the enthusiasm of the crabbed Badayuni for Sher Shah, and how he was moved to thank God for having been born in the lifetime of so just a king. In saying this he was thinking of his own prophet, who in a still more generous spirit thanked God that he had been born in the lifetime of the infidel, but just Nushirvan.

It goes without saying that Sher Shah was unscrupulous. He lived in a time and country when, according to a famous

saying of a Frenchman, there were only two paths to greatness in public life—the path of the eagle or the path of the serpent. The professor does not deny the treachery in Puran Mal's case, though he makes a half-hearted attempt to extenuate it by laying the blame on Sher Shah's religious adviser, as if Sher Shah was likely to be misled by a Moolah !

The book on Sher Shah is well got up, and contains an interesting photograph of his ancestral home in Sasseram, which, I believe, has been lately renovated by the British Government. But it wants a full bibliography. Garçin de Tassy's chronicle is not referred to, and there should have been a fuller reference to Newal Kishore's edition of Nizamud-din's work. It is still the best account we have of Sher Shah. I do not see any sneer in Abu-l-Fazl's remark about Sher Shah's having been a horse-chanter. But if there is, it was merited by Sher Shah or his friends' claim of royal blood.

H. B.

ARS ASIATICA, No. III. By A. RODIN, A. COOMARASWAMY, E. HAVELL, and V. GOLOUBEV. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$, 47 plates. Brussels: Van Oest, 1921.

This publication is the third of a series designed to provide, when complete, a set of photographic illustrations of the masterpieces of ancient Asiatic art. It was begun several years ago, but was interrupted for six years by the war.

The work is produced under the joint authorship of the celebrated sculptor M. Rodin, Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Mr. E. B. Havell, and M. Goloubew. It is an édition de luxe, and well worth the attention of all lovers of art. Forty-seven excellent plates are presented. The first twelve are taken up with two very fine bronze figures of the dancing Śiva, now in the Madras Museum, and supposed to date from about the tenth century A.D. Then we have fourteen photographs of the great *Trimūrti* figure in the Elephanta cave. Finally twenty-one illustrations of the sculptures of the rock-cut

Rathas and cave-temples and groups at Māvalipuram, south of Madras, generally known to travellers as "The Seven Pagodas".

M. Rodin's eulogy of the two bronze Śivas is well-deserved. The figures are perhaps the best extant examples of a design that has often been copied.

The authors have attributed the great *Rathas* at Māvalivaram (otherwise Mahābalipuram or Māmallapuram) and the rock-cut sculpture of the "descent of the Ganges" somewhat roughly to the Pallava kings of the seventh century A.D.; and the structural "shore temple" to the period from the seventh to the ninth century. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, in his *Pallava Antiquities* (1916), has given excellent reasons for a much closer attribution. He holds it proved that while the Pallava king Mahēndravarman was the first to introduce into the south about A.D. 618 the art which, under late Roman influence, had produced on the bank of the Krishna river the marvellous marble sculptures of Amarāvati, and had himself hollowed out of the rock in many places in the Tamil country a series of temples and shrines, it is to his son Narasimhavarman I (*circa* A.D. 630-68) that we owe the rock-cut *Rathas* and figures and the great "Ganges" group at Māvalivaram. Dubreuil holds that these were finished in the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I, and were abandoned about A.D. 674; and that the "shore temple" was afterwards constructed by the latter's successor Narasimhavarman II, surnamed Rājasimha, the lion-king, who reigned about A.D. 700.

The group sculptured on the face of the great boulder of granite, and called by the authors "The Descent of the Ganges", has up to now been generally known as "Arjuna's Penance", from the prominent figure of an emaciated ascetic standing in front of the god Śiva somewhat high on the rock. But M. Goloubew's arguments go to show that the latter was a misnomer, and that the group, inspired by a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic, represents the moment when

the River Ganges descended to the earth from the heavenly abode of Śiva at the command of the god, after King Bhagīratha had fasted for a thousand years to obtain the boon.

It is difficult to speak too highly of these wonderful sculptures. The men, women, and deities represented seem positively alive: they are so true to nature and so full of energy and action. Perhaps the most effective of all is the figure of the old ascetic sitting humbly before the door of a shrine (plate xxxiii).

The authors are to be congratulated on their success. We hope to see many more of these reproductions. R. S.

A PEEP INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA. By R. G. BHANDARKAR. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, iv + 74 pp. Bombay: Tara-porevala, 1920.

ANCIENT INDIA. By Upendra Nath Ball. 7×5 , iv + 236 pp. Calcutta: Kamala Book Depot, 1921.

We welcome the new edition of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's famous essay on the early history of India. It covers the period from the beginning of the Maurya dynasty to the end of the Gupta period, and in spite of its brevity is full of information and thoughtful criticism. The author still adheres to his late date for the Kushan dynasty, and in this he now has a supporter in Mr. R. C. Majumdar.

In his little volume of 240 pages Mr. Upendra Nath Ball has brought the main facts of ancient Indian history within the reach of every Indian student. The literature of Indian history is now so extensive that the student who is not going to specialize requires a little book like this. Mr. Ball has supplied the want of a cheap guide to the results of recent research for the general reader in an admirable fashion. The period covered is from the Vedic age to the Muhammadan conquest. The book, of course, does not claim great originality, but there is nothing to compare with it in value for the purpose for which it is intended. It is sure of a hearty reception in India, and deserves to be well known in Europe also.

J. ALLAN.

WOMEN OF INDIA. By O. ROTHFELD. Painted by M. V. Dhurandhar. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 222 pp., 48 coloured plates. London: Simpkin Marshall, 1921.

This artistic volume contains a thoughtful disquisition on a very difficult subject. The vastness of the theme, as well as its diversity, might well appal the boldest inquirer after truth, but Mr. Otto Rothfeld selects certain types, and with the aid of contrast and analysis endeavours "to express the essential atmosphere and habit" of the Indian woman. Moreover, as he points out, three main ideas are common to every type, contentment with their own womanhood, faith in religion, and the natural hope of love. These women, he says, "are so thoroughly women, beyond and above all else." Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar's fine illustrations give, in vivid colours, a faithful reproduction of each detail of dress and form, and are certainly most attractive, but Lady Lawley's drawings in Mrs. F. E. Penny's *Southern India* seem to contain a greater warmth of reality. Can it be because the latter pictures were painted from living models by a woman and instinctively interpret woman better than the most careful drawings by an artist of the sterner sex?

Mr. Rothfeld follows three divisions in the study of his subject. "The ladies of the aristocracy" include, of course, the Mussulman nobility and the Kshatriya class of Hindus, more particularly the Rajputs, who, as he says, are "almost Indian chivalry itself." The charming ladies of the Nair community, though Sudras by caste, are given a place in this noble class. The second division is the middle class, and is headed by the Brahman, who at first sight would be looked for among the aristocrats. The well-known fourfold division of Hindu castes accords, without any question, the supremacy to these priestly hierarchs, but Mr. Rothfeld appears to be right in bringing them into the chapter which deals mainly with professional classes. The working and aboriginal classes form the third division. The much-debated subject of "the Dancing Girl" is treated with tactful skill in a separate chapter.

Mrs. Penny, in describing the village women of Southern India, alleges that "woman's power lies in motherhood and in making or superintending the making of a good curry". Woman's occupation is and always will be that of the home-maker, but, as a writer in a recent magazine points out, she has the "love of beauty which is art, the calm reasonableness which is born of logic, and the instinct to blend life into a great harmony, which is fundamentally religion". Mr. Rothfeld draws a very effective picture of the Brahman lady living "as it were, in a spiritual cloister", and, indeed, for all grades of Indian womanhood it may be truly said that every thought, every act is moulded by religion. Education, as known in the West, has hardly touched them, and is not likely to do so until an Indian Mary Astell comes forward to interest her sisters in the betterment of woman-kind. It will be remembered that at the close of the seventeenth century Mary Astell made the first considered attempt to advance "the true and greatest interest" of Englishwomen. In India, however, early marriage and the gosha system are inimical to the higher education of girls. The Nairs, the Parsis, and the Christians are notable exceptions. Amongst the Nairs of the West Coast girls and boys are all educated, and there is an openness and sincerity of manner uncommon elsewhere. Descent is through the female, "the way of the mother," as the system is called locally. Polyandry was the custom in former years, but has practically vanished, and under modern conditions the wife and children live under the husband's protection.

In a brief review it is impossible to do more than touch upon a few features of Mr. Rothfeld's interesting studies. Two chapters are devoted to the complicated subject of marriage. "In India, even more than in Europe," says Mr. Rothfeld, "certainly more than in Northern Europe, marriage is to a woman everything." The census shows more males than females, and monogamy is by no means universal, so it is possible for every girl to find a husband. With the Mussulmans the marriage contract is of a business character, while with all Hindus marriage is a religious sacrament. Throughout the book it is clear that the author has

grasped the main essentials of Indian womanhood, a lofty and selfless ideal, as he rightly calls it, unremitting service in temple and in home, self-sacrifice, and an unfailing love of children. "Not without reason did the writers of Old India liken the perfect woman to a lotus in that she is tender as a flower."

R. C. CULLING CARR.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM: PART I. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, 26 pp., 53 plates. London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1921.

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE—TEXTES CUNÉIFORMES. TOME IV: TABLETTES CAPPADOCIENNES. By G. CONTENAU. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8$, 70 plates. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1920.

The British Museum possesses a large collection of cuneiform tablets in what is known as the Cappadocian dialect of Assyrian from Kara Eyuk, 18 kilometres north-east of Kaisariyeh. Ninety-nine of these are now published from the copies made by Mr. Sidney Smith, together with Mr. Sidney Smith's introduction to them and a list of the characters. The publication is a valuable contribution to our knowledge, the introduction, short as it is, being especially good and full of new light. It materially increases our knowledge of the interesting dialect in which the texts are written.

The texts are for the most part of a commercial character, though some of them relate to legal matters, and there are a few private letters. But their historical importance far exceeds the character of their contents, as they belong to the age of the Third Dynasty of Ur (*circ.* 2400 B.C.), and throw an astonishing light on the condition of eastern Asia Minor at the time. Kara Eyuk is the site of the city of Ganis, also written Kanis in the later Hittite texts, and it was a centre of Assyro-Babylonian activity and culture in the north-west. The mines of silver, lead, and copper in the Taurus were worked by Babylonian firms, whose agents traversed the excellent roads that had been made throughout Cappadocia, and led southwards past Nineveh and

Assur to Babylonia. Some of the roads led also to the "sea", which is mentioned in one of the tablets in the Louvre (104, 8). Along these roads the postman travelled, carrying letters and a species of cheque.

The fresh information which has come to light has made me give up my old belief that Ganis was a military as well as a commercial colony. There was a garrison of soldiers there, but it was merely for the purposes of defence; the community itself was purely commercial. Hence, when the central power in Babylonia became weak, and the city was left to defend itself, it fell a prey to its enemies among the native population and M. Chantre's excavations have shown that it was utterly consumed by fire. It was already in existence before the Babylonian occupation, since we learn from tablets found at Boghaz Keui that it had been an ally of the Proto-Hittites and people of Garsaura in their war against Sargon of Akkad (2800 B.C.).

Another fact which the increase in our materials is bringing to light is that the Cappadocian "dialect" is really the westernmost form of the Amorite or West-Semitic language, the easternmost form of which was spoken in Assyria. What we call Assyrian must be regarded as an artificial language, based on the literary language of Babylonia, like the official "Hittite" of Boghaz Keui, which is denominated "the language of the scribes", or, I should be inclined to add, the Hebrew of the Old Testament. They are literary and not colloquial forms of speech. In "Cappadocian", on the other hand, we have an attempt to represent the language actually spoken by the people of the locality, as is also the case with certain tablets found to the east of Nineveh.

As I have already said, Mr. Sidney Smith has succeeded in clearing up the meaning of many words, and furthering the decipherment of the texts. Thus he has succeeded in explaining the difficult word *duatu*, and the phrase *taklam etik* "guarantees a credit". SI-A, however, which he leaves unexplained, is the ideographic "complete"; *bazurtim* usually has the sense of (the Persian) "bazaar" rather than of

"district", and I can find no evidence that the *limu* or eponym of the week was the *garum* or "prefect". In the text translated on p. 17 *niati* is "for us", not "the case".

He notes how very rarely the "metal called *zibaru*, *zibaratim*, is referred to". It is, in fact, the Assyrian *šiparru*, "bronze," and as the Babylonian merchants were concerned with the exploitation of the mines and not with metallurgical operations, the absence of references to the metal is easily accounted for. It was only at a much later date that metal working was carried on at the mining centres; thus a Hittite text from Boghaz Keui (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi*, iv, 1, 39, 40) states that "they bring copper and bronze from the city of Alasiya and Mount Taggata", but that was a thousand years later.

Dr. Contenau has followed up the publication of his private collection of Cappadocian tablets by the publication of the collection in the Louvre, amounting to 111, together with many fragments. The work has been performed with his customary care and thoroughness, and his copies of the tablets are models of the way in which a cuneiform text should be reproduced. One of the tablets mentions the city or country of Waskhania, in which we evidently have the original of the classical Askania (which appears in Genesis as Ashkena-z, with the Hittite suffix, -zi).

Another locality mentioned in them is Sa-la-duar, Sa-la-duwar; this is clearly the Semitized form of the Hittite Salatiwar, which is coupled with Kanis in KAB. iv, 13, 41. Another city which is not infrequently named in the Cappadocian texts is Zalba; this is associated in the Hittite texts with Zippalanda, Ankuwa, and other places not far from Boghaz Keui (e.g. KAB. iv, 13, 21). An active intercourse was carried on between Kanis and Burus-Khatim, also written Burustim, which I have compared with the classical Borissos, and in which Eheloff now proposes to see the Bursakhanda of Sargon of Akkad. In the Hittite texts, which place the city in the neighbourhood of Tyana, the name appears also as

Barsukhanda. Both *-kh* and *-anda* are common suffixes in the geographical names of Asia Minor. *Khatim*, however, must be intended either for Khatti, "Hittite," or *Khatti*, "silver". One of the texts published by Dr. Contenau indicates that there was a "greater" as well as a "lesser" city of Burus-Khatim, and there seem to have been silver-mines in its neighbourhood.

A. H. SAYCE.

THE FOLK LITERATURE OF BENGAL. (Being lectures delivered to the Calcutta University in 1917, as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow in the history of Bengali Language and Literature.) RAI SAHEB DINESH CHANDRA SEN. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, 362 pp. University of Calcutta, 1920.

THE VAISHNAVA LITERATURE OF MEDIEVAL BENGAL. RAI SAHEB DINESH CHANDRA SEN. 7×4 , 257 pp. University of Calcutta, 1917.

CHAITANYA AND HIS COMPANIONS. RAI SAHEB DINESH CHANDRA SEN. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, 309 pp. 2 coloured plates. University of Calcutta, 1917.

Rai Saheb Dinesh Chandra Sen has done his countrymen a great service by publishing in book form these results of his researches into the folk-lore and poetry of Bengal. He has with meticulous care, succeeded in putting into print the "bed rock", so to speak, of Bengali culture and literature, and has revealed the inspiration and guiding sources of modern Bengali secular and poetic thought. Folk-lore is the handmaid of history. It is a common meeting ground of all nations, and it is perhaps the principal reason why human nature has changed very little in essentials throughout the ages. In the first fifty pages of "Folk Literature of Bengal", the Rai Saheb points out some striking coincidences between certain Bengali and European folk tales, and who can say with truth that they have not in some way a common origin? Strangely similar are the nursery tales of "Faithful John" and "Fakirchand", while "Hans in Luck" has its Bengali

counterpart in that of the fox who set out to trade. But the comparison we like best is that between "Jack the Giant-killer" and the "Wrestler twenty-two men strong", whose determination to "get at" his rival, twenty-three men strong, was attended with some amusing circumstances.

The author quotes an interesting discovery of some Bengali Mahomedans, whose forefathers became converts in the fourteenth century A.D., and who still sing the Hindu songs about Lakshmi, one of the deities which those forefathers were compelled to renounce. The folk tales of Bengal are full of interest, and they should not be missed by European students of folk-lore. After reading them one is left with a sense of curiosity as to whether Chinese folk stories at all resemble those of Europe and India. Chinese culture is so fundamentally different from that of European and the Indo-Aryan nations that it would scarcely be surprising to find that the morals pointed out in the folk tales of the latter communities have very little to identify any indication of a common origin with the folk-lore of the followers of Confucius.

In his two other volumes, Rai Saheb Dinesh Chandra Sen has practically enumerated the lives of the poets of his country who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. "The Vaisnava Literature" is more or less written around the life of the great Sanyasi, Chaitanya, of whom and of whose companions the author writes exclusively in a separate volume.

There are now four Vaisnava sects—those of Maddhi, Sanaka, Rudra, and Shri—and all are devotees to the incarnation of God, which was personified in Krishna of Gokul. The Rai Saheb, towards the end of "Vaisnava Literature" discusses the possibility of Krishna of the Vaishnavas being identical with Christ. But the similarity of the two names can really only be considered as coincidental. We have the time which Christ spent on earth authenticated. The history of Krishna goes far further back, and much as we might like to accept the theory of identity, we are obliged to come to the conclusion that the evidence is insufficient.

The holy life of Chaitanya inspired many of those who came after him to be poetical about it. His "passing away"—the poets do not speak of his death—in about 1533 gave them a worthy theme, and the Rai Saheb has studied his subject with obvious feelings of respect and admiration, both for Chaitanya and his extollers.

Rai Saheb Dinesh Chandra Sen has adopted the now unusual spelling of Hindu names. Nowadays it has become almost pedantic to write "Kṛṣṇa" for "Krishna", while "Çyāmānanda" and "Çṛinivāsa" at first almost escape recognition, as "Shyamananda" and "Shrinivasa".

H. W-B.

UN POÈTE ARABE D'ANDALOUSIE : IBN ZAIDOUN. Étude, etc., par AUGUSTE COUR, Professeur à la chair publique d'arabe de Constantine. Octavo, 159 pp. and 66 pp. of Arabic text. Constantine, 1920.

The study of the history and literature of the Arabs in Spain since the time of Dozy has practically only been cultivated by Codera and his pupils, and these have been almost exclusively concerned with the history of their native country. It is therefore gratifying that Professor Cour has brought together all that is known about Ibn Zaidūn, who has been styled by Dozy the Tibull of the Spanish Arabs. In addition to works dealing with the history of Spain and biographies of celebrated men, Professor Cour has utilized the Dīwān of Ibn Zaidūn, which is preserved in two manuscripts in the Sultāniyya Library at Cairo, and ample extracts are given in the Arabic appendix to his study.

The life of Ibn Zaidūn was eventful enough to be the subject of a tale which might have found a place in the Arabian Nights. In his younger years he fell in love with the princess Wallada, daughter of the last Omāyyade, Ameer of his native city Cordoba, which affection found a ready response in

this highly educated lady. On account of some quarrel between the lovers, and also because their meetings through lack of discretion became publicly known, an estrangement followed. This opportunity was seized by his rival, Ibn 'Abdūs, a wealthy citizen of Cordoba, who also had some reputation as a poet. When Ibn Zaidūn discovered that his rival had replaced him in the favour of his lady, he wrote to him an epistle which purports to have been addressed by Wallāda herself to Ibn 'Abdūs. This epistle, filled with all kinds of allusions to Arab traditions, a kind of *Divina Commedia*, has ever since been considered by Arabic critics a masterpiece of epistolary composition and has been printed repeatedly in Egypt with the commentary of Ibn Nubāta. Professor Cour has translated the whole epistle with abbreviated comments taken from the above-named commentary.

Ibn Zaidūn's fortunes after this underwent a change for the worse. He suffered imprisonment from his sovereign Ibn Jahwar, being suspected of political intrigues with the 'Abbādite rulers of Seville, but when he regained his liberty he was employed as ambassador to the court of Seville, which finally resulted in him settling in the latter city. Probably he was instrumental in the conquest of Cordoba by al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād, as he had many friends in his native city. His popularity there led to his disgrace and al-Mu'tamid eagerly seized an opportunity to send him and his son Abū Bakr to Seville, where he died on the 15th of the month Rajab 463 (18th April, A.D. 1071).

Professor Cour discusses the justification of Ibn Zaidūn being called the Tibullus of the Spanish Arabs, and we must agree with him that this title can only have been given him by those who have not read all his poems. Except for the poems he addressed to Wallāda, his poetry is of the same kind as students of this class of literature are acquainted with from the *dīwān* of Mutanabbi, who appears to have been one of the sources of his inspiration. They are studied expressions of intellect, such

as it is considered from the point of view of an Arab critic, but never expressions of the emotions of the heart.

The Arabic appendix, alas! without any vocalization, gives the text of the pieces of poetry translated in the study. The translation of Arabic poetry is always difficult on account of the predilection of poets for far-fetched metaphors and the danger of wrongly interpreting the badly written unvocalized consonants, and Professor Cour has on several occasions given a translation which in my opinion is wrong. As examples I have at random selected poems 16 and 17 of the Arabic text, which are translated on pages 31 to 35.

16 v. 7. A quoi t'invitaient donc les causes les plus élevées " he translates *العلَى* instead of *القلَى*. The translation should be: "To what have the causes which bring annoyance bewitched the."

16 v. 8. The metre of the first hemistich is wrong, we must probably read: *أَلَمْ أَلْزَمْ الصَّبْرَ كَيْهًا أَخَفَّ*.

16 v. 13. Read *وَفَاءٍ* in first hemistich.

16 v. 16. Read *الْعِلَلُ*.

16 v. 18. The translation should be: "If you were willing you would come back to deeds of pure intention, and to these would be added the good qualities of old."

17 v. 1. *الشَّرَى* is the name of a place renowned for lions. Cf. Yaqut s.v.

17 v. 4. *الشَّجَاع* does not mean "lion", but "snake", and *نَهْوَسَ* is used of a poisonous snake only.

17 v. 16. The meaning is approximately: "Explain to me! Do I not utterly crush with the weight of my chest (like a camel lying down) anyone who rises up against me?"

17 v. 17. The meaning is : " Dost thou not smell the waft of my good breeding and consider that it is musk which spreads its perfume ? "

17 v. 18. The translation should read : " Is it not one of my inborn qualities to rush towards gardens which are smiling (lit. laughing) with watercourses ? "

It is to be regretted that Professor Cour has not taken sufficient care in printing proper names in their correct pronunciation. The long vowels are marked, but not always, and frequently wrongly. The name Jahwar is spelled Djahouâr, but on more than one occasion Djahouâr. The

well-known name ^{أشم} is on page 35, notes 4 and 5, spelled Akh'tam. It is, however, in the translation of the epistle of Ibn Zaidûn and the foot-notes to it that the author has frequently erred. He had as a help for the elucidation of the many historical allusions the commentary of Ibn Nubâta printed in Bûlâq in A.H. 1278, This edition has no vowels, but these can be ascertained from other sources. p. 36, " An-Nataf." This, according to the author's mode of transcription, should read " an-Nat'if " (an-Natîf), cf. Lisân 12,250, line 7.

p. 37, line 5, read : " Nouaira " (Nuwaira).

p. 37, line 6, read : " Ouroua " ('Urwa).

p. 37, line 9, read : " Samaou'al " not Samawal.

p. 37, note 5, ar-Rahhâl did not " passer son temps a visiter les souverains ", but was a kind of official guide appointed by the kings of al-Hîra to assure the safe transit of caravans through the territory under their jurisdiction.

p. 37, note 6, read : " Khazâz " not " Khazâr "; in addition not the Romans but the Persians were routed in this battle. We should also read " Basous " according to the author's mode of transcription and not " Baçous ".

p. 38, line 1, read " Solaka ".

p. 38, line 4 : " Iyâs fils de Moaouiya ".

p. 38, line 11 : " Harim " not " Harm "; so also in note 9.

p. 38, note 10. This surely is a bad slip of memory. Al-Hajjāj did not conquer the 'Irāq, but was for many years its terrible governor. His history is too well known for me to enlarge upon it.

p. 38, note 11. Qutaiba ibn Muslim did not conquer the land beyond the River Euphrates. *Mā warā' an-Nahr* means the land beyond the River Oxus, the land of the Turks.

p. RW42, line 12. Not "Ma'idi" but "Mu'aidī", a diminutive of Ma'addī.

p. 44, line 6, read "Yasār".

p. 44, line 11: "Misma'".

p. 44, note 1 N: "Sakābi".

p. 46, note 9: "Ouhaimir" (Uḥaimir) and "Ma'add".

In spite of these details, the work of Professor Cour is a clear exposition of the life of a celebrated Arab poet of the Middle Ages, throwing light upon the civilization of the Arabs of that period.

F. KRENKOW.

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE
VAISHNAVA SECT. By HEM CHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI,
University of Calcutta. 8vo, pp. 146. 1920.

The scope of this small book is rightly expressed in its title. The author, who is Lecturer in History in the Calcutta University, has collected and discussed statements, references, and allusions from the early literature to throw light on the position and life of Kṛṣṇa and the growth of Bhāgavatism. He deals with the various theories that have been put forward, and with good reasons discredits the views that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a solar deity or a tribal god or a vegetation deity. He is right in treating Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as one person, the Vṛṣṇi chief, but he unnecessarily identifies him with Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, the scholar mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Kṛṣṇa was a very common name, and Devaka (and so the feminine Devakī) an ordinary name, and to identify

the two persons because of the similarity of names, in spite of the patent differences, is as unsound as, for instance, to identify James I and James the Old Pretender because their mothers were named Mary, or to make George I, George II, and George IV one person because they all had mothers named Sophia. The book will be a useful help towards the study of Bhāgavatism, though the author seems to push his inferences at times beyond the strict limit.

F. E. PARGITER.

THE PARSIS OF ANCIENT INDIA. By SHAPURJI KAVASJI HODIVALA. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, vi + 152 pp., 1 plate. Dorab Saklatwalla Memorial Series No. 11. Bombay, 1920.

This book is a very complete collection of all records, literary, epigraphical, and numismatic, dealing with the connexion between Persia and India from the earliest times to the sixteenth century A.D. The author has done his work most thoroughly, and little can have escaped him, and his discussion of the references to Pahlavas in inscriptions is particularly full. Considerable critical ability is shown in the exhaustive discussion of Dr. Spooner's theory of a "Zoroastrian Period in Indian History", which, however fascinating it may appear to the Parsi community, Mr. Hodivala reluctantly finds inconsistent with the facts of history. A very satisfactory index adds to the value of the book.

J. ALLAN.

SOUTH INDIAN SHRINES. By P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR, Madras. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 263 pp., 116 plates. Times Publishing Co., 1920.

SOUTH INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS, Vol. III, Part III. By H. KRISHNA SASTRI. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10$, pp. 439, 19 plates. Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. 29. Government Press, Madras, 1920.

Mr. Jagadisa Ayyar's very fully illustrated book describes some hundreds of South Indian temples and shrines with

their treasures. Much useful information is given about local cults and traditions, while the more general historical notes and outlines of Hindu ideals and beliefs are just what is required for a guide-book of this kind.

The latest part of "South Indian Inscriptions" contains 117 miscellaneous inscriptions from the Tamil country. The great majority are short dedicatory inscriptions in Tamil. More important is No. 128, the facsimiles, text, and translation of the Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chola, first described thirty years ago by Hultsch in his Report on Epigraphy for 1891. The long No. 151, from the Uma maheśvarasvamin temple at Konerirajapuram is an important document for the study of the organization of the mediaeval temple. Of the greatest historical importance are the Tiruvalangadu copper plates of the sixth year of Rājendra-Chola I in Sanskrit and Tamil, with their long genealogy of the Chola family, details of Rājendra-Chola's reign, and the long description of the organization of an Indian village. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri has once more earned the gratitude of students of Indian history.

J. ALLAN.

MITHRAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. By L. PATTERSON, M.A.
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$; pp. ix + 102. Cambridge: University Press,
1921.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE. By E. J. THOMPSON, B.A., M.C.
 $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$; pp. xi + 112. Calcutta: Association Press,
1921.

Mr. Patterson's study in comparative religion is carried out in a scholar-like and careful fashion. In his exposition of Mithraism, he deals with origins, attributes, sacrifice, ethics, orders, sacraments, and eschatology. The discussions are always clear, and the author, while always fair and just in his criticisms of others, preserves a praiseworthy independence of judgment. The work serves its purpose admirably in every respect. I miss one or two items from the bibliography, but

it has all the essential materials, and is doubtless sufficient. There is also a good index.

Mr. Thompson's account of Tagore is written in an extremely interesting manner, and supplies exactly what was wanted. There are two chapters on Tagore's life, and two on his work. Mr. Thompson deals with the poet's work with fine sympathy, but never allows himself to lose critical poise and balanced judgment, and this is well. I cordially endorse what he says on what seems to me the absurd attempt to erect this poet into a philosopher. The least fortunate portion of the book—a difficult part to write, it may be admitted—is the last chapter, where the political conditions of India are involved. On which I only now make the general reflection that a good deal that emanates from the educated section of India is rather disappointing, alike in its lack of breadth of view, and of the wisdom that should accompany and moderate the sort of knowledge which merely “puffeth up”.

JAMES LINDSAY.

TRANSLATIONS OF EASTERN POETRY AND PROSE. By
REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, Litt.D., LL.D. 8 × 5½.
xiv + 200 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1922.

This book contains 175 pieces of translation from Arabic and Persian texts chosen from thirty-two Arabic and twenty Persian authors. A certain proportion of the verse has appeared before, but the great bulk of the extracts are seen here for the first time in an English dress. The principle on which they have been chosen is that of literary merit and general interest, the author believing “that translators do best in translating what they have enjoyed”. The series, covering some ten centuries, is arranged chronologically, and thus the interdependence of Persian and Arabic literary history is preserved.

The name of the translator of this little book takes it out of the region of detailed criticism. His well-known accuracy

and learning are sufficient guarantee that the English version truly reflects the original, and the English reader may rest assured that here he is as near to the spirit and form of the authors as he can well get. The rendering of the two Makamahs of Hariri are especially fine and give an excellent idea of what this kind of writing is. In spite of the opinion, for instance, of Coleridge that it takes more to render verse into verse than to compose original verse, Dr. Nicholson has justified his adoption of the form as well as the sentiment of the Eastern poet (perhaps most of all in No. 155); but his unversified renderings (for example No. 149) will appeal to the general reader with equal force.

This interesting work should not only prove pleasant reading in itself, but it is to be hoped that it will lead its readers to the study of these authors in their own tongue.

T. H. WEIR.

KOPFJAGD UND MENSCHENOPFER IN ASSAM UND BIRMA UND IHRE AUSSTRAHLUNGEN NACH VORDERINDIEN. VON DR. ROBERT FREIHERRN V. HEINE-GELDERN. Sonderabdruck aus Band xxxvii (der dritten Folge Band xvii) der Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. 11½×8, 65 pp. Wien: Im Selbstverlage der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1917.

This interesting paper deserves an appreciative, though belated, notice. It is a comparative survey of the customs of head-hunting and human sacrifice, based on a large number of sources (of which a list is given), with exclusive reference to the areas mentioned in the title. The author gives accounts of the methods adopted by various tribes and indicates some of the motives underlying these repulsive practices. There is a great deal to be said for his view that they formerly had a much more extended vogue in Further India than they now enjoy, and also for his very interesting conclusion that the Hindu *śakti* and tantric cults owe their origin largely to

Indo-Chinese (particularly aboriginal Assamese) influence, as the late Mr. J. D. Anderson had already suggested. The evidence adduced in support of this conclusion seems to be very strong. It is to be borne in mind that religious ideas are interwoven even with the practice of head-hunting, which is not to be regarded merely as a specially inhuman form of sport. And how persistent religious ideas can be, though other elements of culture change, is well known. As for human sacrifice, it is recorded as having been practised on special occasions even among orthodox Buddhists (such as the Burmese and Peguans), in spite of its being in direct conflict with their official religion.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

HINDI GRAMMAR. By EDWIN GREAVES, London Missionary Society. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xiii + 512 pp. Allahabad : Indian Press.

This is a very useful grammar, with a wealth of examples which should make study a pleasure. The Hindi is well printed, in fine bold type. The treatment of the syntax is specially full ; it is not kept separate, but is considered along with the accidence. There are chapters on Braj and on prosody, a list of Hindi grammatical terms, and full indexes, both English and Hindi.

The book may confidently be recommended to all beginners. It takes the place of the author's smaller grammar, which has served the past generation. Perhaps I may venture to suggest the reconsideration of certain passages, such as the sections on pronunciation, repetition of words, verbs compounded with *jānā*, and causals. Thus, *karānā*, p. 301, does not mean "cause another to do" ; it means "cause something to be done", which is quite different. The object is not the person, but the thing to be done. This applies to the causals of all transitive verbs ; intransitives follow another rule. But in saying this I am merely emphasizing the fact (which the author

as a Congregationalist will appreciate), that in scholarship we must all be independents and not accept the *ipse dixit* of anyone. The disposition which combines reverence for the *guru* with a healthy desire to test his statements is good for both teacher and taught.

This grammar will probably be generally used by all who do not require anything so large as Kellogg. Mr. Greaves may take legitimate pride in the appearance this year of two works which have occupied his time for some years. His name is already favourably known to Hindi scholars, and these books will increase his reputation.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

A SKETCH OF HINDI LITERATURE. By EDWIN GREAVES.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$, viii + 112 pp. Madras: Christian Literature Society for India.

In this slender volume, bound in typical Esperanto green, the author takes us into his confidence and talks to us as if we were sitting at his study fire. He allows us to share his thoughts while out of a full knowledge of Hindi writers he discourses on a well-loved theme. The style is wholly conversational, even to the extent of breaking off an account of the great poets to give a chapter on prosody. He does not attempt to deal with an excessive number of writers, being content with about a hundred and fifty. In this way it is possible for him to give clearer portraits of the more important figures and to describe in greater detail what the literature really is. The book is what it professes to be—a sketch, but it is in some respects a finished picture. Particular value attaches to the discriminating judgments passed upon the literature as a whole and upon a number of the authors individually.

Mr. Greaves mentions with commendation Englishmen who have contributed by their writings to a better knowledge of the language and its literary output. Above all, we are glad

that he singles out for well-deserved praise Sir George Grierson, whose eminent services to the language and its speakers have extended over a period of forty years. His interest, we know, is as keen to-day as it was when he first

Like to a diver in the pearly seas

Plunged all noiseless into the deep night.

In this little book we are made to realize how Tulsi Das towers above others not merely by reason of the majesty and sweetness of his poetry, but also because he thought of high things and clothed his thoughts in fitting language. Mr. Greaves is, however, not afraid to criticize. In fact, it is his power of picking out what is good and censuring what is inferior that imparts the chief charm to his writing. In illustration of this I would instance his admirable treatment of Bihārī Lāl and his Sat Saī. Many people, dazzled by the meretricious glitter of the Sat Saī, have forgotten that there is nothing in common between poetry and verbal gymnastics, and that tinsel is not light. Mr. Greaves calls him a manipulator of words, a clever versifier with more brains than soul, but not a great poet. Similarly he describes Dev Datt as on the look out for subjects on which his garments and jewellery could best be displayed, a good "cutter and fitter", but lacking in true poetry. On p. 70 it is stated that this writer is regarded by the Miśra Bandhu Vinod as one of the three great luminaries in Hindi literature, but on p. 68 his place is assigned to Lāl Kavi.

In taking leave of this excellent book it is only fair to the author to point out that he had no opportunity of reading the proofs and that the numerous misprints are not due to his carelessness.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

REPORT ON THE TERMINOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATIONS OF GRAMMAR. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 38 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920.

This report, which deals with Sanskrit and four of the chief modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, arises out of a recognition of

the difficulties into which grammarians have fallen through the use of diverse and even contradictory terms to express similar ideas. The present condition of things may be described in "slashing Bentley's" words as "no light, but rather a transpicuous gloom". The report is therefore a compromise. There will be general agreement with the decision to use the same name for things that do not differ. Criticism may be directed against the proposal to fasten upon modern vernaculars the complex terminology of Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, for it will be noticed that even Latin scholars do not insist upon Greek's being credited with an Ablative Case. But the signatories deserve great credit for their patient sifting of the various questions and for the order which they have evolved out of confusion. The objection just mentioned may be met in each grammar by a statement of the correspondence, say, of the case-phrases with Latin and Greek cases, after which the actual declension can be simplified to meet actual facts. It is earnestly to be hoped that grammarians will do their utmost to take advantage of the suggestions of this report. In this way they will earn the gratitude of all students.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE HEART OF NATURE. By Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND.
9 x 5½, xxviii + 235 pp. London: Murray, 1921.

Sir Francis Younghusband's book, *The Heart of Nature*, includes no new theories of Asiatic physiography, nor does it lead us to ponder on great discoveries or high achievements. It is a simple call to all men to cultivate more closely that spirit of unity with Nature which fills the soul of the artist with reverence and admiration for the glorious beauty of the natural world, but which is surely implanted, more or less, in us all, for we are all partners in that great scheme of the world's development, shaping itself to unforeseen ends, of which Nature is

the evidence. That hardy wanderer, companion of the geographer Farrer in the mountain wilderness of Western China, who could only describe the sensations induced by the splendour of a surprising view as something akin to a stomach-ache, rendered his tribute to the penetrating power of natural beauty as surely as any uplifted artist or poet lost in a cloud of rhapsody. All are not gifted so fully with the artistic temperament as the President of the Royal Geographical Society, but it is up to all to cultivate the art of observation, to examine the marvellous mechanism of Nature's methods, and so improve our sense of the beautiful until we gather infinitely more pleasure from life than do those who "have eyes and yet they see not". All great geographers have been great observers, and if the *Heart of Nature* had not appealed to them it is reasonable to suppose that they would not have given their lives to adventure. If a fault is to be found with this admirable appeal, it is that Sir Francis is so much in love with Nature himself as to be "to her faults a little blind". Nature can be destructive, wasteful, and amazingly cruel, and we, who are already bound to her by ties which are indissoluble and which we hardly understand, must take her "for better, for worse, until death do us part" (if indeed death really effects a parting), believing that both the better and the worse are equally instruments for the perfecting of the great scheme of man's development.

T. H. H.

MAN IN INDIA. Vol. I, No. I. Edited by RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY. 8×5½, 88 pp. Ranchi: "Man in India Office," 1921.

This well-begun anthropological quarterly should have a successful future before it. Anthropology has been a much-neglected subject of study in India, and Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is to be congratulated on his attempt to fill a long-felt need. The well-known Orientalist, Mr. William

Crooke, contributes the opening paper, with some valuable suggestions. We miss mention of Fanny Park's *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque* among the authorities enumerated on p. 33.

H. W.-B.

HISTORY OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE AT AMRITSAR. SARDAR
UDHAM SINGH. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 120 pp. Lahore, 1920.

Written in Urdu, presumably for Sikh readers primarily, and by a Sikh. This compilation no doubt serves its purpose, but it can scarcely be considered as a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the famous Sikh shrine.

H. W.-B.

HAMMIRA OF RANTHAMBHAR. HAR BILAS SARDA. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4$,
47 pp. Ajmer : Scottish Mission Press, 1921.

A readable and well-got-up contribution to the history of the Chauhan Rajputs towards the end of the thirteenth century. It suffers, however, in accuracy through typical Oriental exaggeration. For example, we are told on p. 31 that two lakhs of fighting men issued from Ranthambhor Fort to do battle with Alla-ud-din Khilji's army. Supply difficulties alone would have rendered such a concentration impossible !

H. W.-B.

OBITUARY NOTICES

George Francis Legge

By the death of F. Legge the Society loses a member of the late Society of Biblical Archæology. He was the son of George Legge, a well-known architect and member of the Council of the Skinners' Company, his mother's maiden name being Hay.

A man of varied attainments, he published many articles in *P.S.B.A.* from 1897 onwards, his studies leading up from carved Egyptian slates, Coptic magic names, and the like, to his two volumes of *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* in 1915, followed in 1921 by two more, *Philosophumena, or the Refutation of all Heresies*, a translation from the text of Cruice, formerly attributed to Origen, but later to Hippolytus. A third work, on the *Pistis Sophia*, was only partly completed at the time of his death. He was elected to the S.B.A. Council in 1900, and on their migration, to that of the R.A.S., both of which he served devotedly, earning a reputation for a businesslike capacity. He had also seen the practical side of archæology as a member of one of the Egyptian excavating expeditions. He was elected F.S.A. in 1910.

He had another scientific interest besides archæology, that of physics. He translated Le Bon's *Evolution of Matter* in 1907, and Skellon's *Introduction to Electricity* in 1908, and wrote several short articles for the *Athenæum* on allied subjects.

As an athlete his tall, well-set-up figure was often to be seen in the early days of this century at the Inns of Court School of Arms, where he fenced, chiefly with the *épée*. He took over the *Épée Club* after the death of its secretary, and worked it up to a high reputation.

He served in 1916 in the Censor's Office, especially reviewing the British Press. Thence he went to the Ministry of Labour

after the war, and subsequently to the Military Service (Civil Liabilities) Department, where he became a First Class Examining Officer. Throughout, his several chiefs were unstinted in their praise of his work.

Apart from his work, of him as a personal friend it is easy to speak. He was always ready to help others with encouragement, spoken and written, and many a youthful author has found himself cheered thereby. There are many who will not easily forget the charm of his geniality, his appreciation of humour, and his kind and sympathetic nature. Want of space forbids that I should write more.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

Charles Henry Tawney, M.A., C.I.E.

Mr. Tawney, who was for many years (1883–1915) a member of this Society, died on Saturday, 29th July, 1922, at the age of 85. The following account of his career is excerpted from an excellent notice which appeared in the *Times* of the following Monday:—

Mr. Charles Henry Tawney was a son of the Rev. Richard Tawney, vicar of Willoughby, whose wife was a daughter of Dr. Bernard, of Clifton. From Rugby, which he entered while the great days of Dr. Arnold were a still recent memory, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he greatly distinguished himself. He was Bell University Scholar in 1857, and Davies University Scholar and Scholar of Trinity in the following year. In 1860 he was bracketed Senior Classic and was elected a Fellow of his college.

The Presidency College, Calcutta, was still almost in its infancy when Tawney [partly for reasons of health] went out in 1864 as a professor. The Bengali student at that time was very responsive to English influence, and Tawney won a warm place in the hearts of his pupils by his gracious, unaffected friendliness. His promotion in 1876 to the principalship was both well merited and popular. He combined with the position the Registrarship of the Calcutta University, and he had three officiating spells

as Director of Public Instruction in the then undivided province of Bengal. He was awarded the C.I.E. in 1888 and retired from the Educational Service at the close of 1892. In the following year he was appointed Librarian to the India Office in succession to Dr. Reinhold Rost. He was superannuated in 1903. . . .

Mr. Tawney married in 1867 a daughter of Charles Fox, M.D., and the union extended over fifty-three years, Mrs. Tawney dying in 1920. They had a large family; one son, Mr. R. H. Tawney, formerly scholar and Fellow of Balliol, is the distinguished author and lecturer on economic problems.

Early in his Indian career Mr. Tawney commenced the study of Sanskrit, which became his chief literary interest. His first publications were prose translations of two well-known plays, the *Uttara-rāma-carita* of Bhavabhūti (1874) and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa (1875). In *Two Centuries of Bhartrihari* (1877) he gave a skilful rendering into English verse of two famous collections of ethical and philosophico-religious stanzas. But his *magnum opus*, to which he devoted some later years of his Indian career, was his translation of Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, a very extensive compilation of fable and legendary lore; the translation, which was published in *Bibliotheca Indica* (2 volumes, 1880-4), was illustrated by the citation of parallels drawn from a wide reading in the literature of folk-lore. The same interests led him during his official life in London to the study of the rich stores of narrative connected with the Jain doctrine, resulting in his translations of the *Kathākośa* (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S. ii, 1895) and Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1899-1901), both works of considerable difficulty and interest. At the same time he was engaged in superintending the preparation and printing of catalogues issued from the Library, the Catalogue of Sanskrit Books by Dr. Rost (1897), the Supplement to the Catalogue of European Books (1895), the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. by Professor Eggeling, of Persian MSS. by Professor Ethé, of Hindustani books by Professor Blumhardt (1900), and of Hindi, Punjabi, Pushtu, and Sindhi books by the same (1902), of the Royal

Society's Collection of Persian and Arabic MSS. by E. D. Ross and E. G. Browne (1902). He was himself joint-author of a catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. belonging to the last-named collection (1903).

Mr. Tawney's services to Sanskrit scholarship were therefore both varied and extensive. His work was also marked by the precision and taste of an accomplished Classic, whose Latin and Greek had never been allowed to rust. He had a happy familiarity with the literature of his own country—he published in Calcutta (1873) *The English People and their Language, translated from the German of Loth*, and edited *Richard the Third*—and he was, of course, thoroughly at home in French and German. He had also some knowledge of Hindi, Urdu, and Persian. But erudition did not in the least impair his natural liveliness, or blunt the edge of his formidable humility. As the *Times* obituary observes, “his genial outlook on life and his dry, keen humour made him a delightful companion.”

F. W. T.

Vijaya Dharma Sūri

By the death of Vijaya Dharma Sūri (5th September, 1922) the Jain community and the people of India generally have sustained a loss which will not easily be repaired. While representing in perfection the old ideal of āchārya and saint, a man of passionless benevolence and deep learning, he had attained by his many-sided activity and his wide outlook an altogether exceptional position within his community, and a respectful recognition outside it. Had his life been spared, he might have come to exercise a commanding influence. Essentially the oldest Indian doctrine, and combining a severe ethic with a rationalist philosophy, Jainism might well appeal to a part of the educated Indian public dissatisfied with mythological and emotional faiths and yet attached to national ideals. The friendly co-operation of lay and cleric in Jainism should also count for not a little under modern conditions.

In Vijaya Dharma the community had a leader who would have shown it how to accommodate modern ideas without being transformed.

The career of this remarkable man has been the subject of two memoirs in English (*Vijaya Dharma Sūri, a Jain Āchārya of the Present Day*, by Dr. L. P. Tessitori, Bhavnagar, 1917, and *Vijaya Dharma Sūri: his life and work*, by A. J. Sunawala, London, 1922), and it calls for an extended biography: it cannot be more than briefly summarized here. Born in 1868 at Mahuwa in Kathiawar, the son of Rāma Chandra, a Vaiśya of the Viśā Śrīmālī clan, young Mūla Chandra—for that was his worldly name—was the youngest boy in a family of three sons and four daughters. His education was neglected, and he developed an early passion for gambling. A crisis, followed by a stern parental rebuke, sobered him, and eventually he left home to seek instruction in Bhavnagar. There he listened to a sermon by a Jain monk, Vṛiddhi Chandra, and at once conceived the purpose of being himself initiated, an ambition which, with the consent of his parents, was eventually gratified on the 12th of May, 1887, when he received the name of Dharma Vijaya. He was still only nineteen. The next years were devoted to study and to preaching, and with such effect that Vṛiddhi Chandra, upon his death in 1893, nominated the young enthusiast as his successor. As the head of a company of monks he wandered through the villages and cities of Kathiawar and Gujarat, preaching and studying the Jain system of logic. One rainy season he spent in his native village, where he had a touching rencontre with his mother, now a widow, and his relatives, whom, as a monk, he could neither embrace nor visit. In his native village he made, by instituting a library, the first beginning of his activity as a founder, and conceived the idea of a college devoted to the revival of the sacred texts, Sanskrit and Prakrit, of his religion. A small beginning, under the name of the Yaśovijaya Jaina Pāthśālā, was made in 1902 at Mandal in Gujarat. But

Dharma Vijaya had larger designs, and before long he set forth with his monks on foot—for the Jaina sādhus are forbidden to travel in carriages—to plant his institution in Benares, the religious centre of Hinduism. The sufferings of the long journey through a population which did not easily comprehend the stringent conditions of a Jain monk's life were followed by other trials in the unsympathetic atmosphere of Benares, which was reached in 1903. But by aid of the liberality of two devoted laymen of Bombay means were found for the purchase of a building, in which the college rapidly prospered, and also for the foundation of a library entitled the Hemachandrāchārya Jaina Pustakālaya. In the meanwhile the preaching and the reasonableness of Dharma Vijaya had overcome the prejudices of the orthodox Hindus, and had attracted the interest of the Mahārāja of Benares, so that in 1906 he was invited to take part in a great conference of savants at Allahabad. In the same year he started upon a tour of the sacred places of Magadha (South Behar), continuing into Bengal, where he visited Calcutta and the old university centre of Nadiyā. The spectacle of Kālighāt inspired him to write a pamphlet against animal sacrifice, a Hindi work entitled *Ahimsā-dig-darsana*. Returning to Benares and occupying himself with his college, he was there, in 1908, the recipient of a signal honour, the title of *Śāstra-viśārada Jaināchārya* being conferred upon him in the presence of a large assembly of pandits under the presidency of the Mahārāja. It was on this occasion that his name was transposed to Vijaya Dharma, with the addition of the honorific designation of *Sūri*, "saint." Before leaving Benares in 1911 he added to his foundations a *Paśuśālā*, one of those hospitals for animals which, from early times, have excited the lively interest of foreigners in India.

We must pass rapidly over the last eleven years of Vijaya Dharma's life. His route to western India took him through the United Provinces to Agra, where he started a Jain library and a dispensary, and by way of Rājputāna, full of ancient

Jain sanctuaries and neglected libraries of MSS. These associations inspired him with the idea of a Jain Literary Conference, which was realized at Jodhpur in 1914 and distinguished by the presence of a great European student of Jainism, Professor Hermann Jacobi. The rest of Āchārya's life was spent in western India, where he founded many schools, and where he began to manifest an interest in the archæology and the old vernacular poetry of Gujarat and Rājputāna. In 1920, when the writer of these lines had the privilege of meeting him in Bombay, he was ailing, and his health was feeble during a subsequent prolonged stay at Dhuliā in Khandesh. But this did not prevent him starting, in the winter of 1921, on a laborious journey to Agra and Benares. The party reached Indore ; but at Shivpurī, in the Gwalior State, the Āchārya's strength gave out. After an illness of some days, realizing that his time was come, he took up the Samādhi posture of a Jain saint, in which, after thirty-six hours, he breathed his last. In Shivpurī will be erected a commemorative chapel, the Samādh of Śrī Vijaya Dharma Sūri.

The literary work of the Āchārya is of considerable extent. It embraces books in Hindi on matters of doctrine, such as his *Ahiṃsā-dig-darśana*, *Jainatattva-dig-darśana*, *Jainasīksā-dig-darśana*, *Puruṣārtha-dig-darśana*, *Indriyaparājjaya-dig-darśana* ; a collection of articles, *Dharmadeśanā*, contributed to a fortnightly paper, which he had himself founded ; a monograph, *Devakulapatākā*, on the history and archæology of Delwara in Mewar, etc. But his chief work of pure scholarship is his edition of Hemachandra's *Yogaśāstra*, published in Bibliotheca Indica. A greater enterprise, however, was the series of texts, numbering about 80 volumes, which he inaugurated under the title *Yaśovijaya-Jaina-Śāstramālā*. This is indeed a splendid monument to his activity. But, perhaps, if we could trace the sources of the remarkable Jain industry in the publication of texts and series during the twentieth century, we might have to attribute still more to his

example. His publications and his personality were known to the leading scholars in Europe, and he was an Honorary Member of the German and Italian Asiatic Societies. His death was the occasion of tributes from practically the whole Indian Press, the markets being very generally closed in his honour. His devoted followers, under the earliest of them, the Upādhyāya Indravijaya, are arranging for the commemoration and continuation of his work.

F. W. T.

Mr. Arthur Diósy

This Society loses a distinguished member by the death of Mr. Diósy, founder of the Japan Society. He had only lately joined the R.A.S., but had promised to lecture to its members on that country.

Professor Rhys Davids

Professor Rhys Davids, the distinguished Pali scholar, has passed away. He was Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society for many years and his obituary notice will appear in the April Journal.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(November, 1922-January, 1923)

The following fifty-three have been elected as Members during the quarter :—

Madame G. de Hainaut-Amand.	Miss H. E. Karnerup.
Mr. M. M. Ansari.	Mr. M. Z. Ullah Khan.
Maulvi S. N. Ashraf.	Babu K. Kinkar.
Mr. H. F. V. Battle, R.A.F.	Shaikh N. Kwaja Sahib Mahaldar.
Pandit S. D. Bhargava.	Mr. S. E. Lucas.
Mr. F. W. Buckler, M.A.	Mr. W. J. E. Lupton, O.B.E.
Dr. C. P. Burger.	Mr. C. Majumdar.
Mr. P. E. O'Brien Butler.	Mrs. C. L'E. Malone.
Mr. Dhani Chand.	Miss Meadowcroft.
Mr. Tara Chand, B.A., LL.D.	Pandit Gopal Misra.
Dr. H. Chatley.	Rev. W. Munn.
Mr. T. J. Coomeraswami.	Rai Bahadur P. E. Nayuda, M.L.C.
Squadron-Leader A. R. C. Cooper.	Pandit D. Nath Shastri, B.A.
Mr. Longworth Dames.	Rev. W. Sutton Page, B.A., B.D.
Mr. B. Phillips Denham.	Mr. M. K. Pillay.
Mr. A. Diósy.	Professor Dyneley Prince, Ph.D.
Sir Paul Dukes.	Mr. I. Saw Hla Pru.
Surgeon-Commander J. A. Forrest.	Maulvi S. Rahim Shah, Munshi.
Mr. L. C. French.	Rai Sahib S. B. Ram.
Rev. Canon W. H. T. Gairdner, M.A.	Miss E. C. Ridding.
Rev. H. H. Gowen, D.D., etc.	Mr. T. H. Robinson.
Mr. R. S. Gupta.	Mr. H. A. Rosskeen.
Syed F. H. Hashmi.	Pandit R. C. Sharma, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. A. T. Holme, I.C.S.	Mr. L. H. Williams.
Lt.-Col. G. V. Holmes.	Mr. M. Md. Yaqub.
Captain H. N. Hunt.	
Mr. Chotelall Jain.	
Mr. I. P. C. R. Jayasuriya.	

The following seven have resigned during the quarter :—

Major C. D. Brunton.	Mr. J. Stanton.
Mr. R. C. Culling-Carr.	Mr. H. A. Stark.
Mr. D. V. Rege.	Professor Syed A. Wahid.
Mr. P. Sirkar.	

The following five have died :—

Dr. Blumhardt.	Rev. C. T. Lipshytz.
Dr. G. S. Hitchcock.	Mr. W. H. Rylands.
Mr. F. Legge.	

Gifts

Mr. Faulds has presented a book of Japanese pictures of Buddhist images and a collection of Japanese drawings, and Mr. Battle, R.A.F., has given photos of Richard Cœur de Lion's tower at Ramleh and the Roman theatre at Ammem, Trans-Jordania.

Lectures

"Some Indian Nuns and Others," by the President; "A Persian Library," by Professor Browne, and "The Malay Peninsula", by Mr. Blagden, have already been delivered. In January Miss E. G. Kemp lectures on "Chinese Idealism in Temple and Bridge"; Mr. Holmyard on "Arabian Chemistry and Alchemy" in February; in March Dr. Blackman speaks on "Ancient Egyptian Literature", and in April Mr. F. E. Pargiter on "The God Indra and Religious Contests in Ancient India".

By an oversight the publication of the translation of the *Chahar Maqala of the Nizami-i-Ārudi*, by E. G. Browne, has been attributed in the *Journal* to the Cambridge University Press instead of to Messrs. Luzac.

PUBLIC SCHOOL'S GOLD MEDAL

At a meeting on 5th December the President, Lord Chalmers, presented the Society's Public School Gold Medal to Mr. S. de Lotbinière (Eton), and the book prize to Mr. S. K. Noakes (Merchant Taylors').

LORD CHALMERS described the institution of the Gold Medal twenty years ago for the best essay "on some Indian or some other Oriental subject" to approved Public Schools in the United Kingdom undertaking to give "regular instruction in the history and geography of the Indian Empire". The award was made first in 1904, and each year thereafter in unbroken succession, so that this was the 19th year. For this year's competition the Council chose the subject of Tipu Sultan, and when the essays were sent in, appointed three highly competent examiners to decide on the order of merit—Mr. Foster, Dr. Gaster, and Sir E. Denison Ross. He called on the latter gentleman to speak at this stage on behalf of himself and his colleagues.

SIR DENISON ROSS said it was a matter for regret that more schools had not competed for the prize. Other schools might have entered without sending papers for adjudication, but the fact was that the only schools submitting their best essays were Eton, Merchant Taylors', Bishops Stortford, and Cheltenham. All four papers were good, but the examiners had no difficulty in selecting those from Eton and Merchant Taylors'. They were of a high standard, and he thought that both the boys before them, with a little more practice in writing, would be capable of writing good theses for degrees. Mr. Noakes showed remarkable raciness and command of vocabulary, and gave a good picture of events passing in the world at the time. But the winning Eton essay gave a really admirable account of Tipu Sultan, and had the best map. The actual life and career of Tipu Sultan were more fully brought out in the Eton essay, while the situation of the day was more fully stated in the Merchant

Taylor's paper. Both essays showed individuality of style, and constituted a remarkable performance for boys still at school.

LORD CHALMERS tendered his thanks to the examiners, on behalf of the Society for labours which carried within themselves the reward that consisted in the recognition by older scholars of the promise of future contributions to learning in an advancing generation. (Cheers.) You will remember, he continued, how in Ibsen's play the Master-BUILDER was agitated by the thought that "the younger generation was knocking at the door". I have always felt that his very agitation proved that ultimately he was really not a master among builders or he would have taken the sound advice of the turbulent young lady from Switzerland to let them in. We at any rate in the Royal Asiatic Society, which next year celebrates its Centenary, have got far beyond the agitations of middle-age—(laughter)—and find a special and particular pleasure in this our annual meeting to welcome the younger generation here, and to award our prizes for the encouragement of Oriental studies among those with whom lies the hope of the future in the great relay race of scholarship and sound learning. (Applause.)

In expressing the hope that the promise shown by our two prize-winners of to-day may ripen into scholarly achievement in a not distant future—preferably in the realm of Oriental scholarship—may I be allowed a word or two on the way our series of annual awards has gone in respect of the Public Schools competing? The first place has been gained once by seven schools—Rugby, Harrow, Marlborough, Bishops Stortford, Dulwich, Shrewsbury, and Westminster; Denstone College has three times been first; and the nine remaining successes have gone to a couple of schools—four to Merchant Taylors' and now five to Eton. In scanning the list, I notice that the Westminster win was for an essay on an old Westminster boy, Warren Hastings, but that Harrow (which did not compete when the subject was that great Harrovian,

Lord Dalhousie) won with an essay on Clive (founder of the British Empire in India)—that exceedingly naughty schoolboy who was in part, I believe, educated in the school of Edmund Spenser, by Dr. Nairn's predecessor at Merchant Taylors'. But though Merchant Taylors' were not first in the Clive competition, they secured the second and third places. Eton, on the other hand, won when the subject was the great Etonian, Lord Wellesley. It is pleasant to see school tradition and school patriotism successful when the theme is a famous Old Boy who sat once where the writer sits to-day.

The presentation was then made amid applause.

THE REV. DR. J. A. NAIRN said that he wished to congratulate the winner of the medal not only as Headmaster of Merchant Taylors', but also personally. His success, as they had heard, gave Eton a lead over Merchant Taylors'. He liked to think of the Public Schools in connexion with India, and especially of their famous sons who had gone out to help to govern India. He was proud that Clive was at Merchant Taylors'. That school had been associated with the competition from the commencement, and he hoped that so long as it lasted Merchant Taylors' would take a part in it. Honour must be given where honour was due, and he wished to say that the success of Merchant Taylors' in this competition was due to his colleague, Mr. Charles Wade, the history master. The annual competition was found valuable in the school, for the selection of a particular subject or period for study gave definiteness and interest to what might otherwise be vague and general. The present intention of Noakes was to pursue a career in India. He found, and he thought the heads of other Public Schools found, that there was now among the boys less interest in India as offering a career in the Civil Service than there was formerly. Possibly the changes of recent years, however necessary in themselves, were partly responsible for this disinclination for the Indian field. But he ventured to make a suggestion which he thought worthy of consideration. It was that those schools which had

a distinguished record in providing great men for Indian service in the past should be visited by someone of authority conversant with the whole situation for the purpose of addressing the boys informally to show that there was still a career in India, honourable and distinguished, awaiting the English boy of the right kind. He must add a word regarding one who had passed away, and who had been largely instrumental in securing the foundation of the Medal fund. The memory of Sir Arthur Wollaston was valued by the Royal Asiatic Society, but he wished to say that it was valued by friends outside, of whom he claimed to be one. (Cheers.)

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5. Râshtraudhavaṇṣa Mahâkâvya.
6. Lingânuśâsana.
7. Vasantavilâsa-Mahâkâvya.
8. Rûpakashaṭkam.
9. Moharâjaparâjaya of Yaśahpâla.
10. Hammîra-Madamardana.
11. Udayasundarikathâ.
12. Mahâvidyâ-Vidambana.
13. Prâchîna Gurjarakâvyasangraha.
14. Kumârapâlapratibodha.
15. Gaṇa-kârikâ.
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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1923

PART II.—APRIL

The Introduction of the Cadmeian Alphabet into the Aegean World in the light of Ancient Traditions and Recent Discoveries

By ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D., late Fellow of the Austrian Historical
Institute at the University of Vienna.

(Continued from p. 73.)

III.

THE GRAECO-EGYPTIAN TRADITIONS ABOUT THE
"CADMEAN" COLONIZATION OF THE ÆGEAN DURING
THE HYKSOS PERIOD.

1. *The Hittite-inscription of Onossus and the Hyksos World-Empire.*

Still more remarkable than all previous results is the exact *chronological coincidence of the new epigraphic finds* with certain hitherto neglected Alexandrian theories about the date of the legendary "Cadmus" and his expeditions to Thasos, Thrace, Boiotia, etc.

As has been mentioned incidentally at the beginning of this inquiry, the greater part of the above-discussed copper ingots have been found in a treasury-vault under the ruins of the looted and purposely burned¹ palace of

¹ Paribeni, l.c., p. 339: "indici, che l'incendio non fu casuale a me sembra che non manchino." The same applies to *all* the large Cretan palaces.

Hagia Triada. They certainly belong to the period immediately before the great catastrophe which divides in Cnossus, Phaëstus, and Hagia Triada the "Middle" and "Late" Minoan periods.

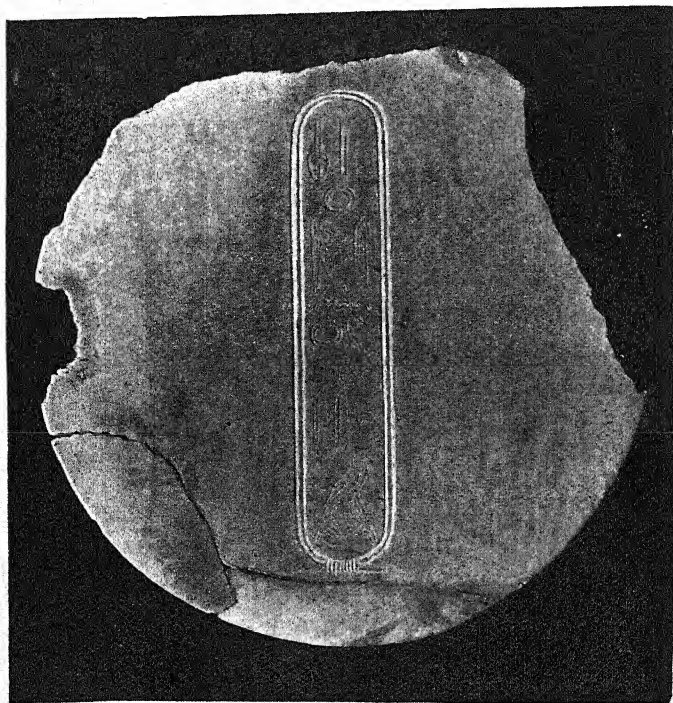




FIG. 10.

(By kind permission of the British School of Athens.)

Now the date of this great break in the history of "Minoan" culture is synchronically well defined by the discovery of the invaluable *alabaster* lid (fig. 10) with the names and titles of the Hyksos king, Σίααυ or 'Ιάνας ('*ntr nfr Šwšr n-R' s3 R' Hūšn'*) which lay, as Sir Arthur Evans¹

¹ *Scripta Minoa*, Oxford, 1906, p. 30. Cf. Evans, *Ann. Brit. School of Athens*, vii, p. 65, fig. 21. Griffith, *Egypt. Expl. Fund. Archaeol. Rep.* 1900-1, pp. 37 f. Heyes, *Bibel und Ägypten*, Münster, 1904, p. 72. v. Bissing, *Anteil d. ägypt. Kunst. am Kunstleben der Völker*, Munich, 1912, p. 34.



has it, "exactly on the confines between the middle and late Minoan periods." On the other side the Horus-name,







ink idb.w, "embracer of  coasts" (or "lands"; the )

last ideogram may also be read *tšw*)—probably imitated from the Babylonian titles *šar kibrāti*¹ and *šar matāti*²—of this king, his title *hk hšw.t*, "lord of the (desert, or foreign, or mountain) lands,"² together with the world-wide dispersion of his monuments, which have been found—not to mention the Cnossus ointment vase—from Gebelên, near the Nubian frontier, to Bubastis in the Delta, in the South Palestinian town Gezer,³ and in the neighbourhood of Bagdad,⁴ have lead Professor Breasted⁵ to believe in the existence of a great world-empire of this conquering king extending over the whole of Syria and over the islands of the Ægean.

This theory, which has been accepted by Sir Arthur

¹ *Kibru*="bank of a river", "shore of sea"; *kibratu*, "region, territory," Muss-Arnold, 367 f.

² Title given to the Pharaoh in the Amarna letters by the Palestinian princes, e.g. No. 83, Kundtson; *mat*, akkad. "land" is written with the same ideograph  "mountains" as *hšw.t* . *Hian* as *hk hšw.t*,

Budge, Book of Kings, London, 1908, i, p. 100;      

hk hšw.t Hšn. The Old Babylonian title *šar kiššati*, "king of the universe," is applied in the Egyptian form *nb-rdr*, "lord of the universe" (*δυναστής τοῦ ὅλου*, Diod., i, 53), to King Senwosret I in the so-called "instructions" of Amenemmes I (Sethe, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. Äg.*, ii, 1, 16). Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *ZDMG.*, 73, 1919, p. 73, n. 1.

³ PEFQST., 1904, 225, Macalister, Gezer., i, 253; ii, 316.

⁴ *Révue Archeol.*, Nouv. Ser. iv, 1861, pp. 210, 256.

⁵ *Hist. of Egypt*, New York, 1905, pp. 266 ff.

Evans,¹ by Eduard Meyer,² and by Rudolf Kittel,³ but criticized on account of the "rather slight foundation for such a superstructure" by James Baikie,⁴ has quite recently received considerable support from Dr. Emil Forrer's valuable observation,⁵ that there exists *both in the records of Hattusaš (Boghazkeui) and in the Babylonian and Assyrian cuneiform monuments an entire lack of written documents extending over more than three centuries, and corresponding chronologically with the Hyksos period in Egypt.* As it is difficult to believe in so



FIG. 11.

(By kind permission of the British Museum.)

long and absolute an interruption of all intellectual life even under the sway of harsh foreign rulers, especially since in Egypt itself no such break of literary activity was caused by the alien irruption, I should prefer to explain the fact by the very simple hypothesis that under the supposed

¹ Scripta Minoa, p. 30. See, however, "Palace of Minos" (1921), p. 121.


² Gesch. d. Alt.² I 2, p. 716.

³ Gesch. Volk. Israel. i, ³, p. 93.

⁴ Enc. Rel. Eth., vol. iv, Edinburgh, 1913, p. 890b, art. "Hyksos".

⁵ Unpublished lecture of the 2nd of March, 1920, before the Oriental section of the Munich Anthropological Society.

Egypto-Phœnician rule over the whole of Western Asia, the old Babylonian custom of writing on clay-tablets was temporarily superseded *by the exclusive use of perishable papyrus-documents* under the influence of the Egyptian administration and bureaucracy during the alleged Hyksos world-empire.¹

As a matter of fact, the *two great catastrophies*, the traces of which are so clearly visible on the remains of *all the large Cretan palaces*, and which are dated somewhere about ± 1800 and ± 1400 B.C. by Sir Arthur Evans, *coincide* in a very satisfactory way *with the alleged world-empire of the Hyksos*, "embracer of coasts" (± 1700 B.C.) and *with the victory of Thutmosis III* (1501-1447 B.C.), over the "island dwellers"  *imj'w i'w'w of the Great Sea*", as it is called in Ammon's panegyric upon that king on the famous stele of Karnak.²

2. *A Neglected Fragment of Conon on a Phœnician Dynasty ruling over Egypt and Western Asia.*

It has, moreover, been overlooked by most modern Egyptologists³ that *Professor Breasted's world-empire of the Hyksos and its Ægean extension was presupposed also by a number of Alexandrian scholars*, both Egyptian and Greek, who had every opportunity of consulting the native records in the great Ptolemaic library, and who *connect these traditions with the legends about Cadmus* in such a manner that we are forcibly reminded of the above-stated chronological coincidence of the Cnossian

¹ This would be analogous to the use of papyrus (with Aramean alphabetic writing) and parchment in the chancery of the Persian world-empire.

² The historicity of this Ægean expedition of Thutmosis III is questioned for entirely insufficient reasons by the extremely prejudiced Professor R. v. Lichtenberg, *MVAG.*, 1911, 2, p. 7.

³ See, however, Maspéro, *Hist. Anc. des Peuples d'Orient*, p. 162. Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phöniz.*, Berlin, 1889, pp. 251-2.

Ḥian inscription with our early Phœnician *Καδμήια γράμματα* on the copper ingots of Hagia Triada and with the first conflagration and sacking of all the Cretan palaces.

The most important of these texts is a fragment of the Greek mythologist Conon,¹ a contemporary of Mark Antony, concerning the colonization of the island of Thasos, where Herodotus still admired the great Phœnician gold-mines and smelting-places of *Κοινοῦρα* and *Αἰνούρα*,²—by the legendary homonymous brother or companion of Cadmus: 'Οἱ δὲ Φοῖνικες τότε μέγα τι (ὡς λόγος) ἴσχυον καὶ πολλήν τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεφάμενοι τὸ βασιλεῖον ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις εἶχον, σταλῆναι δὲ Κάδμον οὐχ ὡς "Ελληνές φασι κατὰ ζήτησιν Εὐρώπης . . . ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ μηχανώμενον πλάττεσθαι . . . This is a very plain statement that—according to a certain tradition (λόγος)—there was a time when the *Phœnicians were somehow a great power, and having overthrown a great part of Asia, ruled over it from their royal residence in Thebes, of Upper Egypt*, and that precisely at that time *one of their princes set out to conquer Europe*, that is, the *Ægean, "westland."* As the tradition (λόγος), quoted by Conon, is obviously a polemic against the current Greek view of the story (. . . οὐχ ὡς "Ελληνές φασι . . .), it must be the local tradition of some non-hellenic place or the opinion of some barbarian λόγιος ἀνὴρ—in this case quite patently of an Egyptian priest or scholar, just as the numerous parallel tales quoted in opposition to Greek myths from Heliopolitan or Memphian authorities by Hecataeus or Herodotus. Since a λόγος about *Phœnician kings residing in Upper Egypt and ruling, not only over the Nile valley, but also through a great part of Asia*, can refer only to the period of the *Hyksos dynasty*, we have to look out for

¹ In Photios, Bibl. λβ̄.

² See above, p. 63 f., n. 4.

it among the various traditions of the Ptolemaic age concerning the dynasties between XII and XVIII of the Manethonian series. As a matter of fact Julius Africanus and Eusebius of Cæsarea,¹ in their excerpts from Manetho, call the Hyksos (dyn. xv) *Φόινικες ξένοι βασιλείς*, while Josephus,² omitting these words, only says that "*others call them Arabs*" (*τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἀραβας εἶναι*)³. The difference is easily understood if we remember that Josephus says expressly that he himself used several occasionally diverging manuscript editions of Manetho.⁴ Whether these divergencies are due to Manetho himself, who may have re-edited his book more than once, or to later editors,⁵ is of minor importance; the essential is that the significant detail accords so perfectly with the quotation from Canon. As we know for certain that Manetho⁶ went considerably out of his way in order to work such heroes of Greek pseudo-historic legend as Danaus and *Αἴγυπτος* into the trend of his Egyptian history—he

¹ In Syncell. ed. Bonn., i, pp. 113 ff. Cf. Euseb. Præp. Ev, x, 13. Chron., i, 157.

² Contra Apionem, i, 14.

³ See Polyæn, viii, 4. Ἀμασις (= Ahmose Dyn., 18) ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀραβες πολέμῳ. Cf. below, p. 199, on Apollodor *περὶ νεῶν*. The native Egyptian texts call the Hyksos ʿ3m'w (= 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏂). Cf. the Benê 'Ammi, Gen. xix, 38, or 'Ammôn (cuneiform Ammân), "*the people*," or *walad 'Amm*, the national name of the South Arabian *Katabân*, or *Mnġ'w*, that is ('Αραβες) *Μαννεῶται*, a tribe mentioned, according to the Arabian historian Uranios, in Steph. Byz., s.v. *Μαννῆες*. Cf. also the Arabian traditions about an 'Amaleqite or 'Adæan dynasty of Egypt, residing in *Awar*, Caussin de Perceval, Hist. Ar., i, 7-13. Yaqīdī, Expugn. Aeg. ed. Hamaker, p. 41, 60 ar. Tabari, Chron., i, pp. 209 f., 261 f. Abulfeda, Hist. Anteisl., pp. 30, 70, 100.


⁴ After explaining Ἑκουσῶς (hē'w ʿ3s'w, vulgar contortion of hē'w hē'w't) as βασιλεῖς ποιμένες, he quotes from another copy (ἐν ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ) the explanation αἰχμαλῶται (hē'w'w). Cf. Schürer, Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes⁷, iii, 530, n. 66 (Leipzig, 1909). Ed. Meyer, Äg. Chronol., pp. 71 ff.

⁵ Ed. Meyer, Äg. Chronol., pp. 73 ff., would not attribute to Manetho himself the identification of the Hyksos with Phœnician kings.

⁶ Joseph c. Ap. i, 15, 26. F. H. G. Müller, ii, 573 [50]. Euseb. ap. Sync. chron., pp. 135 f., 293, ed. Dindorf.

identifies them with Armais (*Horemheb*) and *Ra'messes (I)*¹ or *Sethos (I)*—I have no doubt that he took quite as much trouble for the even more important figure of Cadmus, and that we have in Conon nothing else but *Manetho's* version of the *Cadmus-legend*.

3. *Κάδμος and Ἀρήνωρ as Egyptians and the Ethnic Names of the Hyksos Princes.*







As a matter of fact, there is no difficulty in reconstructing the possible rationalistic theories of an Egyptian scholar about the *Κάδμος-legend*. Even as in Greece, where the *personal name* *Κάδμος* is not unfrequently met with—for instance, in Thasos,² in Kos,³ in Miletos⁴—the *personal name*  *Kdmi*, "Eastman," "Easterling," (above, p. 64, n. 3), occurs in Egyptian documents of the 19th dynasty.⁵ It is a typical slave's name like *p3 Kftjw-i*, "the Cretan";⁵ *p3 Imrw(i)*, "the Amorite"; *İrtw*, "the Arzawa-man"; *İrs3*, "the Alasiote" (Cyprian); *p3 Rwk3*, "the Lukka" (Lycian); *t3-M'd3*, "the Matoi-woman"; *p3 Nhs3*, "the Nubian" or "Negro" (= פִּינְחָם, *phuees*, LXX); *p3 H3rw* (= פִּיכָל Gen. xxi, 22) = *the Horite*, *p3 Š3sw*, the Šasu (= Bedawii); *Jwmw-(OʿGʿINIH)-Twr3*,


¹ Euseb. ap. Sync. Chronogr., 155b. Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Äg. Chronol.*, pp. 77, 85. Most probably the often represented hundreds of sons and daughters of Ramses (II)—s. Breasted-Ranke, p. 356—reminded Manethos of the legendary fifty sons of Aegyptus and of the fifty daughters of Danaus.

² Rev. Archéol., xii, 1862, 2, pp. 372, 376. Journ. Hell. Stud., viii, 1887, 429, 38.

³ Herod., 7, 163 f. Suid., s.v. Ἐπίχαρμος; Hippocr., cf. 7.

⁴ Beside the legendary, possibly pseudepigraphic historian, the son of Pandion, we have K., son of Archelaos of Miletos, Suid., s.v. A Roman public slave K., an executioner in Caesar's time, Horace, sat., i, 6, 39, is probably also an Ionian Greek.

⁵ Account lists on an Ostrakon, Brit. Mus., 5630, Nos. 29558, yellow 5647b; see W. M. Müller, *Or. Lit. Zeit.*, 1899, No. 2, c. 38. In the same document occurs the name       *p3 Kftjw-i*, "the Kaphtorite" or "Cretan" = Greek Κρητιώτης as PN.

"the Jōno-Tyrsenian ()¹, *p-n-Hwdʒr* = *he of Hazor*; *tʒ-nt Htʒ*, "she of Hatti"²; *Mdrʒ*, "the Muçrite,"³ etc., quite analogous to modern Jew's names like "Lissauer", "Berliner", "Leipziger", "Pariser", "Lemberger", *Torino, Milano*, etc.

Now it is very characteristic of the period between dyns. xii and xviii, the so-called Hyksos period, that in it, and almost only in it, such undistinguished "barbarous" slaves' or rather soldiers' names—most probably simply the current popular titles of the chiefs or generals of the respective foreign mercenary regiments who had locally and temporarily usurped the throne—*occur as names*, surrounded with the magic cartouches and pompous titles of Egyptian Pharaohs. We find a "[p ʒ] Nhsī", or "Nhsī", son of the Sun, king of both South and North Egypt




"the Negro"—reminding us of other famous condottiere-tyrants, e.g. of the Roman Emperor Pescennius *Niger*, a Syrian by birth, of the Biblical "Cushan" (= "the Ethiopian"), Judg. xxxvii, 1–11, of רשעתים,⁴ also a Syrian king of Naharain and of Lodovico *il Moro*—brazenly showing off the boomerang ideogram of the foreigner after his name,⁵ a "Son of Re," *p.n. (R)tn*

¹ W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, 380, took this to mean: "Our support (column) is (the) Turša." I prefer to think of a compound ethnic like Ἀραβαργύπτιοι (Ptol., 4, 5, 27; Marc. Heracl. per mar. extr., 1, 11. Συροφοίνιξ, Luk. deor. conc., 4. Ev. Marc. 7, 26. Τυρσηνοὶ Πελασγοί, Soph. ap. Dionys. Hal., 1, 25).


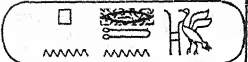
² For all these names see Heyes, *Bibel u. Äg.*, pp. 32 f.

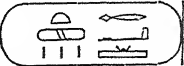
³ *Rec. Trav.*, xiv, 62. Spiegelberg, *Z. Assy.*, xiii, 52 f. Caspari, *ZATW.*, 1909, xxix, p. 268₂.

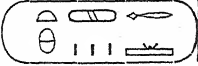
⁴ This is  Rʒ-Šʒtʒi, the Malahite-land (Sinai),

Dümichen, *Geogr. Äg.*, 174–8.



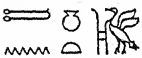
⁵ Budge, *Book of Kings*, London, 1908, vol. i, p. 79 (Papyrus Turin, *Rec. Trav.*, xv, 99; Ahnas, pl. 4, B 1 and B 2). Cf. p. 100, Nhsī, as "King's son", either the same person or rather his son.


  ¹ *he of Redeneh* = ὁ Παῖθηνός
= the Sinaite; a whole dynasty (xvii) of "Nomad" kings²

reigning in Thebes: *T3w3*  *I*, written

later also  ³ which is simply תועה *Tow'e*,

the "errant" or "vagrant" one, partic. pr. of Hebr. תעה
Aram. תנא "to roam", or "to wander about", that is the
"Nomad",⁴ *at-Tihi*, as we should say in Arabic, with the

¹ Stele of Dhwtj-3, Brit. Mus., No. 630. Budge, l.c., i, p. 86, as
Pen. . . . then. But the restitution of the  on the  is quite
certain from the determinative of the high-flying bird. See on *Rtn'w*,
variant *Tnn'w*  in the Sinuhe story, Eisler, *Ken*.

Weihinschr. Freib., 1919, p. 137, where I have first explained the old
crucial ethnic of the *Rtn'w* as that of the , *Redenneh* of the Sinai
Peninsula, the *Paithenoi* of Ptolemy, 5, 16, 3. The name was later on—
in the New Empire—extended all over "Upper" and "Lower
Redenneh" = Syria (somewhat like the French "Allemagne", which is
meant for the whole land up to the Memel, not only for the real south-
western Alemanian districts).

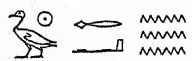
² Cf. the *Qadjâr* dynasty reigning till quite lately over Persia, if
Father Anastase (*al Machriq*, p. 868 ff.) is right in identifying this
family name in its various forms, *Ghadjjar*, *Kotchar*, *Katchar*, *Qatchar*,
Ghatchar, with the Turkish word *cotchar*, "a nomad," which is used
from the seventeenth century onwards for the Turkoman, Uzbek, etc.

³ See on these names Sethe, *Untersuch. z. äg. Gesch.*, i, Leipzig,
1896, p. 4, n. 2. Sethe has well observed that the name—which would
read (quite nonsensically) *t3 3* "great bread", if it were Egyptian—is
probably non-Egyptian. He supposed syllabic orthography, and there-
fore transcribed *T'*. The above-given Semitic explanation is of the
greatest historic consequence, because the descendant of these three
"Nomad" kings is the very 'A'h-mose who expelled the dynasty of
Avaris from Upper Egypt and became the founder of Dyn. 18, which is
consequently *by no means an autochthonous house*, but itself a Beduin
family of Semitic usurpers. This explains the imperialistic Asiatic
policy of the New Empire, the frequent new Semitic loan-words of its
language, the Suteš cult of Dyn. 19, etc.

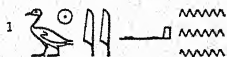

⁴ Cf. the Arabian tribe *Tijāha* (sing. *Tihi*) from *Tih* (*Badiet et Tih*,
"Wilderness of Wandering") = "Wandering" in the Sinai—the
Biblical *'ereš nōd*—from תנה "to wander about" = "the erring",
"wandering ones". There is also a dialectic variant מנע, מנע "to
err about"; from this is derived Talm. מנע "Arabian nomad".

Egyptian pronoun Skenjen-Re', "whom Re' has made brave," his successor, "the great Nomad" (*T3w3 3*), with the same Egyptian pronoun Skenjen-Re' and *T3w3 3 kn III*—the "great strenuous Nomad" Skenjen-Re', whose mummy, with a badly smashed head, is in the Cairo Museum—all of them obviously very proud of their Bedawin origin.¹

Finally there is a prince and "Son of Re'" called '3mw = "'Ammw," the "Ammonite" or "Ammite".

 ² — '3mw being written in an affected unusual orthography, comparable to the "philhellenic" orthography "Bayern" (instead of "Baier") for Bavaria, introduced by King Max I, or to a modern "Smyth", etc. Finally there is an usurper *irsw w' H3rw3* = "Arsawi, a Harri" (Arsawi = "man of Arzawa" in the South of Asia Minor) in the later interregnum between Merneptah and Setnekht.

If Manethos treats "Cadmus"—as he seems to do according to Conon's above-quoted text—as an Egyptian prince of the "Phœnician" (Hyksos) dynasty of Thebes, he may well have done so, for all we know, with respect to some not yet rediscovered native document mentioning a petty king or prince of that period named *Kdmi*, even as the slave above (p. 176, n. 5). He *has* actually recorded in his list of Hyksos kings a certain *Παχναρ*,⁴ that is,

¹  *I'nu*, Budge, l.c., i, 99, may be  *ja'enu*,

"desert-dweller" cf. Arab. *wa'nah*, "desert."

² Budge, l.c., i, p. 99.

³  Great Harris Pap., Pl. 75, l. 4. Budge, l.c., i, 194. Gressmann-Ranke, *Texte u. Bilder z. Alt. Test.*, p. 250. See, however, Weill, *Journ. As. sér. x*, vol. xvi, 1910, p. 285.

⁴ The article is justified if the name is an Ethnic one, but to Egyptian proper names of kings Manethos never adds the *ps* at the beginning. W. M. Müller's idea, *MVAG.*, 1898, iii, 123, that *Παχναρ* could be the name '3-knn-R' of Apophis I without the R' at the end and with the article at the beginning is very hazardous.

apparently, $p\beta Kn'n\grave{i}$, "the Cana'anæan," a name which has not yet been found on any native monument.

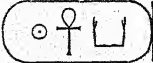
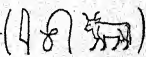
In Josephus, l.c., the name reads Ἀπαχνᾶς , and it is quite possible to see in the initial 'Απ with W. M. Müller, l.c., a remnant of an original Απ(ωφίς)παχνᾶς , the copyist having inadvertently jumped from the first π to the second; and although I cannot believe that $\chi\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ or $\alpha\chi\nu\alpha\nu$ could be an adequate rendering of $\beta knn R$; it is yet quite possible that Παχνᾶνις is really Ἀπωφίς β knn R ('Aāknon Re'), for we have the remarkable statements: (1) that Χνᾶς is the native Phœnician name of the Tyrian Ἀγῆνωρ , the father of Cadmus, Phœnix, etc. (Chæroboscus, a late grammarian, 6th cent. A.D., but with excellent old sources, ap. Bekk. anecd. 1181, 20; Etym. Magn., 635, 30), and (2) that this Ἀγῆνωρ father of Cadmus ruled in Egypt, first in Memphis, then in Thebes, which corresponds to the above-quoted passage of Konon, and with the real historical progress of the Hyksos invaders, and emigrated thence to Assyria¹ (Nonnus of Panopolis

¹ This is a feature of the greatest interest, because it corresponds remarkably with a detail in Manethos' Hyksos-story (Fragm. Hist. Gr., ii, 566), which has been considered hitherto as a pronounced anachronism. The Phœnician invaders are said to have built Avaris as a frontier fortress against the Assyrians, "who were a great power at that time" (the same phrase as in Konon, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha \tau\iota \iota\varsigma\chi\nu\alpha\nu$, above, p. 174 !). We know now, from the new Assur-finds, that as a matter of fact at the end of the 11th and during the 12th dynasty the Assyrian world-empire extended to the frontiers of Egypt. Sargon I (E. Forrer: about 2150 or 2180 B.C.) of Assyria built bridges (*titurri*) and a "front-work" or "frontier structure" (*šikittu pātī harraṇ mai Meluḫa*) for the "road of the land Meluḫa" (=Sinai and *au-dellà*), and Šamši-Adad (I., Weidner, A.D. 1852-1860) again pushed forward the Assyrian frontier to the Lebanon and the Mediterranean coast. Cana'an and Phœnicia were Assyrian provinces at that time and the independence of Egypt was threatened by the old Assyrian world-empire. It is this period which established the dominance of the cuneiform script and the Akkadian language in the diplomatic correspondence of Western Asia and Egypt, which can be traced back to Dyn. 12 (W. M. Müller, OLZ., iv, 1901, 8; MVAG., 1912, xvii, 3, p. 8, n. 2).

in Egypt, 4th cent. A.D., Dionys. 3, 2979).¹ It is therefore quite possible that Manetho may have, for the purpose of his theory about Cadmus, identified the Egyptian king *Απ(ωφ)ς Παχυν* (= the Cananite), 'Aa-kenon-Re', with the legendary Tyrian *Ἀγήνωρ*, especially as the inscription Mariette mon. div. 38, stating that "Suteš of Avaris set all the lands under 'A'akenon Re's soles", seems to prove that this king also ruled over an empire such as the Konon-Manetho text attributes to the Phœnicians.

Most probably the qualification of the Hyksos kings as *Φοίνικες βασιλεῖς* and as *Ἀραβες* is based in the main on a correct interpretation of such kings' names as *Παχυν* "the Cananite", *p n Rtn*, "the Redenneh" or "Raithenite", *Tw'3* "the Nomad", *3mw* the "Ammite". Just as *Rtn'w* is in the New Empire simply a name for Canaan and Syria, so could Manetho take *Kdmā* as another name for Phœnicia, as the land "east" of Egypt, especially since *Kedmā* is connected with *Kpnl* in the classical Sinuhe story, and since he may have understood (just as Gardiner in his recent edition) *Kpnl* = Gabalitis-² Gebalene as being the well known *Kpnl* = Byblos.

¹ Nonnus has throughout used good old Alexandrian sources. The tradition connecting *Kάδμος* and his father *Ἀγήνωρ* with the Nile-land goes back to Pherecydes of Athens (age of Herodotus), who makes *Ἀγήνωρ* marry a daughter of the Nile (FHG., i, p. 83) who begets *Kάδμος*. She is called *Ἀγχιφρόν* (var. *Ἀγχιρόν*, *Αγιοτή*), which could easily be read as

Egyptian  'anh k3 R', or 'anh h'j R', a name occurring in different dynasties. In Schol. Il., i, 42, "Agenor" is a descendant of the cow-heroine *Ἰό*—which is Egyptian *iw3*, "cow"—

and of her son *Ἐραπος*, which is *h'pi-pw*, "that Nile," or *hpi-pw*, "that Apis—" bull. Schol. Eur. Phœn., 247: Phœnix (= *Xvās* (nom.), above) and Agenor are both sons of *Ἰό*; *Ἰό*'s father, the river-god *Ἰραχός* is *inj 3h't*, "the bringer of inundation."

² See Ken. Weihinschr., p. 138, note to 137c.

4. *Šwšr-n-R' Hīn and the Asiatic Campaign of*
"Σέσωστρις".

So far the native documents agree very well with the Conon-tradition of the rule of a Phœnician dynasty in Memphis and Egypt. But were there ever native Egyptian traditions of an Asiatic and even Ægean empire of those Egypto-Phœnician rulers which can account for the most interesting part of the Conon-fragment? Most certainly the statement is *not*, like Professor Breasted's modern analogous hypothesis, based on an archæological collection of the Hīan monuments dispersed all over the ancient world and corresponding in such a remarkable way with the tradition of a Hyksos world-empire. Did Manetho know any triumphal inscriptions of an Apopy or Hīan, attributing to *these* kings victories over Asiatic territories and even over the "island dwellers in the Great Green", like those which the Karnak-stele attributes to Thutmosis III, whose royal spouse was a descendant of the Theban "Nomad kings"? I believe we can easily show that in any case such traditions *did exist* and *do* still exist in certain quite well-known Graeco-Egyptian legends—that is *in the legends of Sesostris and of Osiris as conquerors of the Eastern world.*

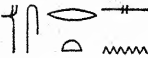
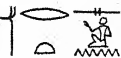
Ever since Professor Sethe, in his excellent essay on "Sesostris",¹ first investigated the ancient traditions about a world conqueror Σέσωστρις, Σώστρις,² *Σέσωωστρις,³ Σέσωωσις, *Vesoris, or Sevozis,⁴ and showed that Herodotus meant by his Sesostris one of the XIIth dynasty kings

¹ Untersuch. z. äg. Gesch., ii, 1, Leipzig, 1900.

² Malalas, p. 25, 19 ff., and Suidas, s.v. Σώστρις, Cramer, Anecd., 2, pp. 237, 27, 238, 1. Sethe, p. 8, n. 5.

³ = "Sesostris," Ausonius, Ep. 19, 21. But I am not sure whether the Latin oo is not simply a graphic device to render Greek ω.

⁴ "Vesozis in Justin, Orosius, Jornandes, may be a transposition of *Seoozis or a (minuscular) misreading of Vesoris. See below, p. 191, note, l. 3.


Senwosrt  or  ¹ *S-n-Wsrt*,¹ names formerly pronounced *Usertesen* by modern Egyptologists, the puzzling problem has remained unsolved, how the "comparatively insignificant military exploits" of Śn-Wśr-t III² could have led to the detailed legend of Sesostris' world-wide conquests, especially in Asia. Besides there remained as a minor formal difficulty the second *sigma* in Σεσωστρις, which Sethe himself calls "inorganic".

The solution of this puzzle is offered in a very simple way by the monuments of Hian's world-empire,³ taken in connexion with the above-quoted Conon (Manetho) fragment as to the Asiatic empire of the Phœnician kings residing in the Egyptian Thebes, if we consider that Hian's Egyptian prenomen³ is: the good god, Son of Re'

Swśr n Re' "made mighty by Re'."



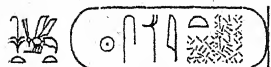
This would

¹ Louvre, C. 14. Sethe, l.c., 7a. = "Man of (the goddess) Wsrt." This explains the form Σωστρις, for the  n could be omitted and *S-wsrt* would equally mean "Man of Wśrt". This seems to decide the question of etymology discussed by Sethe, p. 7, l.c.

² Sethe's hypothesis that the tradition may have been derived by Herodotus from what he believed to be Sesostrian trophies in Asia and Europe is impossible. This archæologic or epigraphic method may be credited to Professor Breasted, who infers a world-empire of Hian from the dispersion of his monuments, but never to Herodotus. The Sesostris-legend must have been as popular wherever Herodotus went as the story of Alexander Dhu'l Kārnain (Iskender Rumi) in the whole modern Orient, or he would not have been shown the Hittite rock-inscriptions of Karabaldere and Bel Kaive and countless other monuments as Sesostrian inscriptions. Or if the attribution of these monuments and countless other "Sesostrian columns" was his own idea,—which is quite possible, for he criticizes (II, 106) people who attributed them to Memnon (Humbanumennu of Elam)—he must have known the Sesostris-tale before such an idea could have occurred to him. We must not forget that Herodotus could not read hieroglyphs, nor even distinguish them from "Hittite" script!

³ Cf. basalt lion of Bagdad, Brit. Mus. 987, our fig.; colossal mutilated sitting statue from Bubastis in Cairo, Budge, Kings, i, 95.

be something like **Susria* in cuneiform, and it is nothing else but the great conqueror's name Σωστρις, as given by Malalas and Suidas, most certainly after good classical sources.¹ The *n* between the two *r*'s of *Śwśr n R'* would probably be assimilated or blurred² in the popular dialects; besides it is syntactically superfluous, as *Swśr R'* would give about the same sense. *στ* for *ś* before *r* would be regular as in Bostra for Bošra, *Εσδρας* for Ešra, Asdrubal for "azru-ba'al", *Μεστραιμ* for מִיצְרַיִם, etc. As to Sethe's "inorganic" second *σ* in Σέσωστρις, we have apparently both in the Turin papyrus and in the Karnak tablet³ two names of the same type and evidently of the same period, of which the latter shows this second *ś*:—



Śwśr it(n)R', "made mighty by the

disk of Re" and *Śśwśr tšwi R'*,

(Karnak tablet No. 44, Lepsius, Auswahl) . . .

"made mighty of both lands?⁴ by Re" (Turin papyrus, p. 126), and written in Karnak, according to

Lepsius,⁵ even with three *ś*'s as . This



¹ See n. 2, p. 182.





² Cf. Sethe, l.c., p. 8: "das n war wohl weggefallen, wie das im Aegyptischen öfter der Fall ist."

³ Budge, Book of Kings, i, 86 f.

⁴ Upper and Lower Egypt. Prof. H. Schäfer kindly writes me (20. 4. 21) that neither he nor Sethe have any grammatical explanation to offer either for a form with , , let alone . Could it be a foreigner's barbaric orthography for *śš R' śwśr tšwi*, "son of Re, made mighty of both lands" and *śš R' śš śwśr tšwi*, "son of Re, son of the one, made mighty over both lands"?

⁵ Königsbuch, Taf. xv, No. 33. But see Sethe, Urk. 18, Dyn. iv, 609, () : "unmöglich oder oder sondern wie (mš) Bénédite."

would be in Greek letters, *Σε-σσωσρ-¹τοι-ρι-ς,² and considering with Sethe, l.c., p. 9, that in *wsr* the final *r*  may have been worn down at a very early period—as in so many other stems of this kind—to an  (i or s) and that the vowels of *τοι* may have been toneless. If this name *did* exist—be it even as a scribe's mistake—in certain Egyptian king's lists, *Ššwšj-tšwi-Ri* would be the nearest possible approach to Σεσσωσρ-ι-ς that could be imagined.

To sum up: It is easy to see that some rather similar names of dynasty xii and of the Hyksos period have been fused into one or confused, either unintentionally or—much more probably—under the influence of the *damnatio memoriae* against the Hyksos invaders. *Sn-wšrt* (dyn. xii) should give regularly *Σενωσ(τ)ρις with *n*, or Σενωσις with *n* if the *r* was spoken as a *j* (*wosje*) and the *t* ignored as in *Ἰσις*,    for *Is.t*. Both these forms *could easily be mistaken in Greek* for an eventually existing name Σεσσωσ(τ)ρις = *Sswšr tšwj R'*, or Σεσώσις, as Diodorus, that is to say, Hecataeus of Abdera, spells the great conqueror's name, especially as the Greeks of Naucratis had a habit of writing their *ny*'s as , indeed, very like their sigma's.³ Dropping the *n*, *Š-wšrt* = "man of *Wošret*" would give Σωσ(τ)ρι-ς, that is, almost exactly the same sounds in the spoken language as the etymologically

¹ *o*, the *o* or *δ μικρόν* of the Greek, is occasionally, as its name shows, a *u*-sign.

² For the vowel of *R'* cf. cuneiform *Manachpiria*, *Nimurria*, etc., for *Mn-ḫpr-R'* and *N-m-ḫ-R'*. The form Σεσωσρις given by Eratosthenes (Budge, l.c., lxxiv) looks very much as if it had originated through a transposition of the very similar minuscule letters *σ* and *ρ* from *Σεσωσρρις, which would perfectly correspond to *Šwšr R' tšwi*.




³ See the table of alphabets appended to Larfeld's *Handbook of Greek Epigraphy*,³ Munich, 1914. The form Σεσώσις is due to a confusion of the great conqueror with the Pharaoh Sheshonk of Dyn. 22 (cf. Joseph. ant., viii, 10, 2, 3), whose Palestinian expedition is recorded in the LXX, and had therefore to be mentioned and discussed by the native Egyptian historians. Sheshonk (Σούσακος, Joseph., Σεσσησις, Afric.) is indeed called Sesonchusis-Σεσώσις in Eusebius' quotations from Manetho (Budge, *Kings*, i, lxx).

different name *Šwšr-n-R'* or *Šwšr-(n)-R'* of *Hian*, the "Hyk-sos" whose *basalt-lion* was found near Baghdad, and who, therefore, must have penetrated with his army of Bedouin camel-riders and Cana'anite horse-chariots¹ into the very heart of the Assyrian world-empire. Nothing could be easier for the learned Egyptian priests, whose hatred against the Hyksos is so patent in every word of the Greek traditions about them,² than to attribute the military exploits of *Šwšr-n-R'* *Hian* to the older *Š-n-wšr-t III* of dyn. 12, whenever they discussed this greatest asset of their national "gloire" with their Greek interlocutors. It is by no means necessary to believe in the reality of a gigantic overland expedition of *Šwšr n R'* *Hian* across the Taurus into the heart of Asia Minor and again over the Bosphorus into Scythia. Most probably a prince from the North-Syrian Ja'adi³ empire of "Sam'al", that is the one

¹ Sethe has well observed (Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss., Gesch. Mitt., 1916, 137₂) that the Egyptian name of the horse, *sem*, is Cana'anite מִסִּים, a dual with the specific Cana'anean ending *-im*, instead of *-in* (Arabic or Aramean). As the word is probably originally an Aryan one (*agva*), it should be observed that according to Arrian (cf. Suid., s.v. Παρσοί) the Parthians broke into their later dwelling-lands "at the time of Sesostris, king of Egypt, and of the Scythian king 'Iavδύσης'" (obviously Γανδύσης = Gandiš, the first Kossacan king!).

² They did not breathe a word to Herodotus of the whole Hyksos dynasty!

³ If we may conclude from the name *Hian* (p. 187, n. 1), that the Ja'adi or Ja'udi יִאֲדִי of Samal—mentioned in the Kalamuwa, Hadad, and Panamuwa inscriptions of Sendjirli—played a prominent part in the confederation of Semitic peoples who subdued Egypt and established the "Hyksos" dynasty, this would explain why the Hyksos are regularly called the

יִצְדִּי'ו   , the "pestilent" ones (e.g. Pap. Sallier, i, 1; Breasted, Hist. Eg., 215; Maspéro, Ét. Égyptol., i, p. 198; R. Weill, Journ. As., 11 sér., 1913, i, p. 85₂; cf. Groff, La Malaria, 1891) by the Egyptians; why the "plague-infected" ones are continually mentioned in all the Greek accounts of the Hyksos period, and why finally the Exodus of the Jews (*Jehudim* יְהוּדִים) was brought into connexion with the expulsion of the יִאֲדִי Ja'udi-Hyksos by all the Hellenistic historians. If the name Ja'adi, Ja'udi is Semitic, it can easily be explained as "the oppressors" from יִאֲדִי or יִאֲדִי, and Egyptian יִצְדִּי, "calamity," "oppressor," "plague," may well be the same word.

place where the name *Haian*¹ has been found again in the genealogy of a ruling family, who had subjected Mesopotamia and ruled over Canaan and Egypt, and *who had the fleet of the Phœnician towns at his disposition*, could easily frighten most of the Asianic petty kingdoms into voluntary allegiance to his empire and into a revolt against the over-lordship of Hattusaš, re-uniting in this way all the land, which had once belonged to the world-empire under the powerful sceptre of Sargon I of Assur (2180–50 or 2000–1982 B.C.) (see above, p. 180, n. 1).

If this Egypto-Phœnician world-empire was thus based to a great extent on the naval power of a Phœnician thalassocracy, Conon's story about "Cadmus" colonizing the mining districts of Thasos and Boiotia, the well-established simultaneous burning of the Cretan palaces, and the contemporary Hian inscription of Cnossos are all explained in the simplest way. On the basis of a Phœnician naval supremacy even the apparently fantastic exaggerations of the extent of Sesostri's empire—its extension into Thracia, Scythia—enter into the domain of sober historic probability. Having subdued the Minyan² thalassocracy of Crete, the Phœnician galleys would certainly not fail to sail through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea and to take up the former sea-trade

¹ Sayce, PSBA, xxiii, 1901, 96; Littmann, SBAW, 1911, 985; Lidzbarski, Eph., 1915, iii, 225. 200g.

² The Cretan *Minōs*, that is *Minwās*, is only a different spelling of *Menuwas*, *Mīnwas*, the "Minyan" (Fick, Griech. PN², 429; F. Hommel, Grundr., 68g). As PN "Menuas" occurs in the Chaldic inscriptions of Van about 800 B.C. (Hommel, l.c.) and—most characteristically—as

a prince  "Mnwś from the lands of the Phœnicians", in the Sinuhe story (age of Sesostri I). The Armenian landscape *Mīwās* (Nicol. Damasc., cf. Joseph. Antq., i, 3, 6) is mentioned as *Minna*^{ki} in the Gudea-inscriptions (statue B, 6, 4). Cf. the *Mīwās* γῆ round Orchomenos, *Mīwva* in Thessaly, in Phrygia, the island *Mīwba* between Pathmos and Lade with the different islands and towns called *Mīwāa*.

of the *πλευσάντων κατὰ νίκος Μινυῶν*¹ with the Colchian gold-coast and with the Scythian tribes on the northern shore of the Black Sea.² As the Egypto-Semitic pirate-traders established settlements for the exploitation of the gold-mines of Thasos and of the Thracian Pangaion, they certainly garrisoned the gold-coast at the Phasis-delta, where the natives collected the gold-dust of the Caucasian rivers with the famous gold fleeces.³ Herodotus was apparently quite right where he speaks—from autopsy—of a Sesostrian colony of *circumcized* Egyptian soldiers at the mouth of the Phasis, among them black-skinned, woolly-haired Nubian *Matois* and—according to an ingenious observation of Dr. Emil Forrer⁴—also the Shardana mercenaries of the Egyptian army of the New Empire.

6. *The Conquest of King Osiris and the Hyksos King*
ꜥwšr-R'-Boušipis.



Apparently *Sušr n R' Hšn* was not the only great conqueror of the Hyksos dynasty. The inscription of Apophis 'Akenon Re', "under whose soles the god of Avaris set all the lands," has been mentioned on p. 181. Most probably the other Apophis, too, ruled over a world-wide empire, for we have in Syncellus' extracts from





¹ Pindar, OL., 4, 69.

² Hence the genealogical connexion of "Cadmus" and "Phoenix" with Phineus of Salmydessos and Φινέωλις.

³ Strabo, II, p. 499; Appian, b. Mithr., 103; Plin. n. h. 33, 15.

⁴ After speaking of the Egyptian rite of circumcision practised by the Phœnicians and the Egypto-Colchians, Herodotus says (ii, 105): "I will add a further proof of the identity of the Egyptians and the Colchians. These two nations weave their linen in exactly the same way, and this is a way entirely unknown to the rest of the world. . . . The Colchian linen is called by the Greeks *Σαρδονικόν*." Evidently the hoplites of the Sesostrian army were Shardana, just like Manahpiria's most famous lansquenets. In peaceful times, when they "lay low", they may have taught the natives the special technique of Egyptian linen weaving.

Manetho,¹ the significant words that Sesostris was held second only to "Osiris" by the Egyptians (ὡς ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὀσίριν πρῶτον νομισθῆναι). This shows that Manetho was already acquainted with the story of the *victorious campaigns* of Osiris throughout the *whole ancient world*, the novelistic development of which is given—not after Hecataeus of Abdera, but possibly after Euhemerus² or Leon of Pella³—in Diodor., i, 15₆₋₈–20₅, 17 (cf. Plut., de Isid., 13 and 72). This tradition of Osiris as a conqueror⁴ and Egyptianizing civilizer of the whole *οἰκουμένη* has no foundation whatever in the genuine Egyptian myths about the martyred suffering corn-god and vegetation spirit Osiris,  , Wsjr.








On the other hand the fact that certain Egyptian theologians did not hesitate to derive the name of the god  , Usiri (also  wširj) from  wsr, "mighty,"

¹ Sethe, l.c., p. 13, cf. p. 3. The fact that Josephus (Antiq., viii, 10, 2, 3) ascribes the Asiatic campaign of Sesostris, as related by Herodotus, to Sheshonk of Dyn. 22 is no reason for doubting with Sethe, l.c., the Manethonian origin of Syncellus' extracts about "Sesostris". For Josephus certainly used other Egyptian sources besides Manetho and certainly several editions of Manetho. The use of the form Σούσακος—instead of the Manethonian Σέσωγχις or Σέσωγχιωσις—shows that Josephus has used a Jewish-Egyptian source dependent on the LXX in this place. See also Wiedemann, Theol. Lit. Zeit., 1901, 186 f.

² Thus Hiller von Gärtringen in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, 1076, l. 12. Cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Busiris.

³ Περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν ἱερὸς λόγος, Clemens, Strom., i, 21; Augustin, Civ. Dei, xii, i; Jacoby in Pauly-Wiss., vi, 968, l. 59. Cf. E. Schwartz, ibid., v, 671, ll. 43–59.

⁴ The description of his campaigns is exactly parallel to the description of those of Sesostris. He passes through Æthiopia and Arabia to India's frontiers, through the lands of Asia and over the Hellespont into Thracia. He, too, erects everywhere his inscribed victory-pillars. The tendency of the Hellenistic author becomes transparent where he gives the names of Osiris' two sons—one clad in a dog's, the other in a wolf's skin, who accompany their father as leaders of his army—as Anubis and Μακέδον (for the correct wolf-god's name Wp-wšt, possibly with regard to mk-t, "protection") and makes him Osiris' viceroy for Macedonia.

and to translate it with $\delta\beta\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma$,¹ "the strenuous one," leads to the simple explanation that the "world-conquering king Osiris" is not the God  , but a human "good god," , one of the *historic* Egyptian kings of the "imperialistic" period, who strove to extend the boundaries of the Pharaonic empire far beyond the realm of the old "nine bows". Now a king, whose name could be transcribed **Oosiris* or *Usiri*—more correctly **Ao-osiri*—is the *other* Apophis    , **wsr R*,² the "Great Mighty Re".

If this predecessor of **wsr n R' H3n-Σōστρις* was an even greater conqueror than the owner of the Baghdad lion, we can understand that *p3 Ao-osip*, in Greek *Βουσίρις*,³ became the one really popular name of a powerful Egyptian ruler with the Greeks.⁴ A "name to conjure

¹ Plut. de Is., 37, 43.

² Budge, i, p. 93; Rhind. Pap., pl. i; Cairo-door Rec. Trav., xiv, 27, No. xxx; Naville, Bubastis, 22, 35.

³ Whether the names *Πουσίρις* and *Πουσίρας* are *p3 Usiri* or *p3 Wsr-t* or *P3 Wsr R* I do not know. The initial B for *p3* is analogous to *Βουσίρις* = *pr Usiri*, the place-name of the four Egyptian towns of this name (Sethe, Pauly-Wiss, iii, 1073 f.).

⁴ It has been an egregious mistake of modern historians to follow the opinion of Eratosthenes (Strabo, 17, p. 802) that there never was an Egyptian king or ruler of any kind called Busiris. Even so Herodotus, 2, 45, was misled by his Egyptian informants into denying the possibility of the Busirian human sacrifices (about them see Lefébure, Sphinx, iii, 3, p. 129). Most obviously the legend alludes to the typical representation on the Egyptian triumphal monuments of victorious kings of all ages: the king slaying with his archaic ceremonial weapon, the stone mace, a horde of kneeling prisoners of war of different foreign races, while the god of the temple in question leads a long row of fettered prisoners from vanquished lands and cities towards the king, to whom he presents the sword of victory (Sethe, MVAG., 1916, 316). Especially images referring to the annual feast of "slaying the *Iwnj'w*" (Capart, Rev. hist. rel., 43, 1901, pp. 203, 2271), i.e. the Syrian *'Iwn'rai*, the sacrifice of the "Typhonian" men (*sttj'w*!) (Plut. de Is., 73; Diod., i, 84) may well have given rise to the legend of Greek (Ionian) prisoners sacrificed regularly by a cruel Egyptian king. If the

with ", like that of the Assyrian *Ninyas*—Tukulti-Ninua according to E. Forrer—of "Semiramis" (Samurammāt), or of the Cretan Minos; like that of Alexander the Great in the whole near East, or of Attila, the Hun in the German mediæval sagas.

Thus, apparently, *Šwšr-n-R' Hšn* and *Aš-Wšr-R' Apophis*, the two world conquerors, "Sostris" and "Osiris", of Greek legend, really mark the transition from the peaceful, defensive policy of the Old and Middle Empire to the new militarist and imperialist age of the New Empire, brought about by the introduction of new tactics with Canaanite war-chariots into the Egyptian army, by the admixture of the warrior-blood of the desert tribes into the new dynasties, and by the prevalence of the Phœnician manufacturers' pirates and merchants trading spirit over the agricultural, autarchic, and peaceful mentality of the genuine old-fashioned and conservative Egyptian fellah.

6. *Cadmus as Contemporary of Busiris or Proteus.*

Having identified *pš 'Ao-usi-Ri Apophi* with the xenophobe king Busiris of the Greeks, and having found

triumphal *Ἰεσώστριδος στῆλαι* did exist in Thracia, Asia Minor, and Syria, they certainly showed *Šwšr-n-R'*—occasionally also called *Ušr-n-R'* (Budge, i. 160) or *pš 'Š-wšr-R' Bōšripis* in this position. The arresting of all "foreigners" landing in the Delta refers simply to the energetic measures of protective marine-policy against the Greek (*Hšnb.w* or *Hellopian*) pirates, which we know to have been taken by several Egyptian rulers after the 11th dynasty, and which certainly became more disagreeable for the *Hšnb.w* after the Phœnician mariners held the delta harbours. The story of Herakles and Busiris is quite analogous to the Theseus and Minos story; as Minos in the non-Athenian literature, so Busiris is also occasionally described as a great law-giver. If the story of the world-conquering Osiris in Diodorus (see above) makes Busiris the resident or *locum tenens* of the absent Osiris, this is clearly an Egyptian popular etymology explaining the name as *bw Usiri* in "place of Osiris". Hecataeus (Diodor., i, 45), who places Busiris more than 1,400 years—evidently one Sothis period—after Menas—that is about 2000 B.C. after the short chronology—and makes him found a dynasty of eight kings, with another Busiris at the end, seems to mean the two Apophises of the Hyksos period with his two Busirises.

Conon (or Manetho) connecting "Cadmus" with the world-empire of the Hyksos dynasty, we shall not be surprised to find "Cadmus" treated by other ancient historians as a contemporary of "Busiris".

In the Chronicle of Eusebius¹—where we should *a priori* expect to discover Manetho's version of the Cadmus legend—we find a passage which, although somewhat connected with the above analysed fragment of Conon, is yet manifestly derived from another source. In the year 560 of Abraham, that is 1456 B.C., there is the following entry: *Φοῖνιξ καὶ Κάδμος ἀπὸ Θηβῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον* (= on the Nile) *ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν Συρίαν*² *Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος ἐβασίλευσαν* (Jerome: *Phœnix et Cadmus de Thebis Aegyptiorum profecti apud Tyrum et Sidonem regnaverunt*), and to the same year: *Βούσιρις κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλου τόπον ἐτυράννει . . . ξένους κατέθνε*. This is parallel to another passage of Konon (32), which has been traced back with convincing arguments by Hoefer,³ to the *Παλληνιακά* of one *Hegesippos of Mekyberna*,⁴ a local historiographer of Pallene of the early Alexandrian age: . . . *Κάδμος, μεθ' οὗ συναπαίρει Πρωτεὺς Αἰγύπτου τὴν Βουσίριδος δεδιὼς βασιλείαν* and to *Philargyrus* in Virg. Georg. IV, 30 . . . *Pallene insula . . . hanc Proteus quondam propter Busiridis crudelitatem Aegypto petiit*.

It is, however, highly improbable that Eusebius' notice should be derived from Hegesippus; for the mention of Proteus, whom the Greek historians held to be contemporary with the Trojan war, because of Odyssey, δ 365, 385, does not accord with the date 1465 B.C., assigned to "Phoinix" and "Cadmus" in Eusebius, since the fall of Troy is placed in the years A.D. 1059 by Pherecydes,

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, xix, 383, cf. *Patrol. Lat.*, xxvii, *Chronic. Hieronymianum* ad ann. 560. Synkell., p. 1520.


² Note the difference against *εἰς Ἀσσυρίαν* in Nonnos, above, p. 180, n. 1.

³ Konon, Greifswald, 1890, p. 55.

⁴ Cf. fragm. 6, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, 4, 424.

1096 by Isocrates, 1171 by Sosibius, 1183 by Eratosthenes, 1198 by *Julius Africanus*, 1208 by Kastor, and 1334 by Timæus.¹ If Eusebius had known or used a source connecting "Proteus" with the *Κάδμου ἀποικία*, he would have mentioned Proteus and placed the respective entry somewhere about the much later year of the fall of Troy. Consequently he must have used another source and may be considered as an independent witness for the Cadmus-Busiris synchronism.



How Proteus came to be connected with Cadmus is easy to guess, if we read in Herodot., ii, 112, that his *τέμενος*, south of the Ptalē temple of Memphis, is the *Τυρίων στρατόπεδον*, the "camp of the Tyrians", and that round it dwell *Phœnicians from Tyrus*. The historian who first spoke of the flight of king Proteus and Cadmus and made it coincide with the rule of the legendary xenophobe king Busiris, has certainly thought of a general ejection of the Phœnician *μέτοικοι* of Memphis, in a similar way as Hecataeus of Abdera (below, p. 196) interpreted the Danaus and Cadmus legend.

Diodor. i, 62—that is to say Hecataeus—gives as the Egyptian name of the king, who was called according to Herodotus, i.e., in the language of the Greeks *Πρωτεύς, Κέτης*² and adds that he was *not of royal descent*. The equation of Greek *Πρωτεύς* with Egyptian *Κέτης* or rather *Χέτης*,³ is easily explained: the well-known Egyptian title *ḥ3ḥj-*
 lit. a "prince" (= *princeps*), German "Fürst, furist" (= "first"), a "count" (from *ḥ3.t*), "front" (*m.ḥ3.t*, "at the front"), is, indeed, an exact equivalent to the Greek word

¹ Ginzel, Hdb. d. Chronol. Leipz., 1911, ii, 359. Manetho makes the fall of Troy coincide with the last king of dyn. 19 (*Θουωπίς*), Pliny (36, 65) with Ramses II, others with *Σέθως* (Schol. Odyss., 14, 278; Eustath. Cram. Anecd. Paris., iii, 488; Sethe, Sesostriis, 56).

² Sethe, *ibid.*

³ Cf. Diodor. i, 64. Cf. Hecataeus, *Κέφρην* for Herodotus (2, 127), *Χέφρην* = *H'f R'*.

Πρωτεύς—as also see the Semitic *Κάδμος* קדם, literally the “fore” man, the man “at the front”.¹ The function of such a title as a kind of personal name—as people used to call Bismarck “der Fürst”, Luitpold of Bavaria “der Regent”, and Wellington “the Duke”—is not unheard of in Egyptian. We know e.g. one prince and governor of Nubia (18th dyn.) named simply *p3 šr*   “the Regent”,² an “Hyksos”-king *Mr mš.w*, “leader of armies” = “General”,³ who may or may not be identical with Manetho’s first Hyksos-king *Σαλατις* = *šalit* = the *Sultan* or “Commander”.⁴ It is, therefore, not impossible that a ruler “not of royal descent”, that is a usurper, should have been known as “the Count” or “the Prince” of Memphis. The supposed synchronism of this ‘*Χέτης*’ or ‘*Πρωτεύς*’ with the Trojan war, that is, according to the Graeco-Egyptian scholars with the end of dyn. 19, might lead one to think of the Syrian usurper hailing from Arzawa (above, p. 179, n. 3) and ruling about 1200 B.C., that is just about the time of the fall of Troy, according to the dates of Julius Africanus and Kastor (above, p. 193, n. 1).

The flight of this Egyptian Proteus to Pallene is also alluded to by the learned Alexandrian poet and librarian *Lycophron* (born between 320 and 325 B.C.) in his “*Alexandra*”, where vv. 115 ff. are explained by the commentaries⁵ on that abstrusely enigmatic poem, probably on the basis of explanations by the author himself, as referring to the flight of the Egyptian Proteus to Pallene, in the Thracian Chersonesus and to the subsequent marriage of the hero with *Τορώνη*, the eponymous heroine of the homonymous town. The latter detail shows that

¹ Therefore = “the Eastern one”, because of the *hēbla* towards sun-rise.

² Budge, l.c., i, 153.

³ Ibid., i, 69.

⁴ Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii, 146₁.

⁵ Schol. *Lycophr. Alex.* ed. Scheer, ii, 60.

Lycophron and Hegesippus, of Mekyberna, are not dependent on a common source, for the latter calls the wife of Proteus not *Τορώνη*, but *Χρυσονή* "know-gold", obviously with reference to the Cadmean discovery of gold-ore in the neighbourhood of the Thracian Pangaion.¹ It is very interesting to observe that, according to the above-mentioned commentators of Lycophron,² the dwelling-place of this Egyptian ἀποικία of Proteus and Cadmus, that is the delta of the Strymon, was called *little Egypt*: "αὕξεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς κατασυραμένης ἔλως τῆς Νείλου", a reason which might be believed to point to a region situated on the Syrian coast, where, indeed, all the harbours and roads are continually choked with sand and mud by the current coming from the Nile-mouths, but certainly not for the region around the mouth of the Strymon. Since we know that Αἴγυπτος is the *Egyptian* ἕγβ(τ) the "flooded land", the "inundation region",³ and not at all a Greek word applied to the Nile delta and valley by Greek settlers, it might possibly be a vestige of early Egypto-Phœnician colonization.⁴ Unfortunately we do not know whether the name is old and popular or whether it is late and due to a comparison of the Strymon-delta with the Nile-mouth region by later learned geographers or seafarers of the Hellenistic age.

In all these traditions king "Busiris" of Egypt plays the part of a "Pharaoh oppressor" in what may be termed a Phœnician "exodus" legend, while Cadmus, Phoinix,

¹ Clem. Alex., i, p. 207B>Aristotle>Hellanikos (Crusius in Roscher's Myth. Lex., ii, 1864). Κάδμος . . . μετάλλα χρυσοῦ τὰ περὶ τὸ Παγγαῖον ἐπενήσεν ὕρος.

² See also Steph. Byz., s.v. Αἴγυπτος: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Αἴγυπτος μικρά. Tümpel, die Aethiopenländer, Fleckeisens Jbb. Suppl. 16, 161 ff., 174. See, however, E. Maass, de Aesch. Suppl., pp. xxii, xxiv.

³ See E. Naville, Journ. Egypt. Archeol., vol. iv, 1917, pp. 228-33.

⁴ In view of what has been conjectured above, p. 188, on "Sesostrion" trade-settlements on the shore of the Black Sea, the ancient name *Aegyptus* (Geogr. Rav., iv, 5, p. 198₁₈) for the modern Tulča in the Delta of the Danube might also be remembered.

Proteus, etc., figure as the Moseses and Aarons leading the Semitic emigrants from Egypt into a new and happier land.

7. *Cadmus and Danaus.*

This characteristic view of the Cadmus legend is taken also in a fragment of Hecataeus of Abdera or Teos;¹ the author, who composed his philosophical history of Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy I, relates how the Egyptians, in order to assuage a god-sent plague (see above), drove out of their land a number of heretics and foreigners who would not conform to the national cults,² and thereby irritated the gods against the natives: the bravest and most strenuous of the exiles emigrated εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους τόπους, ἔχοντες ἀξιολόγους ἡγεμόνας, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Δάναος καὶ Καδμος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανέστατοι. ὁ δὲ πολὺς λαὸς ἐξέπεσε εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἰουδαίαν.

It has long been noticed³ that this is an attempt to combine the Greek legends of Danaus and Cadmus with the well-known popular contamination of an account of the expulsion of the Hyksos with the Jewish exodus-traditions. The latter combination—which is certainly not without some foundation of historical truth, and which goes back in part to the Biblical exodus documents themselves⁴—needs a special investigation. The story of “Danaus”, living first in Libya, then in Egypt, and emigrating thence before the wrath of Αἴγυπτος to Argos,

¹ Phot. Bibl., i, 46, cod. 244; Diodor. xl (15), 3, 2, p. 542, Wessling.


² It is a standing complaint of the Egyptian sources against the “Hyksos” that they neglected the cults of the Egyptian gods—showing thereby the true Bedawin spirit. See the Stabl-Antar inscription of Queen Hatshepsut, the story of Seknen Re’s fight against Apophis, who knew none of the gods but his lord Seth of Avaris and the Setnekhlt inscription, quoted above, p. 179, n. 3. Ḫt’n Sḏstpr is calls himself “beloved”—not by Re, or Seth, etc.—but by his own genius (*kḏ*)!

³ Ewald, *Altertümer d. Volkes Israel*, 2, ii, 120.

⁴ Thus very acutely K. Dyroff in *Helmolt’s Weltgesch.*, Leipzig, 1914, vol. iii, p. 271. I have treated the subject in detail in a still unpublished lecture before the Munich Oriental Society in 1919 about the brothers of Joseph as *sarē mīknē* = “shepherd princes” (Gen. xlvii, 6).

is manifestly the popular Greek version of the invasion of the mixed rabble of Libyans and seafaring Ægean pirates—among them the *Dḡniwns* (= **ΔανάΦοες* to *Δάναοι*, like *ΛυκάΦοες* to *Λύκιοι*-*Rwks*), and



Akawaš = *AqaiFoi*¹ — into the Western-Nile delta during the old age of Ramses II,² the king with the countless sons, above, p. 176, n. 1—and of their subsequent expulsion under Merneptah (about 1220 B.C.). Nothing could be more plausible than the flight of the vanquished pirates in their galleys to the shore of the Peloponnesus, where they seem to have imported the Egyptian name *Ἀγυπτος*, “flooded land,” to a certain Argive cape, still known to the age of Hecataeus of Miletus,³ and the Egyptian names *Ἰναχος*, *Ἴω*, *Ἐπαφος*, *Ἀγχιπρόη* (above, p. 181, n. 1), and perhaps also *Φορ-ω-ν-έν-ς* *Pr ʿn iw* “king of the coastland” into the genealogy of the Argive kings. The connexion of this “exodus” with the expulsion of the Hyksos is quite arbitrary.⁴ Possibly there may be a confusion of Danaus and the *Dḡniwns* with the inhabitants of the Hyksos city Zo’an 
D'n = *Τάνις* at the bottom of it, perhaps not even that.

¹ The Egyptian orthography = *AqaiFoi* shows that primarily the West Caucasian pirates are meant whom the Greeks (see Tomaschel's article *Achaioi*, 21, in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 205) called *Αχαιοί* or *Ἀκαιοί* (Arr., *Peripl.*, 84), a name which has been plausibly derived by Schiefner from the Abkhasian word *aqā* “coast-dwellers”. It is the Caucasian equivalent of the later Greek term *ἡπειρώται* = “coastmen”. The *Δάναοι* or **ΔανάΦοες* are the people living on the *δανάη* = “the dry land”.

² Breasted-Ranke, p. 356; Breasted, *Records*, iii, 576, 579.

³ FHG., i, p. 28, No. 357; Schol. Eurip. *Orest.*, 872, ed. Schwartz, i, p. 185, 3 ff.

⁴ Eusebius, *Chron.*, Hieronymus, l.c., places the flight of Danaus twenty-five years before that of the *ἀποικία Κόδμου* into the year of Abraham 535 = 1481 B.C. He knew Hecataeus' theory and meant to criticize the implied synchronism. The Parian marble chronicles (ed. Flach, Tübingen, 1883; FHG. i, 533 ff.) place the immigration of Cadmus into Thebes at 1519, that of Danaus into Argos at A.D. 1511.

There remains again the connexion of the *Κάδμου ἀποικία* to the Ægean with the Hyksos-age, this time not with the *acmé* of the Phœnician empire over Egypt, but with its final overthrow. The statement of *Diodor. Sic.* I, 23, 4, that Cadmus, the *κτίστης* of *Θῆβαι*¹ in Boiotia came thence from the apparently homonymous Egyptian town *Θῆβαι*—*ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ*,²—is certainly derived from Hecatæus of Abdera, like an analogous passage in *Charax of Pergamon*.³

8. *The Cadmean Colonists described as Arabians by Apollodorus, Polemon of Ilion, Lysimachus of Alexandria.*

We have already mentioned incidentally (above, p. 175, n. 3) that according to Josephus' excerpts from Manetho, "certain people said that the Hyksos were Arabians." One of these Alexandrian authors, who defended this opinion—probably Ptolemaeus of Mendes⁴—is used, but not quoted by Polyænus (*Strateg.*, vii, 4; A.D. 162), where he speaks of the campaign of the conqueror of the Hyksos, Ahmose, against the "Arabians" (. . . *Ἀμασις ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀραβας πολέμῳ*).

¹ The name is probably akin to that of the Thessalian (Phthia) and Asianic towns *Θήβη* in the Troas, *Θήβη* near Miletus, and *Θήβη* in Kataonia; and also *Θήβασα* of Lycaonia; see Fick, *Vorgriech.* O.N., 78, 81, 128. As *τ* and *θ* may alternate in "Asianic" languages, we might with Prof. Sayce, *JSBA.*, ix, 1893, 119, compare also *τάβαι*, *τάβει*, and Carian or Lydian *τάβα* "rock", *Θῆβαι* = "colles" in old Italian and Greek dialects, Varro, *de re Rustica*, 3, 1, 6. Lewy, *Semit. Fremdw.*, p. 208, would derive *Θῆβαι* from *תִּיבָה* = "ark" because of the Theban legend about the "Ogygian" flood. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. *τάλαρος*: *θήβη* = *κιβώτιον* (= *תִּיבָה*!).

² Sethe, *Z. Ae.*, 45, 85.

³ *Mythogr. Gr.*, p. 324, Westermann; fr. 13. FHG., iii, p. 639, M.: *Σεμέλη ἡ Κάδμου θυγάτηρ λέγεται κηῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ γάμου· τὸν δὲ παῖδα θεοτάτον ὄντα ὁ Κάδμος διότι ἐκ πυρὸς ἐσώθη περιεῖπε καὶ τίθεται ἀντὶ Αἰγυπτίου Διονύσου πάτριον ὄνομα.*

⁴ He is the author to whom we can most probably trace the Greek mentions of the conquest of Avaris by *Ἀμωσις* (Tatian, *Or. ad Graecos*, c. 38. Euseb. *praep. ev.*, x, ii, 14 Gaisf.; Clem. Alex., *Str.* i, 21, 101. Euseb., l.c., x, 12, 2. Julius Afric. ap. Euseb., l.c., x, 10, 16; Syncell. *Dind.*, i, 120, 281; [Justin], *Coh. ad Graec.*, c. 9.

If we find in Strabo, x, 447, that Apollodorus of Athens, the pupil of the great Alexandrian philologist and interpreter of Homer, Aristarchus, classifies in his treatise on the Homeric "ship catalogue" the companions of Cadmus immigrating with the hero into Eretria and colonizing Pallene (above, p. 192₄) as *Arabians* (*Ἀραβες οἱ Κάδμου συνδιαβάντες*),¹ it follows that he connected on the one side, like Konon, the Cadmus-legend with the traditions about the Hyksos, and that he followed on the other hand those *τινές*, for whom the Hyksos were Arabs. A passage in Bekker, Anecd. (i, p. 783²) shows that Apollodorus had mentioned the introduction of the alphabet into Greece by Cadmus in this connexion.

Two more authorities for the connexion of Cadmus with the Hyksos can be traced indirectly:

First Polemon of Ilion, the famous epigraphist (*στηλοκόπας*) — 3rd/2nd century B.C. — and secondly Lysimachus (probably 1st century B.C.).

If we suppose—with Kalkmann, Pausanias der Perieget, 1886—that the latter famous but rather insipid *cicerone* is throughout dependent on the learned Polemon, whom he never quotes, in order to conceal his plagiarism, we cannot fail to see that Pausanias³ refers to *Polemon* when he criticizes with linguistic arguments, relating to

¹ Cf. Plutarch, Theseus, 5: οἱ δὲ Ἀβαντες οὐχ ὅπ' Ἀράβων διδαχθέντες ὡς ἐνιοὶ νομίζουσιν, and Diodor., iii, 65, after the Thebais of one Antimachos (age of Plato), who calls the Thracian Lycurgus an *Arab* king. Herodotus, 5, 57, expressly mentions the Gephyraean Cadmeans as *Φοίνικες*!

² . . . τῶν στοιχείων εὐρέτην . . . Κάδμου φασί, τινὲς δὲ Φοινίκων εὐρέσεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάκτορον γεγενῆσθαι . . . Πυθοδώρος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ στοιχείων καὶ φύλλης (a Delian author on music) . . . πρὸ Κάδμου Δάναον μετακομίσαι αὐτὰ φασιν (cf. however Euseb., above, p. 197, n. 4). ἐπιμαρτυροῦσιν τοῖς οἱ Μιλησιακοὶ συγγραφεῖς . . . οὗς καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ παρατίθεται.

³ ix, 12, 2: τοῖς οὖν νομίζουσι εἰς γῆν ἀφίκεσθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θηβαίδα Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὐ Φοινίκα ὄντα, ἐστὶν ἐνάντιον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ταύτης τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι Ὅγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τῶν Φοινίκων καλεῖται καὶ οὐ Σάϊς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν φωνήν.

the alleged Phœnician name of Ἀθηνᾶ "Ογγα,¹ which are certainly not his own literary property, the opinion of those who say that Cadmus, who immigrated into the Thebais, was *not* a Phœnician, but an *Egyptian*. Since we know through Euseb. Praep., ev., x, 10.¹⁵ that Polemon² (fragm. 13) dealt at length with the question of the expulsion of the Hyksos by king Ἀμωσις in the first book of his "Greek History"—thus, obviously in connexion with Greek "prehistorics"—it is highly probable that he brought this event, like Hecataeus of Abdera, into connexion with the immigration of Cadmus into the Thebais (and possibly of Danaus to Argos). The linguistic argument in Pausanias, l.c., as well as other orientalizing etymologies connected with Thebes,³ would suit the learned Polemon

¹ Schol. Eur. Phoen., 1062; Schol. Pind., Ol. 2₄₄; Steph. Byz., Ὀγκᾶται. Hesych., s.v. Ὀγκας Ἀθηνᾶς τὰς Ὀγγίας πυλὰς λέγει. Tzetzes, Alex. Lycophr., 1206: Ὀγγυος Θηβῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦν βασιλεὺς ὅθεν ὁ Κάδμος ἐπῆρχεν, ὅς ἐλθὼν ἐν Ἑλλάδι τὰς ἑπταπόλους ἐκτίσε καὶ Ὀγγυίας πυλὰς ἐκάλεσε, πάντα ποιήσας εἰς ὕψομα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Θηβῶν. Cf. Photios s.v. Ὀγγυία κακά, ii, p. 277, No. 6: Κάδμον τὸν Ὀγγυον. Suidas, s.v. Ὀγγύγια κακά. The genealogy which makes "Cadmus" a son of Ogygos should be compared with the Arabian tradition (above, p. 175, n. 3) that the Hyksos were *Amalekites*, for 𐤀𐤌𐤊𐤍, 'Agūg in Phœnician pronunciation—cf. Akkad. *agaḡu* "be powerful", Muss-Arn., 136—the *δυναστὴς* is the title of the Amalekite kings (Num. xxiv, 7; 1 Sam. xv, 8, 9, 20, 32 f.) and 'Agāgi in the Book of Esther is synonymous with Amalekite.

² Πολέμων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριῶν, Ps. Justin, Coh. ad Graec., c. 9.

³ Cf. above, p. 198, n. 1, and Schol. Eurip. Phoeniss., 638 ff.; Tzetzes, Lycophr., 1206; Etym. Magn., 450, 41; Eustath., Ilias, 2, 503, where the name of Thebes is said to be taken from the cow, which led Cadmus to the spot, for θήβα συριστὶ λέγεται ἡ βοῦς. As a matter of fact, there is no such word for cow in Syrian or Aramean, except *sebaḥ*, ܫܒܚܐ, a "sacrificial victim" of any kind, not necessarily a cow. But there is, in fact, as E. Assmann has observed in an otherwise very hazardous essay, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1920, 3/1, c. 18, in Egyptian (Brugsch, Wb. 7, 1347), a word 𓆎𓆭𓆫 *tb*, "young cattle," "calf,"

written with the determinative of a fettered sacrificial victim. This would seem to suggest an Alexandrian origin for the said etymology of Thebes, and it might be well to remember that Manetho's birthplace Sebennytyos (𓆎𓆭𓆫 𓆭𓆫𓆭𓆫 *tb-ntr* 𓆭𓆫𓆭𓆫𓆭𓆫) was itself called after the "sacred calf" (Dümichen, Geogr. d. alt. Aeg., p. 253).

far better than his plagiarist Pausanias. From it we gather that Polemon tried to prove that Cadmus, although hailing from Egypt, was not an Egyptian native, but—as Konon-Manetho (above, p. 174 ff.) represents him—one of the *Φόινικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς*, who fled to Greece after Ἄμωσις had destroyed the stronghold of Avaris.

The traces of Lysimachus' treatment of the subject are found in Tacitus. He quotes Lysimachus' account of the expulsion of the Hyksos (identified with the lepers and Jews,¹ in Hist. v, 3). If, therefore, we find in another passage of Tacitus—without quotation—the statement² that the Egyptians claim to have invented the alphabet,³ but that the Phœnicians brought the art of letter-writing to the illiterate people of Greece at a time when the Canaanite fleet ruled the sea, with an express reference to the Cadmus-legend, it becomes highly probable that here, too, Tacitus is dependent on Lysimachus, and that this Alexandrian held a similar view as Hecataeus of Abdera about the over-sea migration of Cadmus being connected with the expulsion of the Phœnician invaders from Egypt. Even as Hecataeus (above, p. 196), he must have divided the emigrants from Egypt into two classes: first the *élite* under Cadmus, profiting from their command over the fleet to sail to Hellas, and second the *misera plebs* of the lepers under Moses expelled overland into the desert and building there the misanthropic state of the Jews, upon which he strives to heap every possible ignominy.

¹ Joseph, c. Ap., i, 34f. Cf. Raymond Weill, Journ. Asiatique, 1915, p. 95.

² Ann., xi, 4: "Primi per figuras animalium Aegyptii sensus mentis effingebant . . . et litterarum semet inventores perhibent. Inde Phœnicas, quia mare praepollebant, intulisse Graeciae . . . Quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phœnicum vectum rudibus adhuc Graeciae populis artis eius auctorem fuisse . . ."

³ That they really did so in Plato's time appears from the famous passages, Phaedr., 274c, and Philebos, 18b, of which a new analysis will be found in my paper, Plato u. d. ægypt. Alphabet, Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Philos. xxxiv, 1922, pp. 3-13.

The result of the foregoing analyses is that there was a *consensus sapientium* among Alexandrian scholars about the historic connexion of the Cadmean colonization of the Ægeis, and consequently also about the date of the introduction of the *Καδμήια γράμματα* into Greece, either at the *akmē* or at the final expulsion of the Hyksos dynasty of Egypt. Chronologically the latter view comes nearer to the Herodotean date assigned to Cadmus (about 1510 B.C.).¹ Yet this date, obtained by dead-reckoning of generations in half-mythic genealogies, is sufficiently distant from that attributed to *Ἀμωσις*, the expeller of the Hyksos, by Alexandrian scholars,² to prove that their theory about the age of Cadmus is in no way influenced by the Milesian *λογογράφοι*, who were indeed, as a matter of fact, totally ignorant of the whole Hyksos episode.

In reality, there is not the slightest reason for the assumption that any part of the expelled "Hyksos" invaders *did* emigrate oversea to the Ægean coasts. The theory is purely constructive and proves no more than that the above-quoted Hellenistic scholars did take it for granted that the *Phœnician* "Cadmus" came *from Egypt* to Greece and that they naturally wanted to explain this paradox.

On the contrary, the theory about the Hyksos empire's

¹ According to Herodot., ii, 44, there are five generations between Herakles and Cadmus; ii, 142, he says that three generations are about 100 years; ii, 145, he gives 900 years as the period between Herakles and his own age (about 450 B.C.). This gives about 1060 years—not 1600 as the MSS. of Herodot., ii, 148, have—because the later scribes misread the western ξ-sign X=60 for the Eastern χ̣-sign X=600, which would have been written ψ in Thuriot—as the period between Herodotus and Cadmus. Cf. Wiedemann, Herodot's, ii. B., p. 517.

² According to Manetho the last year of Ahmose is 1657 B.C. Euseb. gives ann. Abrahæ 294=1722 B.C. - 318=1698 B.C. for *Ἀμωσις*. Julius Africanus places the "exodus" and the expulsion of the Hyksos 1797 B.C. Breasted places Ahmose 1580-1567 B.C. according to good astronomical evidence. For Herodotus Euseb. gives 468/7 as *ἀκμή*, which would place Cadmus in 1532/3 B.C., and not into the year 1456 B.C., where he places him (above, p. 197₄). Evidently Herodotus' date was not considered by Alexandrian chronologists.

temporary extension over a great part of the near East and over certain parts of the Ægean, as we find it in Conon and as we have good reason to attribute it to Manethos, accords in a most striking way with our archæological evidence: with the Bagdad lion (p. 172, n. 4, fig. 11) and the Cnossus inscription (p. 170, fig. 10) of *H3n Šwšr n R'*, with the synchronous absolute lack of cuneiform documents in Babylonian as well as in the Hatti archives, with the discovery of Phœnician inscriptions on the Hagia Triada copper ingots. It accords quite as well with the *independent* traditions about the world-embracing conquests of one Sôstris (above, p. 183) and of a king Osiris (Busiris, *p3 3 wšr R'*—above, p. 188 f.), and possibly also with the legend of a prehellenic king *Σαρπαδών*—a name corresponding in a striking way to the title *šar Padan u Alwan* of the Kassite king of Babylon, Agukakrime¹—1650 B.C.—in Crete, Thracia, and Lycia-Cilicia,² who is reckoned as a nephew of "Cadmus" and

¹ V R., 33, 38a. Rogers, Outlines of the Hist. of Early Babylonia, 1895, p. 40. Hommel, Grundr., 190.

² "Minos" of Crete (see above, p. 187, n. 2) wars against "Sarpadon" because of "Milatos"—eponymous hero of the homonymous towns in Crete and Karia—and drives him from Crete to Lycia (Herod., i, 173). As ruler of Lycia (and Cilicia, Immisch in Roscher's Lex., s.v. c. 395 f.) he is mentioned among the allies of Troy in Homer. In Thrace a "Sarpedon", son of Europa and Poseidon, is mentioned by the same Hegesippus of Pallene, who speaks of the *ἀποιμία* of "Cadmus" and Proteus to Pallene (Schol. Eurip. Rhesos, 29, cf. Lykophr. 1284, and Schol. Scheer, ii, 362). He is said to have been killed by Herakles (Apollod. Bibl., 2, 5, 9, 13), that is by the representative of the immigrating Dorians. The search for the sister (Basilios, Migue, Patrol. Graeca, 85, 478 ff.), the victorious fight of "Minos" in Crete and of "Heracles" in Thrace against "Sar Padan" may be an echo of the later downfall of the Hyksos empire over Crete and the coast of Thrace through the attack of the Minyans and Dorians, provided that the Kassite title "*šar Padan*" was borne already by the Hyksos predecessors of the Kassite rulers. The different landmarks and promontories called *Σαρπηδών(ον)*; Immisch, l.c.) after a demon, whom Ed. Schwartz, Quaest. Herod., 13, correctly explains as the mythic representative of a "*ventus rapax et procellosus, . . . nautis promontoria circum vehentibus periculosus*"; suggest a plausible etymology for this place-name: as the

son of "Europa" (above, p. 66, n. 1) by the Greek genealogists and credited with a similar search for an abducted sister as "Cadmus" and "Cilix".

The traces of this short-lived Phœnico-Egyptian world-empire *must not be looked for in the domain of figured and decorative art*. The excavations in Canaan—however insufficient they may be judged—have amply proved that *there never was a national Phœnician art* of any important originality. Therefore in Egypt the native art-tradition of the land has not in the least been influenced by the irruption of the Phœnician and Arab tribes known as the Hyksōs. Consequently it is *quite wrong* to say with René Dussaud,¹ that the excavations of characteristically "Minoan" frescoes and vases of the "Palace style" on the site of the *Καδμεία* of Thebes by Mr. Κέραμopoulos "*écartent définitivement les hypothèses par lesquelles on cherchait à établir que la Thèbes préhellénique était phénicienne. On doit donc rejeter toutes les conclusions, et elles sont nombreuses, tirées de l'étymologie sémitique du nom de Cadmus.*" On the same principle we could deny that Egypt ever was a Roman province, because its art remained Hellenistic without any trace of an influence of the—non-existing—specifically Italic or Roman art.

On the contrary, the rapid spreading of the Phœnician alphabet over the whole Mediterranean cultural sphere is in itself good evidence for a dominating political influence exercised over all the lands, where the new *Καδμήα γράμματα* were adopted at a certain epoch during the second millennium B.C. The practical advantage of the Phœnician alphabet over some kind of simple syllabary

Babylonians called the west wind *šāri Amurri* (Muss-Arnold, 1106b) "wind from Amurru", as in Austria the west wind is popularly called "der boarisch wind" (Bavarian wind), and as the Greeks called the south-western wind *Αἰψ* "Libyan" wind, so *šār Padan* "wind of Padan" may have been the name for the south-eastern wind blowing from Padan-Alwan on to the Lycian and Thracian shores.

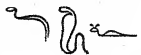


¹ Civ. Préhell.², 1914, p. 391; cf. 179.

like the Cypriote is negligible, not to say non-existent.¹ In any case it cannot explain why European people accepted it in preference to, let us say, the Cypriote-syllabary or the *Πελάσγικα γράμματα* (above). As the use of cuneiform script on clay-tablets by the Palestinian and Egyptian diplomatists of the Amarna period and probably even of the 12th dynasty, and as the use of clay-tablets for the Minoan script of Crete, presuppose the world-empire, the *šarrut kiššati* of Sargon I of Assur (2180 B.C.) over the whole near East and over the Mediterranean coasts up to their utmost Western limits,² so shall we incline now to attribute the dissemination of the Phœnician alphabet, not to the mere commercial influence of the comparatively powerless trading cities on the Syrian coast, but to the *political and economic subjugation of the whole Mediterranean world by the short-lived world-empire of Hian-Σώστρις*. It is the administration of this Egypto-Phœnician *šarrut kiššati* which must have supplanted for a while the old wedge-writing on clay-tablets by the use of the greatly simplified Phœnico-Assyrian syllabary³ on papyrus and leather; the customary writing materials of the Egyptian bureaucracy, thereby causing the present absence of all documentary evidence during the whole Hyksos and Cassite period as well in the Boghazkeui as in the Babylonian records. The concluding evidence for this theory is offered by the discovery and palæographic analysis of the alphabeto-hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Sinai peninsula. As I have been

¹ We should remember that the Abyssinian and the Indian grammarians preferred a simple syllabary to the ordinary alphabet at a time when the latter was used over the whole *οἰκουμένη*.

² See above, p. 180, on the new Sargon text discovered by Dr. E. Forrer. Cf. my note in the review *Janus*, i, 1921, p. 212.

³ This characterization of the alphabet will be amply justified in my forthcoming book on the origin of the alphabet to appear as the next supplementary volume of the review *Klio*, Beiträge z. alt. Gesch. through the kindness of Prof. Lehmann-Haupt.

able to show,¹ a peculiar alphabeto-hieroglyphic script was developed on the border-line of Egyptian and Cananite civilization by the mere fact that people who used both the hieroglyphic and the alphabetic signs soon began to mix occasionally hieroglyphic and *synonymous* alphabetic signs; to use, for example, for the Phœnician N-sign, with the name *nahaš* = "snake", the different snake-hieroglyphs  etc., for the Phœnician *mēm* the Egyptian water-hieroglyph , for the Phœnician *reš* the Egyptian "head" sign , etc., just as we find Germans, who habitually mix signs of the so-called German or Gothic cursive script with signs from the "Latin" alphabet, because they have been taught both scripts at school and use the signs indiscriminately without even noticing the "mistake".





No trace of this hieroglyphic admixture is to be found in the North-Semitic, Phœnician, and Aramean inscriptions of the first millennium B.C., that is, in the Canaanite and Syrian alphabetic inscriptions, that were known before Petrie's epoch-making discoveries in Serabit el Chadīm. I have therefore supposed that they were expurgated at the time, when the political influence of Egypt in Phœnicia and Syria had come to an end, that is in the period, the beginning of which is marked by Wen Ammon's account of the contemptuous treatment experienced by an Egyptian envoy at the hands of a Phœnician petty ruler.

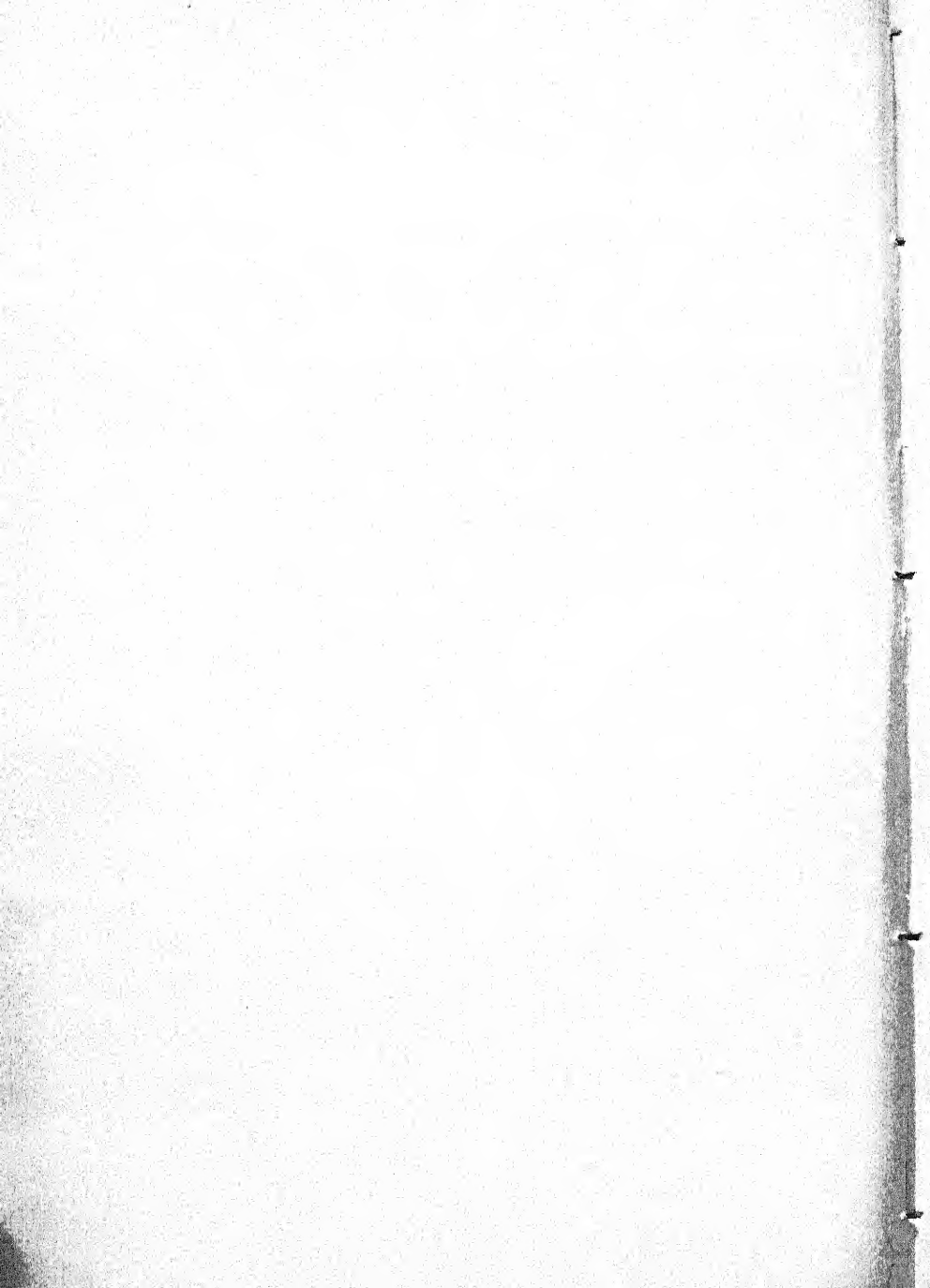
On the contrary, I have been able to show² that a goodly number of *Egyptianizing signs* are to be met with in the ancient Arabic alphabets, of both the Northern and the Southern branches, *and in all the Mediterranean alphabets of Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Spain.* This could not be the case if a purely Phœnico-Assyrian script

¹ *Kenitische Weihinschriften*, Freiburg, iii, 1919, pp. 106 ff. This is contrary to the idea that the alphabet was *evolved from* the hieroglyphs.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 113 ff.

had been propagated from such centres as Sidon or Tyre,¹ but *it is quite natural and* according to what we should have expected if the spread of the alphabet is due to the administration of a *Phœnico-Arabian world-empire* with naval and commercial settlements on all the coasts of the ancient *οἰκουμένη*, whose centre was in *Memphis and Thebes*. Comparative palæography has definitely confirmed the theory of ancient Alexandrian scholars that "Cadmus" brought the alphabet to the Greek coasts *from Egypt*.

¹ The copper ingots of Hagia Triada, Mycenæ, Serra Ilixi, are all products of the Syrian (Kenit. Weihinschr. 105, 168,) and Cyprian mines. If they came from Sinai they would show (a) traces of arsenic, which are characteristic of the copper ore of the Malachite-land, and (b) signs of the peculiar Sinai alphabet, especially the Egyptianizing  or  instead of the e in the 9θ (th) inscription of Hagia Triada, and the Sinai *samek* , instead of the genuine Phœnico-Assyrian .



Hajji Mirza Hasan-i-Shirazi on the Nomad Tribes of Fars in the Fars-Nameh-i-Nasiri

By D. AUSTIN LANE

THE Fárs-Námeḥ-i-Násiri (lith. Tihrán 1313/1895-6) contains much valuable information regarding the various nomad tribes of the province.

The book is divided into two volumes, the first of which is chiefly a history of Fárs. The second contains sections on the notables of Shíráz, and on the various quarters of the city, as well as the seventy-six districts of Fárs. The final chapter is made up of miscellaneous geographical information, including two short sections on the tribes. The first of these is under the heading of "Ílát" and the other under "Ṭawáíf".

The Ílát fall into four main groups :—

1. Five Tribes.
2. Qashqáís.
3. Tribes of Kúh-Gílúyeh District.
4. Tribes of Mamassaní District.

Each of the five tribes is dealt with in brief in the chapter at the end as regards origin, location, and organization. Several notables of each tribe are mentioned, and for further historical particulars the reader is referred to other places in both volumes.

The author follows the same plan in the case of the Qashqái tribe.

The tribes of the two remaining classes are described in the sections on the districts they occupy.

Besides these there are two other tribes—the Ghurbál Band and the Gáv Báz—regarding both of which short notices are in the section on the Ílát.

The section on the Ṭawáíf gives a few particulars about each of thirty-five separate tribes.

In the following article, which is entirely a translation, I have touched on tribal history only so far as it throws light on the customs of the nomads and their place in national and provincial life.

Omitting lists of tribal chiefs and details of no possible interest, I have kept the translation abbreviated as far as seemed practicable.

PART I.—ÍLÁT

Íl (pl. "ílát") is the name given to a people who dwell in black tents in the desert and who migrate twice a year, thus spending their summers in the cold region and their winters in the hot country.¹

THE FIVE TRIBES²

1. *Ainallú Tribe*

This tribe originated among the nomads of Turkestan, some of whom emigrated to Fars in the time of the Mongol Íl-kháns and settled there. They usually supplied a force of several thousand cavalry and infantry for the Mongol rulers.

Their winter quarters are in the Districts of Khafar, Dáráb, and Fasá, and their summer quarters in Rámjird and Marvdasht.

Their chief from the time of the Safaví kings has always been a member of the Abu'l-Wárdí family, who trace their ancestry back to Muḥammad Sálíh Abu'l-Wárdí, who was chief of the tribe in those early days. From the year A.H. 1293 up to the present Básr Khán Buláqí has been chief of this tribe. He inherited that office from his direct ancestors.

The writer knows for a fact that during the past forty-five years up to the present (A.H. 1304) the chief means of liveli-

¹ *Fárs Nameh-i-Nadgíri*, vol. ii, p. 309, ll. 4-6. See *Fársnāma* of Ibnu'l-Balkhí ed. Dr. Nicholson and Mr. Le Strange, p. 135. The particular tribe is not mentioned.

² See Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 479-80, for particulars regarding these tribes as they are at present, also pp. 445 et seqq., for our relations with their leaders during the war.

hood of the Ainallú tribe have been stealing, highway robbery, and pillaging in various parts of Fárs, Kirmán, and Yezd.

When the governor of Fárs took steps to punish them and forbade them to rob, they confined their activities to Kirmán and Yezd. However, there has been a tendency among them to earn an honest living, and as a result of the efforts of Mu'tamidu'd Dewleh Hájjí Farhád Mírzá¹ and of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad Khán Qawámu'l-Mulk Shírází, the worst offenders of the tribe have been punished and the obstinate among them forced to submission and obedience.

Most of the tribe have settled in the open country around Fasá. This district is the best of all Fárs for the cultivation of tobacco, the poppy, and cotton with the aid of irrigation wells, and for agriculture in general without irrigation. Since settling down they have busied themselves with agriculture, and during all four seasons of the year they do not leave the level open district around Fasá. Year by year their agricultural activity increases. As a result of their present peaceful habits valuable caravans pass in safety through their territory. The Ainallús are divided into twenty-five sub-tribes.

An ancestor of the writer, Ghulám Husayn Khán Sháhiyún was at one time the Shah's commandant of artillery. According to Husayn Khán Shihábu'l-Mulk he obtained for his sub-tribe, the Gúk-Pír, the title of "shahiyn" (friends of the Sháh) at the same time as several other tribes received that honour.²

2. *Bāṣirí Tribe*

The winter quarters of this tribe are in Sarvistán, Kurbál, and Kavár, and their summer quarters in the Districts of Arsinján and Kamín.

From the time of the Šafavís the chiefship of the tribe had been held by the chief of the Arabs up to the time of Mír Maḥdí Khán Arab Shaibaní. He had two sons, to the elder of whom

¹ Governor-General of Fárs, A.H. 1293-8.

² *Fárs Námeh-i-Nāṣirí*, vol. ii, p. 309, l. 6-p. 310, l. 7.

Mír Salím Khán, he gave the leadership of the Arabs, while the other son, Mír Shaffí Khán, he made chief of the Báşiris. After the latter's death he was succeeded by his son Mír Rafi' Khán Báşirí.

The Báşirís are divided into five sub-tribes, who speak Persian with one exception—the Chehár Bunícheh, whose language is Turkish.¹

3. *Bahárlú Tribe*²

Since all this tribe speak Turkish,³ they must have come originally from the nomad tribes of Turkestan, who came to Persia at the time of the Seljúq kings and Mongol Íl-Kháns and settled in Fárs; for up to the present one of the nomad tribes of Turkestan living in the plain of Khwárazm has retained the name of Bahárlú.

Their winter quarters are in the plains of Ízad Khást in Láristán and the plain of Dáráb, while their summer quarters are in the neighbourhood of Rámjird, Marvdasht, and Kamín. For some years past they have not left the neighbourhood of Dáráb; they have remained summer and winter along the banks of the rivers of that district.

The tribe's governor and leader in the time of Nádir Sháh was Hájjí Húsan Khán Nafar. In the year A.H. 1268 all the Bahárlú sub-tribes united in support of Mullah Aḥmad Bahárlú and obtained for him, from the government, the chiefship of the whole tribe with the title of Khán. In the year A.H. 1275 he died, and the various sub-tribes went to war with one another until Cherágh Alí Beg succeeded in pacifying most of them and then became their chief.⁴

In A.H. 1294 Hájjí Farhád Mírzá issued instructions for the conquest of the fortress of Tabar, which had been in the possession of Fazl 'Alí Bahárlú and a number of brigands.

¹ Vol. ii, p. 310, ll. 7-9.

² See Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 459-60, for tribal activity during the war.

³ i.e. a dialect of Turkish containing a large proportion of Persian words. This applies to all the Turkish spoken in Fárs.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 310, l. 22-p. 311, l. 9.

Every day they plundered caravans far and near, and then retired to Tabar for safety. This went on for ten or fifteen years. These operations were entrusted to the Qawámu'l-Mulk, who brought the issue to a successful conclusion.¹

Husayn Khán Bahárlú succeeded Cherágh 'Alí Beg as chief, and up to the present he has endeavoured to bring the whole tribe to a state of law and order; and he has removed the stigma of brigandage and pillaging from the tribal records.

There are twenty sub-tribes of the Bahárlús.

4. *Arab Tribe*

The nomad Arab tribes in Fárs are a branch of the Bedouin Arabs of Najd, Oman, and Yemámehin Arabia, who came to subdue and organize Fárs in the times of the Ummayyid and Abassid Caliphs,² and even from the earliest times of Muslim government. According to custom the Arabs brought their families and flocks with them.

They live in black tents and wander back and forth the whole year, through mountain and plain. However, those of the Arab tribes who dwell near Rám-Hormuz, Jirráhi, and Dauráq, have no ordinary winter and summer quarters. In the summer they stay along the rivers, and in the winter in the uplands, remaining the year round in one district. The pronunciation and dialect of this section of the Arabs have retained their original purity.

As regards the other Arabs in Fárs, they spend their winters in the Sabrah District, Rúdán, and Ahmadí. They spend their summer up country in such places as the Bawánát District, Qúnqarí, and Sar-Shahán.

The distance between winter and summer quarters is about a hundred parasangs.³ The language of this branch of the

¹ Vol. i, p. 337, l. 1 et seqq.

² See Mr. Le Strange's article on Ibnu-l-Balkhi in *JRAS.* for 1912, p. 321, where it is stated that 'Adudu'd-Dawleh brought a tribe of Syrian Arabs to the Dashtistán District.

³ Sir Percy Sykes has informed me that the range of the migration of all the five tribes does not usually exceed 200 miles; that of the Qashqáís is about 300 miles. A study of the map bears out this statement.

Arabs has undergone so many changes both in form and pronunciation that it is no longer Arabic, nor is it ordinary Persian, Turkish, or Lurí. Nothing of their original language has remained except the Arabic pronunciation.

The tribes of Arabs were originally in two sub-divisions—Arab Jabbáreh and Arab Shaibání—the latter being known also by the name of Arab Kúchí. Both these sub-divisions are again divided into sub-tribes, numbering fifty-seven altogether.

The chiefship of the Arabs from ancient times has belonged to the Shaibání tribe. Their remote ancestor, Mír 'Isma'íl Khán Arab Shaibání enjoyed considerable favour with the Šafavís. His son, Mír Maḥdí Khán succeeded him and became governor of the Arabs and Báşiris. Of his two sons, Mír Salím Khán became governor of the Arabs, and the other Mír Shaff' Khán, governor of the Báşiris.

The year A.H. 1285 was one of drought and famine, and the nomads suffered considerable hardship. A number of the Arabs made a raid on the Qashqáis and carried off some she-asses. Then Dáráb-Khán, Íl-Begí of the Qashqáis, pursued the robbers with a hundred mounted men, and reached the plain of Dáráb, the camping ground of 'Alí Qulí Khán, chief of the Arabs. Daráb Khán stated his business and insisted on the restoration of the donkeys. In an ensuing encounter 'Alí Qulí Khán was killed and the Íl-Begí obtained his animals.

Rizá Qulí Khán, the next chief of the Arabs, commanded the regiment of Arabs and Bahárlús, who for years fought in the Garm-Sír in the service of the government, against rebels whom they reduced to submission.¹ After his death in A.H. 1298 the chiefship of the Arabs *ceased to be held* by any member of the tribe.²

5. *Nafar Tribe*

They speak Turkish and therefore must have come from among the nomads of Turkeistán. As has been mentioned

¹ Vol. i, p. 3, l. 18 ; p. 312, l. 28.

² i.e. it had already passed into the family of the Qawámu'l-Mulk, see p. 215.

before, Hájji Husayn Khán Nafar became chief of the Bahárlú and Nafar tribes during the reign of Nádir Sháh. His son, Muḥammad Taqí Khán Nafar succeeded him.

The latter's son Ali Akbar Khán, who in turn was head of the two tribes, spent several years in the service of Hájji Muḥammad Husayn Khán, Governor of Iṣfahán, where he learned the art of prosody and rhyme.¹ He was the governor's private secretary for some time.

The Nafars are divided into sixteen sub-tribes.²

Amalgamation of the Five Tribes

In the latter part of the year A.H. 1275 Ahmad Khán, chief of the Bahárlús and Nafars died. Then the Bahárlús fought among themselves and spared neither lives nor property.

The Ainallús who lived near the Bahárlús rebelled against the government and captured Dáráb and Sab'eh. They also rendered many of the main roads unsafe.

Sultán Murád Mírzá, Governor-General of Fárs, appointed Ja'far Qulí Mírzá chief of the Bahárlú, Nafar, and Ainallú tribes. The former gave instructions for the punishment of the Bahárlús and Ainallús and for the reparation of the damage they had done in the various districts.³

In A.H. 1278 Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad Khán, who became Qawamu'l-Mulk on the death of his father Hájji Mírzá 'Alí Akbar,⁴ was appointed Governor of Dáráb and chief of the Ílát-i-Khamseh⁵ (five tribes).

QASHQÁÍ TRIBE⁶

When the Khalaj came to Persian 'Íráq from the provinces of Asia Minor, part of them left the main body and settled

¹ The brief notice of the tribe is supplemented with fifty-four couplets of his poetry.

² Vol. ii, p. 314, l. 10-p. 315, l. 16.

³ Vol. i, p. 320, l. 1 et seqq.

⁴ Fourth son of the famous Hájji Ibráhím Khán Itimádu d-Dawleh. See vol. ii, p. 47, l. 11 et seqq., for the history of the family.

⁵ Vol. ii, p. 51, l. 6; also p. 201, l. 19.

⁶ See Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 477-9, for more recent particulars; and pp. 499-516 for an account of their investing Shiráz and final defeat in 1918.

in Fárs. So the general public referred to the migration of these people as "qach qái", i.e. "gurikhteh" (a fugitive), and this was afterwards changed in form to "Qashqái".¹

Afterwards part of them settled in the district of Qúnqarí and dwelt in villages. Up to the present their language has remained Turkish, and this division is called the Khalaj.

Those who made the semi-yearly migrations are divided into two groups—Khalaj and Qashqái.²

The chief of the Qashqáis, who is always a member of the tribe, is known as the "Íl-Khání", while his deputy is known as the "Íl-Begí". Headmen of villages do not recognize any superior except the Íl-Khání and the Íl-Begí. Particulars regarding the leaders of this tribe are to be found in this Fárs-Nameh in the section on Maidán-i-Sháh—a quarter of Shiráz.

The winter quarters of the tribe in the south are in such places as the Districts of Arba'ah, Afzar, Jarah, Khisht, Khanj, Dashtí, Dashtistán, Faráshband, and Máhúr Milátí.

They have their summer quarters in the Districts of Dizgird, Sar Hadd-i-Chahar Dungeh, Sar Hadd-i-Shish Náhiéh, Kám Fírúz, and Kákán.

There are sixty-six sub-divisions of the tribe.³

Muhammad 'Alí Khán was born in A.H. 1208 and succeeded his father after his death, as Íl-Khání. In A.H. 1240 he married into the family of the Farmán Farmá and in A.H. 1248

¹ This is obviously a Persian invention. Regarding the Bayát sub-tribe, which he classes as a branch of the Qashqáis (vol. ii, p. 313), he says elsewhere (vol. ii, p. 27, l. 5): "They originally came from the plain of Qacháq in Turkestán and came to Fárs with the Qashqái tribe in ancient times. Then they divided into two branches, one of which united with the Qashqáis and became nomads, while the other settled in the Shiráz. The Bayáts of Fárs and the Bayáts of Nishápúr in Khurásán were one tribe in the first place." See also vol. ii, p. 109, ll. 21-7: "The Ágh Aughalí tribe originally came from Turkestán with Fárs to the Bayáts and Qash-qáis. Turkish is their language up to the present."

² This distinction appears again in Fars Nameh only in list of sixty-six sub-tribes of the Qashqáis. See *Nuzhatu l-Qulúb* (translation), p. 249.

³ Vol. ii, p. 312, l. 32; p. 314, l. 2.

took offence at the latter, and withdrew all the tribe from Fârs to the neighbourhood of Kirman.¹

Prince 'Abbâs Mîrzâ, Governor of Kirmân, gave them a hearty reception, and appointed for their use sufficient land for 100,000 households of nomads, both in the cool region and in the hot belt of his province.²

Three years later Minúchihr Khân Mu'tamidu'd-Dawleh, 'ezir of Fârs, forced him and Mîrzâ Muḥammad Fasâi to go to Tihrán, where the former remained as an honoured guest for years. In 1265 he returned to Shîráz, where he played an important part in the affairs of the province and died .H. 1268.

He had three sons, the eldest of whom, Iftikháru'l-Akfá Jihán Gír Khân Íl-Begí, was born in A.H. 1230. For a time he was commandant of the Qashqáí Regiment, and spent some years in that capacity in Tihrán until his return to Shîráz in A.H. 1265. For two years he was governor of Dárâb and then Kázrún. After the death of his father he became Íl-Begí.

Muḥ. Qulí Khân became Íl-Khání in A.H. 1268, and until his death in A.H. 1284 he exerted such an influence for good over his tribe that no one suffered robbery at their hands.³

TRIBES OF KÚH GÍLÚYEH DISTRICT

When the city of Arraján flourished, its dependencies—all the Kúh Gílúyeh District—were divided into eight parts. After it fell in ruins and Bihbihán⁴ flourished, the Lur tribes of this district obliterated the boundaries of these districts and caused their names to be forgotten. Each tribe overran what it could of mountain and plain and the new districts thus formed were given fresh names.

¹ Vol. ii, p. 115, l. 17.

² Vol. i, p. 281, ll. 1-2. Vol. i, p. 282, l. 6. They returned to Shîráz the same year.

³ Vol. ii, p. 115, l. 17-p. 117, l. 13.

⁴ Mr. G. Le Strange informs me that Bihbihán replaced Arraján, and it is rather a question exactly what are the ruins of the latter city. See *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 268-9.

The Alwár (pl. of Lur) and a number of plain-dwellers speak the Lur dialect.¹

And the Lurs of Fárs are in two divisions—those of Mamassaní, who are described elsewhere, and those of the Kúh Gílúyeh District. These latter are divided into three tribes. The men of each tribe, as in the case on Dashtistán, recognize no superior except their own chief, nor will they submit to any other.²

The details of the organization of the tribes are as follows :—

1. *Áqá Jari Tribe*

The first of these three groups of nomads is the Áqá Jari tribe. They assign their origin to several Turkish, Persian, and Lur tribes.

In ancient times their households amounted from three to five thousand or even more, but now they number only about eight hundred. They are divided into a number of sub-tribes.

They remain in the neighbourhood of Bihbihán, which has the climate of the Garm-Sír (hot country) both winter and summer. Their abode in the winter is the black tent of the desert. In the summer they dwell in houses which they construct with the branches and leaves of the willow, and these are to be found on the banks of the rivers near Bihbihán.

In the rolling and hilly country they carry on agriculture without irrigation. Since they are not in the majority in the villages around Bihbihán, they have not given their name to that district.³

2. *Báví Tribe*

The Báví tribe is the second of this group of Lurs. They originally came from among the Arab Báví tribe of Ahwáz, who came to the neighbourhood of Básht and Kúh Murreh in the Kúh Gílúyeh District. They took possession of two small districts to which they have given the name of Báví.

¹ Professor Browne's *Litt. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, p. 83, "also called 'the dialect of Hamadán'."

² Vol. ii, p. 270, ll. 3-8.

³ Vol. ii, p. 270, ll. 9-15.

The number of their household exceeds fifteen hundred. In winter they live in black tents, and in summer in houses built of twigs, in the desert. They are divided into several sub-tribes. They speak the same language as the rest of the Lur tribes.

They inhabit the villages in what used to be, in ancient times, the neighbourhood of Bāsht and Kúh Murreh.¹

3. *Jákí Tribe*

The third of this group is the Jákí tribe, which has two main sub-divisions—the Chehár Bunícheh and the Líraví. "Bunícheh" is a word applied to artizans who have to do forced labour.

The Chehár Bunícheh are again divided into four sub-tribes—Búir, Aḥmad, Churám, Dushman Ziyarí, and Nawa'í. Each of these four has settled in some part of the Kúh Gílúyeh District, and each district has taken its name from the sub-tribe occupying it.

Of the Líraví tribe there are two sub-tribes—the Líraví Dasht, who are dealt with in another place, and the Líraví Kúh. These latter are again divided into four clans—Bahm'aí, Shír 'Alí, Ṭayyibí, and Yúsufí. A branch of the Shír 'Alí tribe is known as the Sháhravání clan.

All these tribes have given their names to various districts.²

Divisions of Chehár Bunícheh

1. *Búir Aḥmad Sub-tribe*

This sub-tribe consists of nearly 2,000 households.

The head of the tribe belongs to the family of Ardashír. In the time of the Zend kings, Hádí Khán Búir Aḥmad was headman of this region and for some time chief of all the Chehár Bunícheh.³

In A.H. 1272 Khudá Karam Khán Búir Aḥmad attacked some of the Bakhtiáris, who were living near his tribe, with

¹ Vol. ii, p. 270, ll. 15-22.

² Vol. ii, p. 270, ll. 22-7.

³ Vol. ii, p. 271, ll. 27-30.

two thousand followers, and ruthlessly plundered a thousand homes.

Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad Faási was sent against him with a force of 500 cavalry, two battalions of infantry from Shíráz, and a thousand irregulars from Fasá, which succeeded in recovering the stolen property.¹

2. *Churám Sub-tribe*

The Churám sub-tribe settled in several places around Shábúr and near Rivin.²

The climate of Zíri-Kúh in summer is so warm that sometimes a number of people die from the Simoon. That of the districts of Tel-Khusravi and Rivin in Pusht-i-Kúh is so cold that its snow remains from year to year without artificial means. The climate of Shábúr is perfectly temperate, and walnuts and cherries abound there.³

The number of households of the Churám tribe does not reach six or seven hundred. The district in which they live contains fifteen villages, most of which are in ruins.⁴

3. *Dushman Ziyári Sub-tribe*

They occupy various parts of the country around Shábúr and Rivin to the north-east of Bihbihán. The name Dushman Ziyári is applied to two tribes, the other one living in the Mammasaní District.

The number of households of this tribe does not exceed four hundred.⁵

4. *Nawa'í Sub-tribe*

They occupy several places in the country around Rivin and Shábúr, which together form the Nawa'í District. Its length, from the plain of Jawkháneh to the village of Tulíán is seven parasangs, and its width, from the village of Lur-Faryáb to the village of Gússeh, three parasangs. They

¹ Vol. i, p. 313, l. 4 et seqq.

² Vol. ii, p. 273, ll. 2-3.

³ Vol. ii, p. 263, ll. 26-7.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 273, ll. 3-8.

⁵ Vol. ii, p. 273, ll. 27-35.

occupy five other villages along the Khursán River, and the length of the district comprising these villages is four parasangs, and its width, not more than half a parasang.

The Nawa'í District contains seventeen inhabited villages.¹

Líráví Tribe

There are two sections of the Lírávís—the Líráví Dasht and the Líráví-Kúh.

The first have built houses in the plains and open country, where they live all the time. The second make the semi-yearly migrations from the hot country to the mountains of the interior and vice versa.²

Divisions of Líráví-Kúh Tribe

1. *Bahma'í Sub-tribe*

They exceed three thousand households in number, and occupy a number of places around Rivin comprising a district fourteen by nine parasangs.

The whole of their district in the mountains of the north is full of springs and rivers of sweet, wholesome water. They have no place where they grow grain. In ancient times the moat of this mountain region was full of grapes and figs, which depended on the rainfall, of which traces now remain.

During the winter they dwell in Bakhtiári country and the plains around Rám-Hormuz. They subsist on chestnuts, acorns, roots, almonds, and game.

Ten of their riflemen are considered equal to a hundred Bakhtiáris, and they go into battle wearing no clothes.³

2. *Shír 'Alí Sub-tribe*

In ancient times they consisted of more than six thousand households. The Shahrúí clan is a sub-division of the Shír 'Alí. After the death of Mírzá Manşúr Khán, Governor of Bihbihán in A.H. 1256, both these sub-tribes fled from the

¹ Vol. ii, p. 274, ll. 34-5-p. 275, ll. 1-10.

² Vol. ii, p. 275, ll. 17-20. No further information is given regarding the Líráví Dasht. Their district is described p. 276 et seqq.

³ Vol. ii, p. 275, ll. 20-9.

country around Bihbihán towards Rám-Hormuz, Arabistán, and Shushtar. In A.H. 1272 Ihtishám-u-'d-Dawleh, Sultán Áwís Mírzá pacified them, and they returned to the Kúh Gílúyeh district. After his death they were again dispersed.¹

3. *Tayyibí Sub-tribe*

They number two thousand households and are divided into several branches. They occupy several parts of Shábúr and Rivin, and their territory is eight by six parasangs.

Their winter quarters are in various parts of Shábúr and their summer quarters in Rivin.

They carry on agriculture around Shábúr with the aid of irrigation from rivers and springs. Their crops consist of wheat, barley, cotton, rice, and sesame.²

4. *Yúsufí Sub-tribe*

From ancient times until A.H. 1256, when Mírza Manşúr Khán died, they numbered about seven hundred households. In those times they spent their winters near Tang-i-Surúk and Tangi-Mághir, the latter being twelve parasangs north-west of Bihbihán, and their summers around Barm-Almán, in the Rivin district.

A number of years ago they dispersed around Başra and in Arabistán. The present number of their households (in the Kuh-Gílúyeh district) amounts to seventy or eighty.³

TRIBES OF MAMASSANÍ DISTRICT

During the last years of the Şafavís the Lur tribes of Mamassaní took possession of Shúlistán and renamed the district after themselves.

They divided it into six small districts. Since the Lur tribes of Mamassaní were four in number, four districts were named after them. As in the case of the four Lur tribes of the Kuh Gílúyeh district they are called the Chehár Bunícheh.

¹ Vol. ii, p. 276, ll. 1-5.

² Vol. ii, p. 276, ll. 6-12.

³ Vol. ii, p. 276, ll. 24-7.

None of these tribes is under anyone besides the tribal chief, and they never allow any outsider to rule them.

These four tribes are—Bakish, Jáwídí (or Jáwí), Dushman Ziyarí, and Rustam.

As regards the two remaining districts, one is Haumeh-i-Fahliyán, whose headman is a resident of Fahliyán; the other is Kákán, which belongs to the Kashkúlí Qashqái tribe.¹

1. *Bakish Tribe*

Most of the Bakish district has the climate of the hot country, while part of it is quite equable. Its inhabitants are divided into four sub-tribes.

It contains eight inhabited villages. One of them, Shi'b Bavván, two parasangs east of Fahliyán, is one of the four earthly paradises, and is situated in a mountain valley, the length of which is nearly a parasang. They say that at one time it was in such a flourishing state, that throughout the whole of this distance the foliage of the trees, both of the cold and warm regions, was so luxuriant that the rays of the sun did not penetrate to the ground! ²

Up to A.H. 1251 Walí Khán Bakish Mamassaní kept plundering the caravans between Búshíre Bihbihán and Shushtar, and robbed the village population far and near. Whenever he was hard pressed he betook himself to his fort at Safíd.

Husayn Qulí Mirzáí Farín Farmá arranged a marriage between his son Tímúr Mirzáí and the daughter of Walí Khán in the hope of winning over the latter to law and order, but nothing came of it. More than ever he continued robbing and working havoc among his neighbours.

In A.H. 1251 Walí Khán was arrested in Shíráz and sent as a prisoner with a punitive expedition under Muḥammad Táhir Khán Qazíní. The Bakish tribesmen made a successful night attack on the government forces, and took the whole staff prisoners.

¹ Vol. ii, p. 303, ll. 9–15.

² Vol. ii, p. 303, ll. 16–25.

A second expedition under Prince Fīrūz Mīrzā subjugated the whole Mamassanī District.¹

2. *Jāwīdī Tribe*

The Jāwīdī (also Jāwī) District, which contains 60 inhabited villages, has a cold climate and is mountainous. Its inhabitants are divided into eleven sub-tribes.

The headman of this district is Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Jāwīdī, whose ancestors held that office before him.²

3. *Dushman Ziyārī Mamassanī Tribe*

There are several sub-tribes.

The district of this name has a cool climate, and is mountainous. It contains sixteen villages, some in ruins and others inhabited.³

4. *Rustam Tribe*

Their district has partly a hot and partly a cold climate. It comprises twenty-six villages, including those inhabited and those in ruins.⁴

Ghurbāl Band Tribe

These are a low-class nomad tribe who migrate north and south from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the interior.

They possess just enough animals to carry their tents and furniture. Those who are the best off among them own several cows, she-asses, goats, and sheep. Their men are usually ironmongers, and their women sieve-makers.⁵

Gāv Bāz Tribe

These are another nomad tribe of mean status. Another name for them is Pāi.

Hājji Mu'tamid-u'd-Dawleh Farhād Mīrzā in his book, the Jama-Jam (Cup of Jamshīd), states that this tribe originally came from India and became dispersed in different directions,

¹ Vol. i, pp. 291-2.

² Vol. ii, p. 303, ll. 28-35.

³ Vol. ii, p. 304, ll. 6-9.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 304, ll. 18-20.

⁵ Vol. ii, p. 312, ll. 29-31.

because the tribe, wherever found, call water "pání", the word used in Hindustani.¹

Those of the tribe who are scattered throughout Fárs, make their living by dealing in cattle; they buy run-down animals for a low price, and then fatten and sell them for a high figure.²

PART II.—TAWÁÍF-I MUTAFARRIQEḤ (Scattered Tribes).³

Táifeh (pl. *tawáíf*) is the name given to a qabileh (tribe) which is not one of the branches of the first-mentioned nomad tribes (*ílát*). Its people remain in one district throughout the year, and live either in black tents or in villages.⁴

1. *Ál-i-Háram Tribe*

This is an Arab tribe which came from Oman to the Persian side of the Gulf in ancient times and settled around Bandar-i-Bíd Khún in the Málíki District. Bundar-i-'Asulú was built by them. Shaikhs belonging to their own tribe have always ruled the Á*l-i-Haram* from earliest times. Further particulars are given in the section on the Maliki district.⁵

They speak Arabic.

2. *Khamír Tribe*

This tribe came from Nejd and settled in the country around Rám Hormuz. Both summer and winter they dwell in black tents and do not leave the plain of Rám Hormuz in spite of its hot climate. They obtain a livelihood from sheep, asses, camels, and agriculture.

They still speak Arabic.

¹ This proves nothing, for the above loan-word occurs in many dialects along the Gulf.

² Vol. ii, p. 314, ll. 3-8.

³ Vol. ii, pp. 330-2.

⁴ Cf. definition of "íl", p. 2. The Kurshulís, a branch of the Qashqáís, have adopted this mode of living in recent years; Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 481.

⁵ Vol. ii, p. 291.

3. *Al-Si-zú*

This tribe is of Arab origin, and came from Oman in ancient times to the Persian side of the Gulf. They settled down in the Sîraf District, and built Bandar-i-Kangán and also became governors of the above district, which office they hold to the present day.

They still speak Arabic.

4. *Pás-Lávi Tribe*

Their summer quarters are in Kúh-i-Nárú, between the districts of Maimund, Fírúzábád, and Šímkan, and their winter quarters, in the plains of Šímkan and Maimund. They obtain a living from their sheep, goats, cattle, and donkeys.

5. *Bakakí*

Their summer quarters are in the Kúh Murreh District, and their winter quarters in the Jareh district. They make a living from sheep and goats, and from collecting fuel for the Širáz market.

6. *Banú Ka'ab*

This tribe came from Arabian 'Irâq, and in the year A.H. 1178 Shaikh Salmán brought them to the Faláhi District. The commercial element of the tribe settled in the town of Feláhi, and became rulers of this district. Their chief they call the Shaikhu 'l-Masháikh.

They speak Arabic, and make a living from agriculture and date-growing.

7. *Beha'u'd-Díní*

The tribal summer quarters are in Kuh Murreh and Šímkan,¹ and their winter quarters in the plain of Šímkan. They obtain a livelihood from sheep and from unirrigated vineyards.

¹ "According to Mustawí (eighth century A.H.) Šímkan was a fine town standing on the stream where this was crossed by a bridge; and it was remarkable that all the lands above the bridge produced trees of the cold region only, such as the plane (chinar) and the nut; while below the bridge grew oranges and lemons with other fruits of the hot region."—*Lands on the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 253, last line, and p. 254.

8. *Tamímí and Málíkí*

Tamímí and Málíkí are two tribes who came from Oman to the Persian side of the Gulf, and settled in the Málíkí District and dwelt in villages. They obtain a living from date culture and dry-farming. They speak Arabic.

9. *Chár Ráhi*

They were originally a branch of the Khalaj¹ tribe in the Qúnqarí District, and are tent dwellers. Their summer quarters are in the Qúnqarí District, and winter quarters on the Island of 'Ali Yúsuf in Lake Bakhtigán.²

They raise sheep and goats.

10. *Chár Kas*

Their origin was among the nomad Chár Kas tribe of Asia Minor, and they came to Fárs in the time of the Şafavís, settling in the village of Dizgird. They are agriculturalists.

11. *Jishní*

This tribe was originally a branch of the Khalaj in Qúnqarí. They spend their summers in the Sar Chahán District and their winters on the Island of Mung in Lake Bakhtigán. They raise sheep, goats, cattle, and asses.

12. *Cha'ab*

This is the name given by the Lur tribes of the Kúh Gílúyeh District to the Banú Ka'ab.

13. *Ḥammádí Tribe*

They are of Arab origin, having come from Oman. They settled in Shíb-i-Kúh in Lárístán, where as village dwellers they occupy the town of Murbágh and the villages of Shíb-i-Kúh. Their means of livelihood are dry-farming and date culture, and they still speak Arabic.

14. *Damúkh*

These are Arabs from Nejd who live in villages in Cháh-i-Kúteh, and that neighbourhood in the Bushire District. They speak Arabic.

¹ See above under Qashqái Tribe.

² See *Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 277-99.

15. *Sádát-i-Rizá-Tawfi qí*

They are reckoned as a branch of the Banú-Háshim. In nearly every age this tribe has produced an eminent or learned man.

Like the ílát they have their summer quarters in the Tayyibí District in Kúh Gílúyeh, and their winter quarters in the plains of that district.

I am not thoroughly informed regarding their genealogy, but I know that among the Lur tribes they are highly respected and much honoured. They are excused the duties of ordinary citizens and live in perfect tranquillity.

They raise many sheep, goats, cattle, and donkeys, but are not agriculturists.

16. *Sádát-i-Mír Sállár*

These are another branch of the Banú Háshim and dwell in tents. They shift about according to the seasons, in various parts of the Kúh Gílúyeh District. They have many cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys.

17. *Surkhí*

The tribal summer quarters are in the Kúh Murreh Shikuft neighbourhood, and their winter quarters in the town of Surkhí in the same district. They carry on fig and grape growing for a living.

18. *Suqulmarchi*

Their summer quarters are in the mountains of the Kuh Murreh-i-Shikuft District, and their winter quarters in the Jareh District. They have flocks of sheep and goats, and collect fuel for the Shíráz market.

19. *Shabán Káreh*¹

The tribal summer quarters are in the mountains between Maimund, Fírúzábád, and Símkán, and their winter quarters

¹ Of Kurdish origin, this tribe was very numerous and powerful under the early Seljúqs. See Mr. Le Strange on Ibnu'l-Balkhí in *JRAS.* for 1912, pp. 9-14. See *Fársnâme* of Ibnu'l-Balkhí, pp. 164-8. The Shabán Káreh had possession of Fárs for a short time up to A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203). Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 91.

in the plain of Šímkán. They raise many sheep, goats, and cattle.

20. *Shurífát*

This tribe came from Nejd and settled around Bandar-i-Hindiyán. They spend their summers and winters along the Zidún River in black tents, and consider it beneath them to live in mud houses. The country around Bandar-i-Hindiyán is ruled by them.

They carry on dry-farming and have many sheep, donkeys, horses, and water buffaloes.

21. *Shírí*

Oman was their original home. Now they live in the town of Qalát-i-Karzan, and in the neighbourhood of Shír-i-Kúh in Lárístán. Their occupations are dry-farming, date culture, and sheep raising. They speak Arabic.

22. *‘Ubaidlí*

This tribe originally came from Nejd. Its people are now village dwellers in Hairán in Shíb-i-Kúh. Farming and date culture are their chief occupations, and they still speak Arabic.

23. *Ál-i Shád Muhammadí*

All the tribe live in tents. They spend their summers in Kúh Nárú between Šímkán and Fírúzábád, and their winters in the plain of Šímkán. Their chief wealth consists mostly of sheep.

24. *Farámarzí*

The home of this tribe is in the mountains near Jihán Gír in Lárístán. They are mostly goatherds and hunters. It is well known that their goats breed three times a year.¹

26. *Farhádí*

Their summer quarters are in the Kúh Murreh and Šímkán Districts, and their winter quarters in the plains of Šímkán. They have flocks of sheep and goats, and unirrigated vineyards.

¹ There is a mistake in numbering here on the text—a common mistake in Persian MSS.

27. *Karazá*

The people of this tribe are very wild in their habits and live in tents in the mountains of the Ahshám District.

28. *Gúnakí*

This tribe spend their summers in Kúh-i-Kharman of Šímkán, and winter in the Maimund District. Sheep raising is their chief occupation.

29. *Kúhakí Jahrum*

The whole of the tribe are tent-dwellers living between the district of Jahrum and Bíd Shahr. They raise sheep and sell the wool in Jahrum.

30. *Lávarí*

In the mountains east of Jihán Gíriyeh ub Láristán is the home of these wild men. Goat herding and hunting are their usual occupation. Their goats breed thrice yearly.

31. *Lashani*¹

Some of this tribe have become village-dwellers and live in Khafareh and Marodaskt. Farming is their occupation. Those who are tent dwellers live all the year in the Abádeh Tashk District.

32. *Máslári*

All this tribe live in tents, spending the summer in Kúh-i-Safidvár in Khafar, and the winter in the town of Gávkán in the same district. Sheep and goats are their chief wealth.

33. *Marzúqí Málikí*

This tribe is reckoned as being a branch of the Tamím.

The Málikí District goes under the name of Tamímí also. The Tamímí and Málikí tribes came from Nejd and settled in the above district.²

¹ "The most notorious robbers in S. Persia." Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 482.

² Vol. ii, p. 291. Arab conquerors of Fárs included troops from the tribes of Tamím, 'Abd Fays, and Azd Ibnu'l-Balkhí, p. 112, last line.

34. *Marzúgí*

Having originated in Oman, they now live in villages in Bandar-i-Mughú and near there in Shíb-i-Kúh in Láristán. Dry-farming and seafaring are their occupations.

35. *Nawtirgí*

These are a tribe of the Bakhtiári Chehár Lung, whom Kerim Khán gave a home in the Fasá District when he brought the Chehár Lung tribes from the Bakhtiári country. After his death most of the Bakhtiáris returned home except this tribe, which remained in the plain of Tang-i-Karam in Fasá. All are tent-dwellers and remain in the same plain throughout the year. They speak the Bakhtiári dialect.

36. *Hushúsh*

Nejd was their original home, and they still dwell in tents around Bandar-i-Hindiyán in Feláhf. They speak Arabic, and raise sheep, asses, camels, and carry on dry-farming.

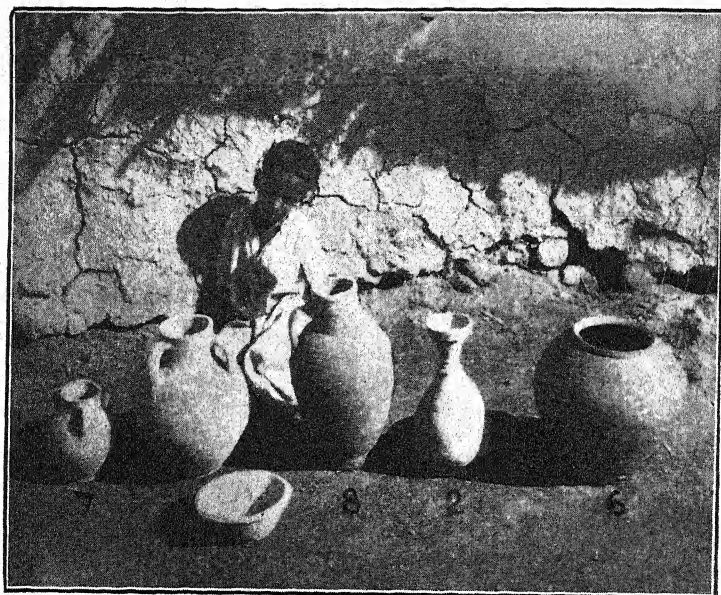
*Ágh Aughlí*¹

This tribe consists of about seventy or eighty households, and originally came from Turkestán along with the Bayát and Qashqái tribes to Fárs, where they settled in Shiraz. Up to the present Turkish has remained their language.

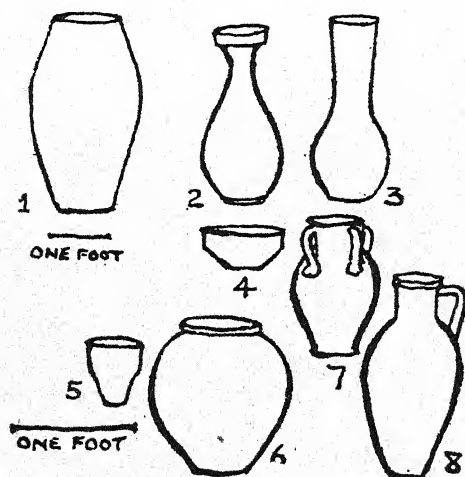
Like one branch of the Bayát tribe they became merchants. Most of them deal in hides and tallow, while the wealthier among them export Persian horses to India.

This tribe has produced many famous theologians and lawyers.

¹ Vol. ii, p. 109, l. 21 et seqq. Although the above have long since ceased to be nomads, I think this notice is not out of place here. The same applies to a number of the other small tribes which have settled down in villages. There is a gradual tendency in this direction on the part of many of the nomads.



Pottery at a kiln, Basrah.



Shapes of Mesopotamian Pottery.

Some Notes on Modern Babylonia¹

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., F.S.A.

THE following paper is based on notes which I made during my three years of war service in Mesopotamia (1915-18) and a year (1904-5) at Mosul, and I venture to publish them in the hope that such piecemeal may be of use to those interested in comparing ancient Assyria with modern Mesopotamia.

COUNTRY

First, with regard to the country itself. It is almost unnecessary to say that between Mosul and Baghdad the lands through which the Tigris flows are undulating and hilly (including the Jebel Hamrin), but south of Baghdad down to the Persian Gulf they grow dismally barer and flatter. To the east, sometimes within 20 miles of the river, and roughly parallel to it, run the abrupt limestone ranges which mark the Persian frontier. As one goes up the river from Basrah these become visible first between Amarah and 'Ali Sharhi; the first sight of them over the dull levels is most striking, and it is then that one appreciates the Assyrian method of using the same cuneiform sign for "mountain" and "east".

WEATHER

The weather, the rainfall, and the two annual rises of both rivers have all been admirably tabulated in Willcocks, *Irrigation of Mesopotamia*, and I will only say in general terms that the hot weather begins about May and continues until mid-October, the thermometer rising to about 124° F. at Baghdad and about 115° at Mosul. Sporadic and slight rain begins in October, increasing in November, and the streets of the towns (Baghdad and southwards) where no

¹ For fuller details on this subject see my chapter on the "Golden Age of Hammurabi" (ch. xiv) in the forthcoming volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which should be out in the next few weeks.

stone has been used (and the desert, too, if there is any traffic on it) become a 6-inch deep sea of mud ; in the more northerly towns, such as Mosul, where the streets are cobble-paved, the rains race down the alleys to the river. The tops of the Pusht-i-Kuh became capped with snow in mid-December, 1916, which continued well on into January, 1917. Snow, it may be added, occasionally falls at Mosul (it covered the country and lasted a week in the winter of 1904-5), and it may fall and lie even as far south as Babylon.

WIND

The prevailing wind of South Mesopotamia is the *shemâl* from the north-west, which tempers the heat, the south wind not being common after May throughout the summer.

THUNDERSTORMS

Thunderstorms are often violent, and bring hail the size of pigeon's eggs. The phenomenon of hail was noted by the Assyrian astrologers ("heaven will rain with stones"; see my *Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 261).

EARTHQUAKES

Earthquakes are not over-common. I noted a most distinct shock a little before dawn on 7th February, 1916, which lasted about $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. The Arabic is *haraket-el-ard*, the common people of Basrah explaining that they are caused by a buffalo of the Jinn beneath the earth shaking himself. The Assyrian astrological reports show that such shocks occurred not infrequently (e.g. loc. cit. No. 264, February-March, 655 B.C.; No. 265, March-April; No. 266, December-January; No. 267, January-February).

BUILDINGS

Buildings may be divided into three classes: (1) The solid two-storied houses of the towns with flat roofs; (2) the one-storied cabins of stone, mud, etc., of the villages; (3) the reed-huts of the poorer Arabs.

The larger houses are rectangular buildings planned round an open centre court. They are built of burnt brick, in Basrah called *tâbôk* and in Mosul *ajorr* or *âjer* (the old Assyrian word *agurru*). These are baked in large kilns, of which there may be about twenty at a town like Amarah, and a dozen at a small place like Gurmat 'Ali; the baking, I believe, lasts twenty-four hours, but I am not sure of this. Brick-slag is called *s(s ?)ak(k ?)rich* in Basrah. A brick which I measured at Basrah was about $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in., and another at Amarah about 12 in. by 8 in. by 2 in.; neither coincide with the measurements of the Sumerian bricks which I have described in *Archæologia*, lxx, 143. Unburnt bricks, still called *libn* between Mosul and Basrah (the old Assyrian *libittu*), are made in a mould called *kâlab*, and then set out to dry in serpentine coils, the upper end of one brick resting on the base of the next.

In Mosul the richer houses are faced with slabs of the soft local marble.

The roofs are flat from Mosul to Basrah; it is not until the mountainous districts of the eastern frontier are reached that one finds the sloping roofs general, due to heavier rainfall.¹ The upper floors often overhang in Elizabethan style. Palm-trunks often provide the beams (*jîsr*, Assyrian *gušuru*) in the southern districts.

Within, the rooms are plastered and whitewashed, and in the richer houses a tawdry decoration of pieces of looking-glass in mosaic is used, both for large niches in walls and for ceilings. The windows are glazed and screened with *mušrabtiyah* work (*kofs*), or, in poorer houses, merely shuttered. In hot weather in the south a thick screen of *agûl* (camel-thorn) is suspended over the windows and frequently sluiced with water; this is replaced by licorice twigs in the north (e.g. at Jerabis).

Doors are solidly made of wood, often studded with nails (Fig. 26), bolted with a cumbrous wooden bolt which works in

¹ I noticed instances of sloping roofs at Sulman Pak (Ctesiphon). Conical beehive huts are to be found east of Aleppo.

a slot (*za'bah*). The frame is called *cherchub mal báb*. In country cabins the lower axis of the door sometimes works in a socket made of an old broken pot embedded in the earth, the upper being held in place by a hole in the lintel.

The roof-gutters (*merazib*) project two feet from the walls, and there are little openings in the walls above roof level called "*azínah*."

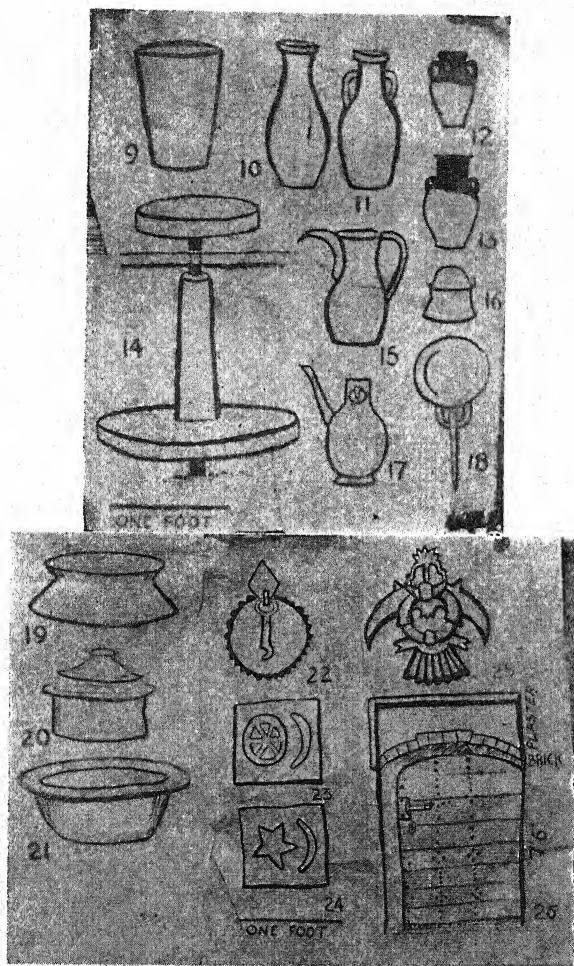
Ornamentation, as a rule, poor, still shows some reminiscence of Assyria. The relief-work on bricks over Basrah doorways, representing the Turkish crescent and star, shows, as a variant to the ordinary star, the star-ring of the Assyrian Venus (Figs. 23, 24, and compare the Assyrian symbol on the royal necklets). In Basrah the brass door-knockers (*helkah*, Figs. 22, 25) are peculiar, especially when they bear an undoubted likeness to the Assyrian and Persian winged disk of Auramazda (cf. Fig. 25 with the sculpture of the Behistun Inscription, or the disk over Shalmaneser on the Black Obelisk).

To keep the Evil Eye away from houses, the inhabitants of Basrah nail up either an old shoe or a doll over the door.

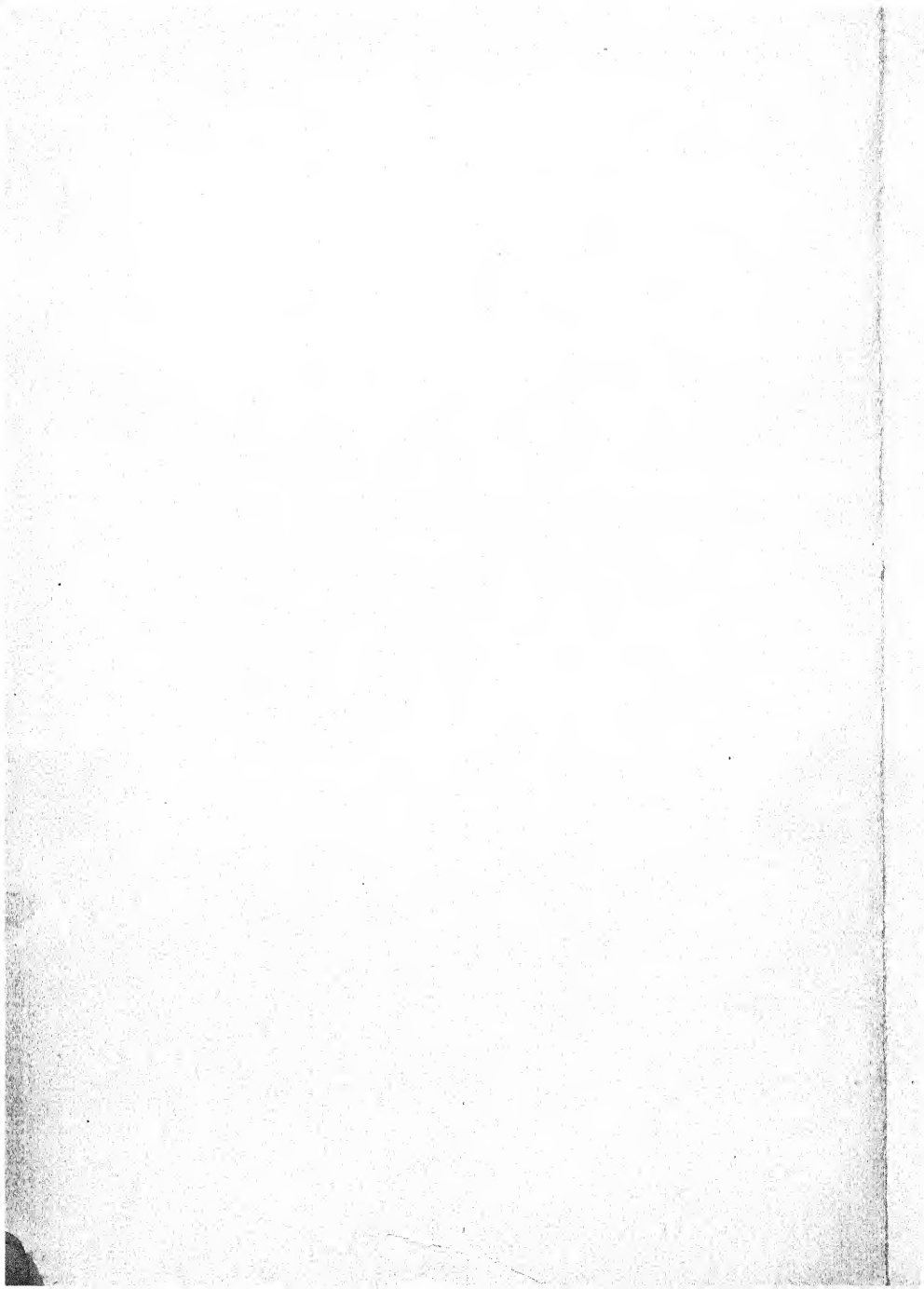
In the south the mud-huts are called *kubar*; I believe *hejrah* is also used, properly a chamber or enclosure for camels. The reed-huts (*s'rífah*), which are mentioned in the cuneiform legend of the Flood, gradually disappear the further north one goes, their existence, of course, depending on the marsh-reeds. The most northerly point at which I noticed a reed-hut village on the Tigris was above the Es-Sinn battlefield, a few miles below Kut-el-Amara; below this point they may be found anywhere.¹ The bamboo-mat which roofs them, called *baríyah*, pl. *bowári* (Assyrian *burê*), is often used to shelter heaps of grain. The grass-mat (*haşır*) is, of course, common.

The dark hair-tents, often the sign of nomads, are to be

¹ I am giving a fuller description of them in a forthcoming book on *Mythology*, and will therefore not repeat it here.



Mesopotamian Pottery, Knockers, etc.



found anywhere between Basrah and Angora in Asia Minor, near which latter place I visited one belonging to Kurds.¹

For defence purposes, on the lower reaches of the Tigris, occasionally one meets large rectangular forts built of mud, with towers at the corners.

Canals are, of course, more frequent in the south than in the north, where tributaries and streams take their place. Water is kept within bounds by dams (*siddah*). Hedges are made of thorn, bound by bamboo, where this material is available; shelter-screens of palm branches are to be found in date-groves.

FUEL

Fuel is always a difficulty. At Mosul faggots were brought down from the hills on donkey-back; in Baghdad the women bring in great bundles of desert-scrub. In the date-districts (i.e. south of Anah on the Euphrates, and Tuz Khurmati, near the Tigris) the triangular base of the palm-branch (*karab*) is burnt, but the usual fuel among riverain tribes is the round, flat, mashed cake of cow-dung, which can be seen anywhere drying on the reed-hut roofs. The use of this fuel extends to Asia Minor, except where it is replaced in the more hilly districts by faggots of dwarf oak. Dry camel-dung is also burnt in the south; charcoal is to be bought in the bazaars.

METHODS OF DRAWING WATER

Methods of drawing water are primitive. In Mosul the houses as a rule have their own wells, but the less said of these the better. In such towns a water-carrier comes round to the houses with a skin of water which he has scooped up from the river with a large special shovel; the water is then put into a large porous *hubb* on a stand (*kursi*), through which it percolates into another vessel (see Fig. 1, and compare the ancient *hubb* on a stand in the hieroglyph, Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, xxii, 149). In hot weather water is cooled in porous

¹ See my *Pilgrim's Scrip*, p. 258.

pots, which are set out in the evening on the roof ; this process is shown artificially effected on an Assyrian sculpture of Ašurnāširpal, where a servant is fanning four waterpots in the royal camp. (Layard, *Monuments*, i, 30.)

The simplest method of raising water from the river is the old "swipe", the bucket working on a counterpoised arm. It exists, certainly, in Basrah and Abu Robah, but is more common in Egypt. It is represented on the Assyrian sculptures (*ibid.* ii, 15).

The more powerful water-lifts are those where a horse, working on an inclined ramp of earth, draws up a leather bucket by a rope over a sheave or bar of wood, the water being automatically discharged when it reaches the top. Such are to be seen at Shaibah and Sulman Pak, and are to be found in North Africa.¹ Another kind is worked by a horse attached to the outer end of a radial pole, which, by a series of cog-wheels, revolves a waterwheel. Round the circumference of this wheel is a succession of water-pots, which automatically discharge their contents into a runnel when they reach their highest point. Large waterwheels of this kind (20 feet in diameter) are to be found by the banks of the Middle Euphrates, in this case turned by the force of the current.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Agricultural implements in Basrah are the pick-axe (*tubr*), hoe (*s'hîn*), and, if I recollect rightly, *marr*, the Babylonian *marru* (in Mosul *majrafah*). The word *kozma* for the single-bladed pick at Mosul is unknown in Basrah. The long-handled spade (*mis-hâh*) is far more common in the south, where canals are dug, than in the north ; the short spade is *šebel*.

BASKETS

Baskets at Basrah are well made. The kinds in use are : (1) *jillah*, a large basket ; (2) *zambîl*, the Assyrian *zabbilu*, the small, limp basket used by diggers for earth, such as Sennacherib's captives use (Layard, *Monuments*, ii, 14) ;

¹ Tripoli : for a picture see frontispiece of my *Pilgrim's Scrip*.

(3) *sufrah*, a large, flat, circular, limp basket, on which is piled the flat pancake-like bread ; (4) *kuffah*, small, stiff, and conical, covered with bitumen, and used as a cup ; (5) *tubbuk*, flattish and tray-like ; (6) *nusaif'iyah*, soft basket for dates, holding $\frac{1}{2}$ *man* ; (7) *ruba'iyah*, the same, holding $\frac{1}{4}$ *man* ; (8) *sebat*, a covered basket from Maskat.

The fan (*m'haffah*), which looks like a flag of plaited and ornamental grass-work fastened to a stick (lower half, Pl. IV), is the same as that shown on the Assyrian monuments (Layard, *Monuments*, i, 30, and in the beautiful sculpture of the *Fileuse*, De Morgan, *Délég. en Perse*, i, pl. 11). The lower half of Pl. IV also contains four purses embroidered with the staple products of Basrah, fish and date-palms.

I was told that wickerwork (chairs, baskets, etc.) was brought down in the spring to Basrah from Mar Shimun, near Mosul, and sold to the cry of *sepet álán*, which is the name by which the work is called.

POTTERY

Pottery in Mesopotamia is simple and utilitarian, being chiefly porous, cream-coloured, and without ornament. There is, however, a class (called *bestuk*, Figs. 12, 13) which is partly covered with a bluish glaze (made at a kiln between Basrah and Muhammerah), and there are large green-glazed vessels at Baghdad almost big enough to hold one of the Forty Thieves.

The potter's wheel at a kiln near Basrah was a primitive arrangement (Fig. 14) turned, by the foot, the opposite way of the sun. The dark-grey clay, which lay in a heap near, was pounded on a mat by a boy, who mixed fluff from the tops of bulrushes with it ; it had been brought from a place an hour and a half distant by boat.

The kinds of the different unglazed pots in use at Basrah are : Fig. 1, *hubb*, large water-pot, already mentioned ; Fig. 2, a water-pot, said to be from Baghdad ; Fig. 3, *hamid'iyah* ; Fig. 4, cup, *jeddah* ; Fig. 5, *hubbân* (Baghdad) ;

Fig. 6, bowl, *mêdâni*; Fig. 7, water-pot, *šerâbi*; Fig. 8, water-pot, *âwâni*; Fig. 9, for use in the *adabhânâ*; Fig. 10, water-pot, *mejîdîyah*; Fig. 11, water-pot, *a('a?)madîyah zu'airah*. The name of a small basin is *bâdîyah*; a round-bellied pot with neck and two handles from Mosul is called *rahlu*; in Kut-el-Amara I saw a large waterpot of amphora-shape with handles.¹ On Pl. IV, 12*a*, is a green-glazed bowl (Basrah): 12*b* a wooden bowl from the Kurdish hills: 12*c*, a crude basin from an Arab woman (Basrah): 12*e*, a green-glazed vessel from Diarbekr.

COPPER VESSELS

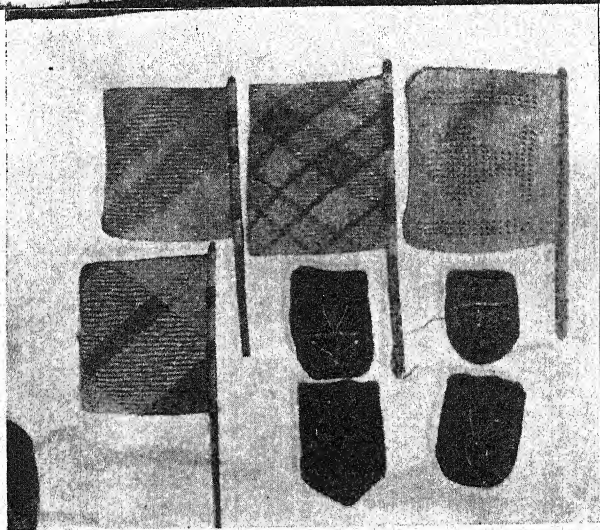
Copper vessels are well made throughout the country. The kinds are: Fig. 15, the coffee-pot, varying from 6 inches to 15 inches in height, *delleh*²; Fig. 16, *sutl*, a little pannikin, of the same shape as that held by the gryphons of the sculptures; Fig. 17, a Kurdish barber's hot-water pot, with an interior lining, to carry live coals; Fig. 18, *tâwâh*, frying-pan; Fig. 19, *jîdr*, saucepan; Fig. 20, *hošhân*, with lid *k(k?)oboh*; Fig. 21, *injânah*, for kneading bread. A large copper water-pot (Pl. IV, 15*a*) called *m'sulneh* or *m'sorbah* is used in the south by the women; the word *mušahhinu* for some form of copper pot occurs in Assyrian. The *ibrîk* is a washing ewer of delicate shape from Persia (Pl. IV, 17*a*); a brass one, not dissimilar, is to be bought in Baghdad. The smith's long pincers are called *ambûr*; his solder (*lahêm*) is made of zinc (*tutiya*) and copper (*sufr*).

WOODWORK

Woodwork made from the fronds of date-palms is ingenious, and, although not strong, has the merit of lightness. The slender branches, when stripped of leaves (then called *j'rîd*, and I believe *'ammarîyah*, Lane, *Dict.*, 2155) are so

¹ These pots do not appear to retain any strikingly Assyrian shape. The sculptures show occasionally the pots in use, but except for the simple cup (Layard, *Monuments*, i, 5, etc., where, however, it may be of precious metal) little seems to survive. Besides, it is not always easy to be sure whether the pots are foreign booty or not.

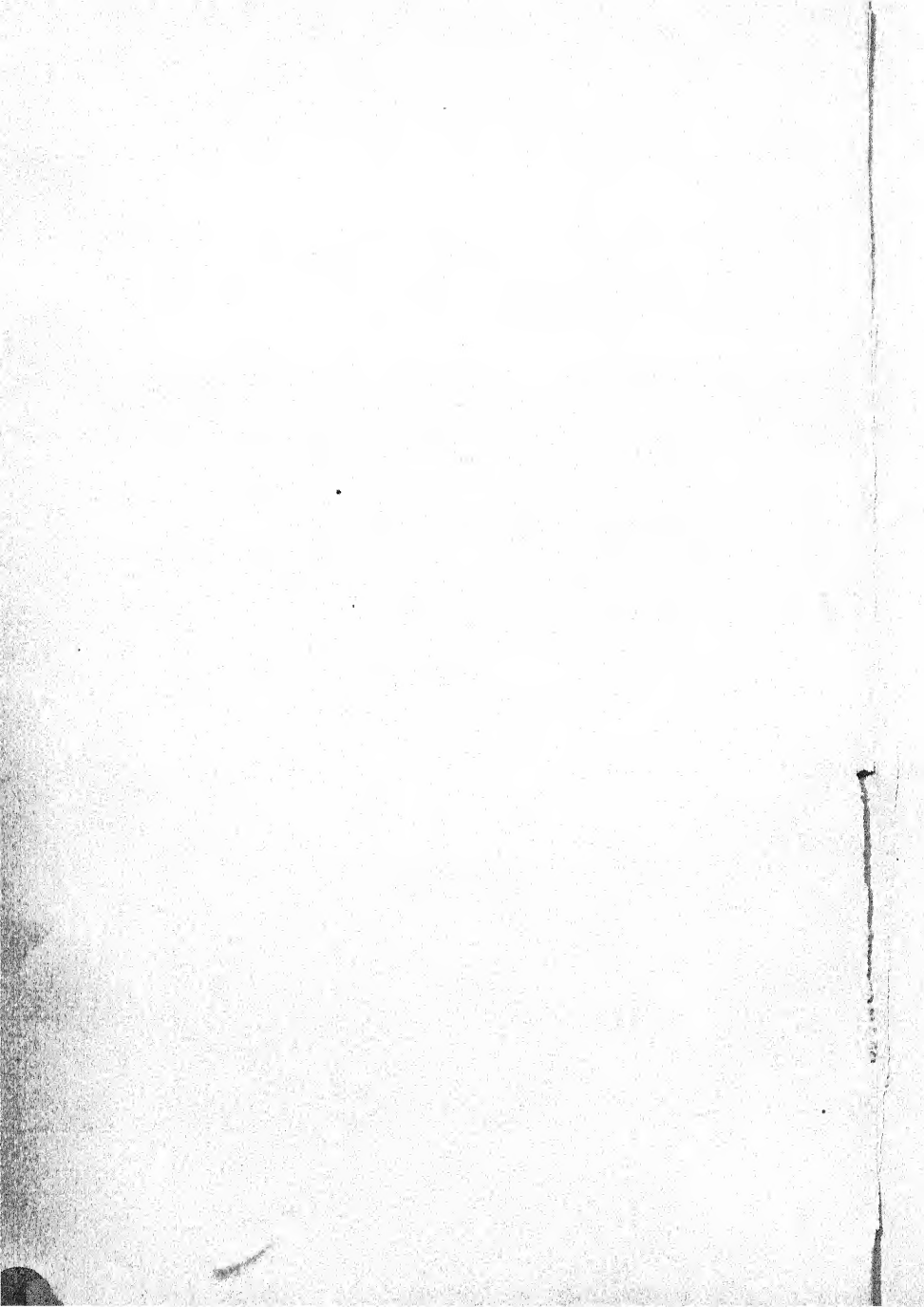
² I see that I have omitted the hinged lid. See Pl. IV, 15.



Reference numbers for upper half of plate :

13	13A	12	12A
12B	12C	12D	12E
5	7	16	15
15A	17		17A

Lower half : Four fans, four embroidered purses, Basrah.



tough that they can be drilled transversely to take uprights of the same material. Bedsteads and baskets are thus made.

BOATS

As I shall discuss the boats elsewhere,¹ it is unnecessary to repeat the details here. But it is important to notice how local certain forms of craft are: (1) the *šahtur* or flat-bottomed barge, made at Birejik for floating down the Euphrates to Felûjah; (2) the *kelek*, or skin-raft, on the upper waters of the Tigris, from Diarbekr to Baghdad; (3) the *guffah*, or large coracle, very much like the bowl in which the wise men of Gotham put to sea, from Baghdad as far as Shaikh Sa'ad, at which point approximately it is replaced by the graceful skiff-like *bellam* or *mašhûf* as far as the Gulf. In the reed districts rafts are made of large bundles of reeds, and even skiffs (much as are shown on the sculptures, e.g. *Collect. de Clercq*, ii, 24). The large craft (which can ply up to Baghdad, and some distance up the Euphrates), are the barge-like *maḥailah* and large *bellam*; the *bûm* is a sea-going vessel.

TATTOOING

I have only a few notes to add on the people. Tattooing (*dukḳah*) is practised by both Arab men and women. I noted a Mohammedan of Kerbela tattooed on the back of the right hand; it had been done by women in Kerbela when he was 10 years old, and he said it was not a tribal mark. The brother of the Shaikh of Dêr, near Gurnah, had been tattooed on the back of the right wrist "because it hurt him". A Mohammedan of Birejik had also been tattooed when small on the back of the right wrist. The *Hafâjah* women (the strapping wenches who carry heavy loads in Basrah) tattoo their faces, and I noticed one with what appeared to be a row of little crosses up both heels. These women wear nose-rings (*wardah*, right nostril, far more common than the left; centre cartilage, *arân*; left nostril, *la'amah*) and earrings (*terchî'ah*).

¹ *Mythology*.

In Basrah the Christian women wear a very striking mantle called *izar*; the '*abba*', a mantle which men wear, is frequently elaborate and expensive, often worked with gold thread (*kelebdân*). The smock worn by small boys is called *dišdāšah*. In Mosul the men wear a long smock to their ankles called *zebân*, and a zouave jacket (*zahmah*). The mud is avoided by clogs (*kālōš*, i.e. goloshes, or *kobkōb*).

TOYS AND GAMES

For toys and games in Basrah there are hawk-shaped kites (*ṭayyārah*), slings (*mekla'*, which I heard pronounced *mehcha'*), tip-cat (played in the streets and called *ṣaklah w'lāk*, in Mosul *hāh(h?) w'kuttah*), marbles (*cha 'ab*), which are not "shot" as we use them, but cast in a sweeping overhand manner. Two games certainly have survived from the ninth century B.C. (*vide* Woolley and Lawrence, *Carchemish*, Pl. III, 7), knucklebones, and whip-tops (*dawwāmah*, *dawwāmu*, (*h*)*ambūs*). While in Mosul I was given a wonderful doll-horse, about 5 inches high, made of cloth and caparisoned with beads. The equivalents of our "pax!" or "faynits!" and "play!" (words indicating unreadiness or readiness) are *amān* or *harām*, and *ḥalāl*, the latter two being, of course, "tabu" or "not tabu".

But, unhappily, the Tigris valley has long lost its ancient skill in producing artistic work. Baghdad and Basrah are now, alas! little more than middlemen for the older products of Persia.

January, 1922.

The Abhidhamma-Pitaka and Commentaries

By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THIS year witnesses the completion of a task begun soon after the inception of its forty-two years of publishing texts by the Pali Text Society. I refer to the completion of its editions of that third section of the Buddhist canon entitled the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, and of its editions of the Commentaries on that section. In 1883 the fourth of the seven Abhidhamma texts appeared: the Puggala-Paññatti. In the present year the Society brings out the conclusion of the seventh text: the Paṭṭhāna, and the belated Commentary on the second text: the Vibhanga. The following table gives a purview of the works and of the work:—

(I)	1885.	Dhammasaṅgaṇi (ed. E. Müller).
	1897.	Atthasālinī (Com. ed. E. Müller).
(II)	1904.	Vibhanga (ed. C. Rhys Davids).
	1923.	Sammoha-Vinodanī (Com. ed. A. P. Buddhadatta).
(III)	1892.	Dhātukathā (ed. E. Gooneratne).
	1892.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. E. Gooneratne).
(IV)	1883.	Puggala-Paññatti (ed. R. Morris).
	1914.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. C. Rh. D. and G. Landsberg).
(V)	1894-5.	Kathāvatthu (ed. A. C. Taylor).
	1889.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. J. P. Minayeff).
(VI)	1911-13.	Yamaka (ed. C. Rh. D.).
	1912.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. C. Rh. D.).
(VII)	1906, 1921-3.	Paṭṭhāna (ed. C. Rh. D.).
	1921-3.	Pañcappakaraṇ' Atthakathā (Com. ed. C. Rh. D.).

This table shows that, whereas, when the old Sinhalese

Commentaries were recast into Pali—presumably by Buddhaghosa—fancy names were found for the commentaries on the first two books, the commentaries on the remaining five books were lumped together under the one prosaic title of *Commentary on the Five Books*. Why there should have been this apparent impatience I do not know. Only two of the five books are much shorter than the rest. Not one of the five was held to be unimportant. The last, in fact, in the eyes of the orthodox mediaeval Buddhist, was supreme in the infinity of its wisdom and, to use a modern sports term, extended the teacher very considerably when, according to the quaint myth, he inflicted it upon his long-suffering mother and her fellow-devas.¹ It is conceivable that fancy titles were running short. It is a pretty problem.

The Society cannot point to an equally rounded off work in the way of translations of the foregoing. But it has published translations of the fifth of the texts and of the first of the commentaries, and is about to publish a translation of the fourth text. A translation of the first text was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1900, and is in the happy position of re-emerging in a second edition. Thus we get :—

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------|--|
| 1900, 1923 (I). | Translation | <i>Buddhist Psychological Ethics</i>
(trans. C. Rh. D.). |
| 1915 (V). | „ | <i>Points of Controversy</i> (trans.
S. Z. Aung and C. Rh. D.). |
| 1920–1 (I Com.). | „ | <i>The Expositor</i> (trans. Maung
Tin). |
| 1924 (IV). | „ | <i>Designation of Human Types</i>
(trans. B. C. Law). |

Finally, as a coda or, as some would prefer to say, an introduction to the lot, we might add the famous little manual *Abhidhammatthasangaha* of a later date :—

1884. *Abhidhammatthasangaha* (ed. T. W. Rhys Davids).
1910. Translation *Compendium of Philosophy* (by S. Z. Aung).

¹ *Expositor*, p. 17 f.

The late founder of the P.T. Society did not a little unacknowledged editing on certain other texts, and where he could not do so, many have wished ruefully that he could have done so. But this was his only public venture in Abhidhamma. He placed the Dhammasaṅgaṇi in my hands, as it were a tangled skein, in 1893.

Such, then, are the works, and such has been, on and off, the P.T.S.'s work these forty years. "All is over except the shouting"—or, shall we say, the little choric dance we twelve may hold in spirit round the cenotaph of these fourteen first editions, continent linking hands with continent in us, nay world with world, for already a third of us are on the other side. And after the dance—for has not a burden fallen from our backs?—a few minutes of reflection.

I have said cenotaph, for least of all do I labour under any illusion that even the most finished European editions or translations—let alone our rough pioneer efforts—will quicken these dead bones to any power of teaching and enlightening our world, either East or West, as they once to a very limited extent may have done when a little world of monastic culture was by them taught *how to think consistently*. So little can this prospect be entertained, that we may well be disposed to ask ourselves whether this cenotaph of the works of a dead culture may not be *kenós* as well as *koinós*—empty as well as common. Has it all been a waste of time and energy, of life and the zest of life well spent? A learned decanal journalist has just committed himself to saying: "Almost the whole duty of man lies in the maxim: Waste not."

Over against this we might equally well dogmatize: The chief duty of man is to grow—to grow in himself, to make knowledge grow and goodness and beauty grow. Whether or not he grow or cause to grow wastefully is a secondary, if an important consideration. And when it is a quest of opening up buried treasures of past ideas, or opening up new vistas of unverified powers and resources, it is impossible for explorer and experimenter to judge beforehand: this is waste of time and

energy. Much digging and many experiments will prove to have been so. And yet who will assert that pioneer work should therefore be shirked, nay, may it not be that, as Rhys Davids once said, "we grow by all such"?

Much treasure of old, and yet in a way of up-to-date thought it was held a generation ago might well be lying hid in Abhidhamma. The analogy of the term τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά seemed to fit it well. At the very outset of his task the commentator, discussing the term Abhidhamma, wrote in a rather misleading way of how it "exceeded and was distinct from the Dhamma",¹ much as a deva might be eminent among his peers (*ati-* or *abhi-deva*). And one of us, Dr. Taylor, pointed out this passage three years before it was edited.² Might we even hope to find in those seven books a plank here and there of positive exposition bridging over the lacunæ and the reserves and the silences in many of the Suttas? So, more or less, may some among us have hoped.

Anyway, we set forth, one now, another then, to explore our several seven hills, and we brought back our quarry. The cynical may say, this—is it not a mountain's way?—amounted to a bag of mice. We have revealed much meticulous catechizing, some inconclusive dialectic, and quite a little world of word permutations. Has our knowledge grown by it? Have labour and time been utterly wasted?

Speaking, if I may, for my spade-mates as well as for myself, we think not. We think we have in these works contributed a chapter to the history of the growth, within limits of time and location, of the human spirit. Considered in its due context, this chapter reveals how a certain kind of intensive culture may on the one hand stimulate, and on the other stultify that growth. And by all such considerations we ourselves grow.

Among these Abhidhamma compilers of the cloistered lives, and among the commentary compilers, a certain growth

¹ Or possibly dhamma's (doctrine).

² *JRAS.* 1894, 560.

may be discerned. It was of the kind that intensive culture in close-barred conditions naturally brings about. The great world of earth they knew nothing about. The teacher whom they had come to call "omniscient" had told their forefathers in the Order nothing about it. They were secluded in their work even from the little world of their fellow-men without the vihāra walls. They inherited as members of the Order an ample oral tradition of Vinaya and Sutta and Mātikā. And the Mātikā or tables of classification they expanded into a so-called Abhidhamma with certain patches of commentary in parts. The Vinaya was largely framed to meet special cases. The Suttas were largely records of how other special cases were met. Mostly, that is, they were precepts *ad hominem*. Thus the precept was served up in a way called *pariyāya* (a tiresome work to translate; etymologically a going round about). The Ābhidhammikas sought how to serve up the precept *ni-ppariyāyena*; in the abstract, stripped of its accessories and no longer an *œuvre d'occasion*.

Engaged on such work they would inevitably clarify their concepts, adjudge definite meaning to terms, co-ordinate and subordinate among terms and, where necessary, evolve new terms. In brief, it was, as I have said above and elsewhere,¹ a discipline in consistency of thought and language. And this, at that stage of Indian thought, was not a little needed.

We may illustrate this kind of intensive and introspective growth—for it was mainly psychological—by detecting how the dual division of mind into *citta* and *cetasika*'s (i.e. the bare cognitive reaction to stimulus, and all the phases, factors, or co-efficients of the same, when analyzed) is beginning to intrude itself in the first book. Ultimately, that is, in the course of perhaps a few centuries, this division swept away, for all academical purposes, the clumsy old quincunx of the five skandhas. Again, we note the useful

¹ *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, Introd., pt. iv; *Vibhanga*, xx; *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 139, 177, etc.

term *bhavanga* appearing in the seventh book, a word as much needed for "continuum" or "flux" of organic, including subconscious life, as these were by our modern psychology. Again, there is the very thoroughgoing expansion of the term *paccaya* (*pratyaya*) in a theory of relations. Twenty-four of these are distinguished, yet all are, at least by the Commentary, presented as species of the one genus, the relation of causality. This theory is quite one of the finest mice in our game-bag. It would be a noteworthy contribution by any philosophic school, ancient or modern. It does not appear to be anticipated in the Suttas even in a crude inchoate way, as are, in the Anupada Sutta,¹ the psychological introspective analyses expanded in the Dhamma Sangani. But it is, in a way, a natural outcome of the central significance imposed by the Sāsana on the doctrine of the cause and extirpation of suffering. *Paccaya*—"cause," "reason for"—is in the Suttas undifferentiated from *hetu*. By intensive culture, *hetu* and twenty-three other relations are distinguished as aspects of natural causal agency.

These few instances must here suffice to show that the cloistered Ābhidhammikas were doing their best to let shine such light of thought about body and mind as the earlier tradition of their church had been able to kindle. There was probably not very much of the real original teaching of the founder in that tradition. The Eightfold Path is no longer central, is chopped about in all manner of ways, and the idea of carrying on his beneficent work seems undreamt of. Indeed, he has himself become a very shadowy figure, a person only alluded to in formulas, and in the fifth book Docetic and other heresies about him are discussed in a very cut-and-dried manner.

Herein, however, these early scholastics were not different from Christian teachers in the secular education of to-day. The academic teaching of the Theravāda was becoming practically no less secular. In the twelfth century manual,²

¹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, iii, 125.

² *Abhidhammatthasangaha*.

generally used ever since, the name, let alone the teaching of the founder, has faded out utterly, save for a grace-before-meat allusion. They might claim, in this, to be carrying out his injunctions to be (not *Sattha-saraṇā*, but) *attasaraṇā*, *dhammasaraṇā*—to be dependent not on him, but on themselves, on the doctrine.

And had those selves been living in closer, saner touch with their fellows, had that doctrine not become a closed tradition bound up in iron formulas, they might, in this self-cum-doctrine-dependence have let the lessons of earth-life play over them, they might have discerned that life to be in the throes of new moral growth, they might have let the light of this moral awakening shine on their church-built Dhamma; they might have seen in rebirth and the karma-force a wonderful field for the growth of those "selves" on which, for salvation, they were to depend; they might have grasped the truth—O! the triumph of it over tradition!—that, whereas body after body was used and laid down, whereas the force, the *śakti*, which they called mind, in this term and that, informed, innervated body after body, it was just those "selves", it was that *attā* on which they were bidden to depend, it was that self which was really "theirs",¹ "they", as neither body nor mind could be, it was that "self" which at the very outset of his career the master bade men go and seek,²—*this* it was which, down the ages of rebirth, was to grow and grow till it blossomed into the very nature of the final goal.

But the artificial life decreed by ancient India, with its cleavage between lay and religious, shut them up in a paddock. And the formulas of a church which taught that all had been told, so that expansion of import and exposition was alone lawful, shut them up in a cellar. What their missionary brethren could learn, serving their fellows more directly, they could not. Hence in their psychology all and every kind

¹ "Yours": *tumhākaṃ*. S. iii, 33 f.; iv, 81 f.

² Vin. i, 1, 14.

of reaction is pre-determined. The essential creativeness of life and mind is undreamed of. Confronted with this creativeness, complex and unpredictable, any theory of relations has always, even in our own day, proved a quite sterile subject. Buddhaghosa makes play with the twenty-four in his Visuddhi Magga expositions, but they led him to no new vista of truth. Truth, in his day, as the result of centuries of this cloistered culture, had very largely become a knowledge of "marks" (*lakkaṇāṇi*), or salient features in just those concepts (and no others) which made up the little world of thought occupying the mind of the wise man in orders. So far he was at least positive, if circumscribed. Beyond this, truth consisted, according to that tradition with which he associated the name "men of old" (*porāṇā*), largely in negations. Where, ages before, the founder had been silent, where the founder had rejected alternatives without making any sweeping denials, there Buddhaghosa has been taught to say: there is not, there is nothing, there is no one. He does not seek to convince. He dogmatically denies.

And as we leave this house of cloistered lives, of a closed tradition, of a past dominating present and future, we have a sense of rooms swept and garnished, clean and tidy, of sealed windows, of drawn blinds, of no outlook towards the dawn.

February, 1923.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE CHALDEAN KINGS BEFORE THE FLOOD

In the spring of 1922 Mr. H. Weld-Blundell purchased for the Ashmolean Museum a large collection of tablets and prisms at Bagdad. Among them I have found a small oblong tablet, now numbered W-B. 62 in our collection, which contains the long-sought Sumerian, or, as Berossus calls them, Chaldean kings who reigned before the Flood. The sources of Berossus as preserved by Apollodorus and Abydenus concerning the ten pre-diluvian kings have been discussed many times in various Assyriological works.¹ It was already obvious that the tradition of ten kings who reigned for an incredibly long period before the Flood came from Sumerian mythology. The Weld-Blundell tablet proves that the legend of ten pre-diluvian patriarchs preserved in Hebrew tradition and by the Greek historians of Babylonia was Sumerian. The so-called Sethite genealogy of the post-Exilic writer P. in Genesis x, although it greatly reduces the longevity of the ten pre-diluvian patriarchs and does not describe them as kings, clearly borrowed the idea from the common Sumerian source. With the original Sumerian record now before us, it is possible to test the veracity of Berossus, and he comes away from the examination with remarkably good reputation. He gave the pre-diluvian period at 120 sars of years, or 432,000 years. The new tablet has 127 $\frac{2}{3}$ sars, or 459,600 years, for the same period. Berossus ascribes his ten kings to the following cities :—

¹ See Hommel, "The ten Patriarchs of Berossus," PSBA., 1873, 243-6; Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., 530-9; L. W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, 31-4; Poebel, *Historical Texts*, 85-6 and 110; S. Langdon, *Poème du Paradis*, 125-33.

		Years.
1. Alōros . . .	Babylon . . .	36,000
2. Alaparos (son) . . .	Babylon ? . . .	10,800
3. Amēlōn . . .	Pantibiblus . . .	46,800
4. Ammenōn . . .	Pantibiblus . . .	43,200
5. Megalaros . . .	Pantibiblus . . .	64,800
6. Daōnos . . .	Pantibiblus . . .	36,000
7. Euedōrachos . . .	Pantibiblus . . .	64,800
8. Amempsinos . . .	Larak . . .	36,000
9. Opartes . . .	Larak . . .	28,800
10. Xisuthros (son) . . .	? . . .	64,800

The original Sumerian source edited below assigns these ten kings to the following cities: 1 and 2 at H̄abur, 3 and 4 at Ellasar, 5 and 6 at Badtibira (Pantibiblus), 7 at Larak, 8 at Sippar, 9 and 10 at Šuruppak. In the Sumerian epic of Creation and the Deluge, published by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, No. 1, only five pre-diluvian cities are mentioned. H̄abur, dialectic *subaru*, is known to be either another name for Eridu or a quarter of that ancient city at the mouth of the Euphrates. See my *Babylonian Liturgies*, 115, n. 2. This Sumerian legend of Creation, although associating Anu, Enlil, and Ninḥarsag¹ with the Water-god, Enki of Eridu, in the creation of mankind, clearly regards the Water-god as the principal agent in the work of creation. He is here described as the deity who created the beasts of the field, the founder of laws, and builder of cities. In the pre-diluvian age he ordered five cities to be built for the cults of five deities. This part of the legend occurs in the second column of the tablet, "Eridu to the director the god Nudimmud² he gave. Secondly, to the Virgin (goddess)³ Badtibira he gave. Thirdly, Larak to the god Pabilḥarsag he gave. Fourthly, Sippar to the god Utu he gave. Fifthly, Šuruppak to the god Aradda he gave." According to Sumerian tradition

¹ I.e. Heaven-god, Earth-god, and Earth-mother goddess.

² Title of Enki as creator of mankind.

³ *nu-gig* = *iṣkaritu*, a title of the virgin goddess Innini. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 81-2.

these were the only cities and the only cults which existed before the Flood. In the actual history of Sumer and Accad only Sippar attained much political importance and not one of these five cities mentioned in the Sumerian legend of creation became the seat of a dynasty. The Blundell tablet differs slightly from the Nippurian epic.

W-B. 62. Nippur Epic of Creation.

- | | |
|---------------|------------|
| 1. Habur. | Eridu. |
| 2. Ellasar. | |
| 3. Badtibira. | Badtibira. |
| 4. Larak. | Larak. |
| 5. Sippar. | Sippar. |
| 6. Šuruppak. | Šuruppak. |

The historical tablet has Ellasar, which is omitted in the religious text. But Sippar was only a northern Semitic centre of the cult of the Sumerian sun-god, Utu or Babbar, at Ellasar. It is probable, therefore, that the Nippur tablet preserves the correct legend; Sumerian tradition attributed only five cities to the pre-diluvian age. It is interesting to learn which cults the Sumerians supposed to be the most primitive. At Habur or Eridu the worship of Enki, Ea, or Oannes the water-god, creator of mankind and founder of civilization, was universally recognized as the most ancient. Its location at the outlet of the Euphrates now identified with the ruins of Abu Shahrain is perfectly determined.

Badtibira, the Pantibiblus of the Greek historians, or "Wall of the metal workers" is described as the centre of the cult of Innini. In historical times Innini or Ishtar was worshipped chiefly at Erech in conjunction with the heaven-god Anu, and there is consequently some connexion between Erech and Badtibira. Ishtar and Tammuz were also closely associated in the oldest and most important cult of Sumerian religion, the cult of the mother goddess and her dying son, and Tammuz is repeatedly connected with Badtibira.¹ The

¹ The older reading of this name, *Durgurgur*, was erroneous. For Tammuz, lord of Badtibira, v. SBP. 318, 8; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 34, 7;

principal temple in this city was E-inninâ or E-innina-kalamma, "Temple of Innini of the Land." Berossus assigns not only the fifth and sixth kings to Pantibiblus, but the third and fourth (originally of Ellasar) and seventh (originally of Larak) to this city. The emphasis placed upon Badtibira, in the sources from which the Greek historians obtained their information, indicates a large and important centre of ancient Sumerian tradition, a fact which also supports the conjecture of its identification with some very ancient part of the great city of Erech. Badtibira occurs only once in the historical records of Sumer and Accad. Sinidinnam, ninth king of the kingdom of Ellasar, praises himself for having built the great fortress Bad-tibira that he might "please the hearts of Shamash and Tammuz".¹ After the times of Hammurabi this city disappears from cuneiform literature.

Larak (Laranchae of Berossos) is represented as the seat of the cult of Pabilharsag, usually written Pabilsag, a type of the dying god Tammuz, son of the mother goddess Gula, but degraded into a local deity and consort of the mother goddess. See my note in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, p. 176. The ruins of Larak have not been identified. A contract of the late

Radau, BE. 30, Nos. 6, 8; No. 5, R. 11; BE. 30, No. 1. Rev. 10 has Badtibira(ki) with *E-innina-a*, probably the name of the temple at Badtibira. The god Lugal-Badtibira(ki) in K. 11928 (CT. 25, 38) is probably Tammuz, but the names *d. Tibira-kalam-ma* and *d. Tibira-dingir-ri-e-ne* "Artisan of the Land", "Artisan of the gods", CT. 24, 12, 24-5 = 25, 87 are titles of the Mother goddess, Ninharsag, supposed in Nippurian tradition to have created mankind from clay. See *Poème du Paradis*, 23 ff. According to Poebel, PBS. v, 157; i, 5, the temple in Badtibira was E-innina-kalam-ma.

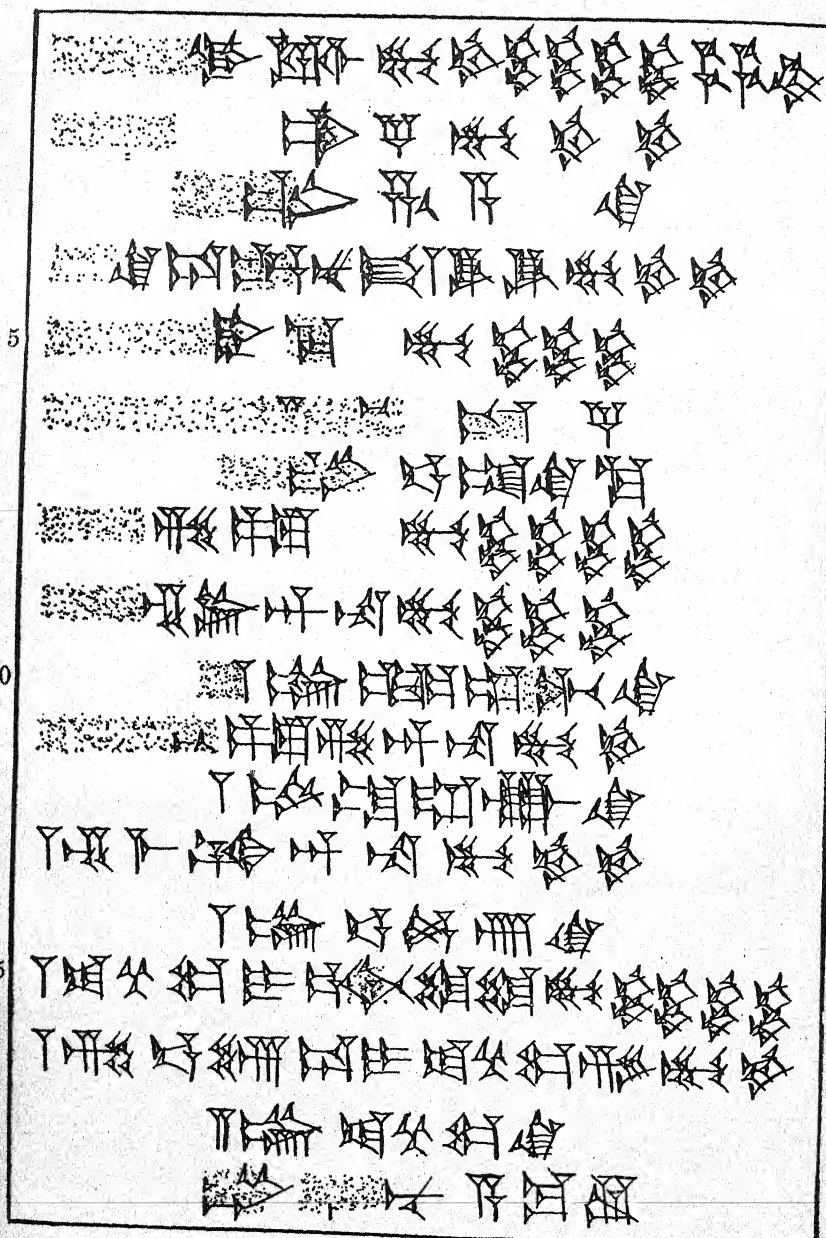
¹ Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 208. The place is mentioned in letters of the period of Hammurabi; Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, 17, 7; 31, 7; 52, 6; 54, 5; Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*, 39, 6. Ungnad, No. 52, actually refers to metal workers, and Lutz, No. 39, alludes to copper at Badtibira. The word means "Wall of the metal worker", and hence Hommel, *Geographie*, 358, identified it with the ruins of Tell Šifr, "mound of copper", near Ellasar, eastward beyond the Shaṭṭ el-Kar. Loftus found traces of a great copper industry at Tell Šifr. The contracts excavated at Tell Šifr and published by Strassmaier, *Die altbabylonische Verträge aus Warka*, do not mention the city Badtibira.

period from Nippur describes its location on the bank of the "Old Tigris". This, of course, means the course of the Shatt el Hai, and apparently Larak is to be sought not far above Lagash.¹ The weeping mother goddess Gula-Bau-Arururu is repeatedly described as the queen of Larak in the liturgies and her cult here is generally associated with her cult at Isin. Larak was not a part of the great city Isin, as I erroneously concluded on the evidence of the liturgies in my earlier books. Isin has been identified with the ruins Bahriyet 17 miles south of Nippur.² The inclusion of Sippar or Ellasar in the list of pre-diluvian cities is intelligible, for the sun-god had his principal seat of worship there. The importance of Šuruppak in Sumerian mythology is difficult to explain. Their legends consistently affirm that the last of the ten kings lived here, and that the god Enki revealed to him the plot of the gods to destroy the world by a deluge; here he is said to have built the boat on which he and his wife escaped on the waters. The cult of the goddess *Sud* of Šuruppak and of *Aradda*, her spouse, does not appear to have occupied a prominent place in Sumerian religion.

In comparing the names of the kings preserved or partially preserved on the Weld-Blundell tablet with the list of Berossus, the solution of the Greek names is not so complete as was to be expected. Under influence of the ambitious priesthood of Babylon, where he lived, Berossus naturally substituted Babylon for *Ħabur* or *Eridu*, but the names of the first two kings, *Alorus* and *Alaparos*, do not agree very well with *Alim* (?) and *Alagar*, if these are really the proper readings. In any case, *Alaparos* can no longer be identified with *Adapa*, the sage fisherman of *Eridu* and hero of the famous episode connected with his name. *Amēlōn* is represented by [. . .] *ki-du-un-nu*, who has the title *šakinkin*. If an original *Akidunnu* be assumed, the name *Amēlōn* may have descended from it by phonetic decay of *k* > *m* and by

¹ See Poebel, *Historical Texts*, p. 43.

² See *JRAS.*, 1922, 431.



Chaldean Kings before the Flood.

(Ashmolean Museum, W.B. 62.)

textual corruption of Δ to Λ . *Akidunnu* > *Amidunnu* and then by textual error *Amilun* is an extremely probable explanation. The Greek name has been universally explained as Semitic from *amelu* "man". This conjecture, like that concerning *Adapa*, was false.

Ammenōn should correspond to the illegible name in line 5. The last sign may be *la* or *ma* or *ku*, and nothing can be made of the traces before it. *Megalaros* corresponds to a name ending in *zi*. *Daōnos* obviously represents *lū-an-na* of the name [. . .]-*en-lū-an-na*. *Euedorachos*, the seventh king, is *Enmeduranna*, the eighth king of the Sumerian list, and "Amempsinos" descended by unusual corruption from [. . .] *sibzianna*, which again proves all the ingenious conjectures made to explain the Greek name to be false. *Berossus* makes him the eighth king, but he accurately reports the length of his reign. *Opertes* is proven to have been the father of the ninth king *Aradda* or *Arad-gin*, and *Polyhistor's Ardates* is at last explained. Having substituted father for son in the case of the ninth king, *Berossus*, following a tradition accepted by the writer of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, supposed *Opertes* to have been the father of the tenth king, whom he calls *Xisuthros*. The publication of this Sumerian source proves that every conjecture, except one, put forward to explain any or all of the corrupt Greek forms in *Berossus* was erroneous.

1. *Alim*¹ *mu* 67,200 -*kam*. *Alim* (ruled) 67,200 years.
2. [.] *lāl-gar*² *mu* [A ?] *la(l)gar* (ruled) 72,000 years.
3. [2] *lugal Ha-būr-(ki)*. Two kings at *Habur*.

¹ The group of signs here read *alim* is probably a local (*Ellasar*) variant of *Thureau-Dangin*, REC. 228. The name clearly represents the original of the Greek *Ἀλαρος*.

² For *lāl-gar* apparently the name of a sanctuary of treasury in the inscriptions of *Senecherib*, see SAI. 2120; CT. 26, col. v, 32, and the hymn to *Dungi*, CT. 36, 26, 10, *lāl-gar-ra-bi*. A restoration [A]-*lāl-gar*, *Alagar*, may conceivably afford an explanation of the name *Ἀλαπαρος*, given by *Berosus*. The Greeks corrupted Γ (gamma) to Π (pi).

4. [. . .] *ki-du-un-mu* *ša-* [. . .] *kidunnu* *šakinkin*
kin-kin mu 72,000. (ruled) 72,000 years.
5. [. . .] *uk(?) -ku(?) mu* [. . .] *ukku (?)* (ruled)
 20,800. 20,800 years.
6. *ne-gar.* They made . . .
7. [2] *lugal Ellasar-(ki)-ma.* Two kings of Ellasar.
8. [. . .] *-zi sib mu* 28,800. [. . .] *-zi,* the shepherd
 (ruled) 28,800 years.
9. . . . *en-lù-an-na*¹ *mu* [. . .] *en-lu-an-na* (ruled)
 21,600. 21,600.
10. 2 *lugal Bad-tibira*² *-(ki)* Two kings in Badtibira.
11. . . . *sib-zi-an-na*³ *mu* [. . .] *sibzianna* (ruled) 36,000
 36,000. years.
12. 1 *lugal La-ra-ak-(ki).* One king at Larak.
13. *En-me-dur-an-na*⁴ *mu* Enmeduranna (ruled) 72,000
 72,000. years.
14. 1 *lugal Zimbar-(ki).* One king at Sippar.
15. *Arad*⁵ *[gin] dumu Ubur-* Aradgin, son of Uburtutu
*tu-tu*⁶ *mu* 28,800. (ruled) 28,800 years.

¹ Berosus gave this name as *Daōnus*, a shepherd of Pantibiblus. *Daōnus* is obviously a textual corruption for *Laōnus*, a transcription of *lu-an-na*.

² The group *URUD-NAGAR* has been read *gurgur*, cf. BL. 19, n. 2; but CT. 29, 46, 5 preserves the true reading of this group, *ti-bi-ra*; *tibira* = *kurkurru* metal worker, loan-word *tabiru* (v. Ungnad, ZA. 31, 276), is obviously the reading of this ideogram in the name of the city in question, and it also affords the lost original of the Greek Pantibiblos.

³ This name was, somehow, corrupted into *Amempsinos* in the text preserved by Berosus and occurs wrongly as the eighth king, not the seventh. Berosus preserved, however, the correct tradition regarding the length of his reign and his city.

⁴ Berosus preserves this name in the form *Euedōrachos*, and places him seventh in the list. The Greek tradition is possibly correct in giving Pantibiblos as the city of this king. The variant readings *Euedōreschos*, *Aedōreschos* of Abydenus, and *Edōrachos* of Eusebius, prove that the Sumerian original was *En-me-dur-an-ki*, in Babylonian tradition the founder of the art of divination. Zimmern had already explained this name correctly.

⁵ Written *SU-KUR-LAM*; *gin* is omitted in line 15. *Arad* or *Aratta* is a title of the gods of Šuruppak; v. PBS., x, 177, n. 4, for *d.Aratta* = Ninlil or Sud of Šuruppak, and for *Arad* or *Aratta* = Enlil, v. PSBA., 1911, 94 pl., l. 5. Often in N.Pra. at Šuruppak; *Enim-d.Arada-zid*, RTC. 15

16. *Zi-ud-sud-du dumu Arad-* *Zi-udsuddu* ², son of Aradgin,
gin mu 36,000. (ruled) 36,000 years.
 17. *2 lugal Šuruppak(ki)*.¹ Two kings at Šuruppak.
 18. *[10] lugal [pa]-nu Abubi*. [Ten kings] before the Flood.

S. LANGDON.

SURESVARA AND MANDANA-MISRA

It is now commonly believed that these two are the same, and that Sureśvara was the name assumed by Maṇḍana-Miśra after he became a *sannyāsin* as a result of his adopting Śaṅkara's *advaita*.³ There is evidence in old Sanskrit works to show that the two names in all probability designate different individuals. It is as follows :—

(1) One of the main distinctions between the two classical schools of *advaita*—known as the *Vivaraṇa* and the *Bhāmāṭi* schools—is in respect of the seat (*āśraya*) of *avidyā*. While, according to the former, the *avidyāśraya* is *Brahman* itself, it is the *jīva* according to the latter.⁴ The view of the *Vivaraṇa*

Rev. end ; *Lugal*. ⁴*Arad-kenag*, 15, R. ii, 4, etc. The noun *arad*, *arat* really means *kabtu*, honoured, *tanittu*, honour, CT. xi, 49, 34-5.

⁶ Berossus has the name of the ninth king Opartes, substituting father for son. The length of this reign is correctly reported in Berossus. The scribe here employs *ubur* (SAL. 3891) for the ordinary *ubar=kidinnu*, protégé. The name Ubar-tu-tu, father of Utnapištim, occurs in the Epic of Gilgamesh, xi, 23 ; ix, 6, but our text makes Uburtutu the grandfather of Utnapištim. Berossus assigned Opartes to Larak.

¹ Or Aratta. Obviously the tradition, which on the basis of Apollodorus' version of Berossus assigns the ninth king to Larak, is erroneous. Alexander Polyhistor's summary of the history of Berossus is verified by the new text. Polyhistor gives the name of the ninth king 'Αρδάρης, father of Xisuthrus ; Ardates represents *Aradda* or *Araddagin* of the Ashmolean tablet. See Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 26.

² This name is translated by *Uta-napištim-[arik]* in the Babylonian legend of the Deluge, but Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 12, preserves the original Sumerian in the form Sisythes. Berossus gives Xisuthros as the name of the tenth king and the hero of the Deluge, a form based upon a Semitic title of Ziudsuddu. See *Poème du Paradis*, 133, n. 1.

³ For the current view, see e.g. Keith : *Karma-Mīmāṃsā*, p. 11.

⁴ See *Pañca-pādikā-vivaraṇa*, pp. 45-6, and *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha* (Kumbhakonam edition), p. 65.

in this respect is the same as that of Sureśvara, who maintains with great force of argument that *Brahman* is the *viśaya* as well as the *āśraya* of *avidyā*.¹ Similarly, the view of the *Bhāmātī* is identical with that of Maṇḍana, as is clear from the *San̄kṣepa-śārīraka* (ii, 174), where the author, who was a pupil of Sureśvara,² criticizes Maṇḍana's view that the *jīva* is the seat of *avidyā*. It is instructive to note the terms of reference here, which suggest a wide difference between Maṇḍana's views and those of Śaṅkara :—

parihṛtya Maṇḍanavacāḥ, taddhyananyathā prasthitam.

The *Bhāmātī*, by the way, has thus revived a doctrine which was not acceptable to the early exponents of Śaṅkara.

(2) A second point of difference between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara is in regard to the conception of *advaita*. When the identity of *Brahman* and the *jīva* is realized, *avidyā* is dispelled. This is *mukti*. Here a rather super-subtle question is raised as to whether or no the *avidyā-nivṛtti*, which is of the nature of *abhāva*, endures in that stage. This question, it is obvious, is due to the influence of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*, which recognizes *abhāva* or "negation" as an *atirikta-padārtha*, i.e. a category distinct from the six positive categories—*dravya*, *guṇa*, etc.—and formulates four varieties of it. The *avidyā-nivṛtti* is an *abhāva* of the *dhvaṃsa*-type. According to the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*, when anything positive is destroyed, it leaves behind it a *dhvaṃsābhāva*, which lasts till eternity. In Śaṅkara's view, as also in Sureśvara's, which does not accept *abhāva* as a distinct category, the *avidyā-nivṛtti* is the ultimate ground itself, viz. *Brahman*.³ Moreover, *avidyā*, not being absolutely real, cannot strictly be said to leave an *abhāva* behind it. Maṇḍana, however, maintained the persistence of *avidyā-nivṛtti* in the *mukti* stage, so that eventually there are in his view two principles—*Brahman*, as in Śaṅkara's *advaita*, and *avidyā*—

¹ See, for instance, *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*, iii, 1.

² *San̄kṣepa-śārīraka*, i, 8.

³ See e.g. *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*, ii, 117, *Brhad. Up. Vārtika*, p. 467, st. 203.

nivṛtti in addition to it. This would constitute a doctrine of *dvaita*, and not of *advaita*; but Maṇḍana seems to have held that the admission of an *abhāva* does not really clash with the *advaita* doctrine, inasmuch as the *advaita* that is intended is *bhāvādvaita*, i.e. monism excluding only other *positive* entities and not also the negative.¹

(3) According to Śaṅkara, the final knowledge which leads to *Brahma*-realization is got *directly* through the *mahāvākyas*, like *Tat tvam asi*, whatever moral or mental discipline is necessary being regarded as preceding that knowledge.² This assumes that verbal statements can give rise to *immediate* knowledge, and can refer to the *unrelated* Absolute. Neither of these points is conceded by other Indian thinkers. They consider that all verbal knowledge is *necessarily* mediate and refers to things which are in relation with one another. Maṇḍana follows the generality of Indian thinkers and maintains that *upaniṣadic* teaching, being expressed in the form of words, must partake of the character of all verbal testimony and signify something as related and as mediate. But admitting, as he does, like Śaṅkara, that *Brahman* is neither related nor mediate in truth,³ he concludes, on the strength of statements like *Ātmetyeva upāsīta* (*Br. Up.*, I, iv, 7), that for *Brahma*-realization *upaniṣadic* knowledge has to be followed up by a course of meditation. This meditation, according to him, will transform what is mediated knowledge of a related entity into an *immediate* vision of the *unrelated* Absolute. It is then that life's goal will be reached. One of the chief *upaniṣadic* texts relied upon by this school is *Br. Up.*, IV, iv, 21, *viññāya prajñāṃ kurvīta*—which, apparently at least, makes a distinction between two types of knowledge—one as it is first conveyed by the Upaniṣads and the other which results from meditation upon it. This view is criticized

¹ See *Laghu-candrikā* on *Advaita-siddhi*, by *Brahmānanda-Sarasvatī*, i, 13 (Kumbhakonam edition), p. 112.

² *Pañca-pādikā*, p. 99.

³ See *Br. Up. Vārtika*, IV, iv, st. 801, 803, and 807.

in various works of the school of Śaṅkara,¹ though generally the means of identifying it as Maṇḍana's are lacking. In *Br. Up. Vārtika*, however, where Sureśvara alludes to this view (IV, iv, st. 796) for criticizing it, his commentator describes it as "that of Maṇḍana and others". Thus we here have a third point of doctrinal divergence between the two thinkers.

It will probably be thought that the evidence so far adduced refers to Maṇḍana, while it is Maṇḍana-Miśra whom tradition identifies with Sureśvara. There is, of course, nothing impossible in the hypothesis that Maṇḍana and Maṇḍana-Miśra were distinct, even though we shall then have to assume that both alike were Vedāntins. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions several authors who bore the name of Maṇḍana. But it seems improbable, especially when we take the following points into consideration :—

(1) Reference has been made above to the mention of Maṇḍana in the *Śaṅkṣepa-śārṅga*. Madhu-sūdana-sarasvatī, in his commentary on the work, identifies him with Maṇḍana-Miśra.²

(2) According to the tradition preserved at Śringeri in the Mysore Province, where Sureśvara is supposed to have been installed as the first pontiff by Śaṅkara himself, Maṇḍana-Miśra is different from Sureśvara. This tradition is embodied in a poem—*Guru-vaṃśa-kāvya*, composed at the end of the eighteenth century—which describes Śaṅkara as meeting Maṇḍana-Miśra first and then Sureśvara.³

(3) According to the same poem Sureśvara's civil name was "Viśvarūpa". If that were so, he could not well have been known as Maṇḍana-Miśra also previous to his becoming a *sannyāsin*.

¹ Cf. for instance, *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*, i, 67.

² See Benares edition, part ii, p. 143.

³ Canto ii, 43-60. This work is now being printed at the Vāṇī Vilās Press. Śringeram. I have to express my grateful thanks to Brahma Śrī Rāma Śāstriyar of Śringeri for allowing me to read the work so far as it is printed, and make use of the information contained therein.

Attention may also be drawn in this connexion to the difference in style of the two writers, as judged from works known for certain to be theirs (such as *Vidhi-vireka* and *Naïskarmya-siddhi*); but arguments based upon style are not very conclusive.

M. HIRIYANNA.

MYSORE,
SOUTH INDIA.

SYRIAQUE ET NABATEEN

Dans sa notice sur le texte syriaque des *Prose Refutations of S. Ephrem*, publiée dans le dernier fascicule du *JRAS.* (1922, pp. 529, 530), M. A. Mingana, relève, entre autres, deux mots d'aspect insolite où il veut voir des fautes de lecture ou de copiste.

Le premier : **נפשתא** (au pluriel) semble avoir, d'après le contexte, le sens de "sepulchres". L'auteur, embarrassé par ce mot—dont le sens ordinaire est en effet, comme il le dit : "souls"—propose de corriger graphiquement : **נושתא**

(= **ناوس**). La correction semble inutile, si l'on veut bien se rappeler que le mot **נפש** (proprement "âme") est employé couramment, par exemple, dans les inscriptions araméennes des Nabatéens au sens de "tombeau, sépulcre"; nous avons même, au No. 146 du C.I.S. ii, le mot au même état grammatical (pluriel à l'état emphatique) que dans le texte syriaque, soit : **נפשתא**, "les sépulcres."

Le second mot en litige est **כפרא**. Quoi qu'en pense M. Mingana, on peut l'inscrire en toute confiance dans le lexique syriaque avec le sens de "sepulchral vault", sens que les éditeurs lui avaient attribué avec raison. Nous pouvons écarter sans scrupule la correction arbitraire **עפרא** "earth, soil". Ici encore c'est le Nabatéen qui vient nous apporter la lumière. Les épitaphes de Medāin Sāleh nous donnent maint exemple de l'emploi de **כפרא** au sens de caveau

funéraire. J'ai montré jadis (*Etudes d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. i, p. 146) que l'arabe كفر connaissait encore ce sens spécial, et que ce mot, par confusion populaire avec le grec κόπρος "fumier", avait donné naissance à la singulière légende rapportée par Strabon (p. 667) d'après laquelle les Nabatéens, n'estimant pas plus les cadavres que du fumier, enterraient leurs rois eux-mêmes à côté des leurs trous à fumier.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

THE SUBORDINATE IMPERATIVE IN PERSIAN

In a note contributed to the *Classical Review* (1899, vol. xiii, p. 272) I pointed out that a line of Ḥāfiz (ed. Rosenzweig, iii, 204, 5):—

من نگویم که کنون با که نشین و چه بنوش

"I say not with whom now thou should'st sit and what thou should'st drink"

supplies a Persian parallel to the Greek idiom, of which οἷσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον is the most familiar example. This construction is extremely rare in Persian. The grammars ignore it, and after twenty-three years I can add only one more instance, also from Ḥāfiz (ed. Rosenzweig, iii, 124, 2):—

من نگویم چه کن ار اهل دلی خود تو بگوی

"I say not what thou should'st do. If thou hast understanding, say (that) thyself!"

It appears probable that the use of the imperative in subordinate (interrogative) clauses may occur in Persian literature before Ḥāfiz, and I shall be grateful for any such references. There is no instance in the *Mathnawī* of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

ARE NAIRS SUDRAS ?

In a notice of Rothfeld's *Women of India*, the reviewer states, on p. 129, that "the charming ladies of the Nair community, though Sudras by caste, are given a place in this noble class (Rajputs)". Are they Sudras? I have long doubted the correctness of this ascription, and have thought that they have as much right to be ranked as Rajputs as any other communities of that class that have grown up in India through the centuries. This raises much larger questions. Should Europeans use the term Sudra to describe such a people at all? Should the term be held to have the same signification in Southern as in Northern India? I remember that just fifty years ago—that is, before the inquiries into caste origins became serious—a highly educated native of Madras, not a Nair, when I asked him about his caste, saying quite proudly: "I am a Sudra." His manner and his statement have always remained in my memory.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LA LÉGENDE DE BUDDHAGHOSA

M. Finot, in an article entitled "La Légende de Buddhaghosa", in *Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, Paris, 1921, doubts the tradition that Buddhaghosa was born in India and went in the fifth century to Ceylon, where he retranslated the Ceylonese commentaries into Pali because the original Pali commentaries had been lost. The first part of the article is taken up with an examination of the sources of our knowledge of Buddhaghosa. The Burmese sources of information are dismissed as of no authority, since they "are merely an echo of Ceylonese historiography, altered by an insatiable national vanity". This is rather a bold pronouncement, for, although the beginning of Burmese history are lost in legend, an impartial scholar will not fail to find a substratum of truth in the history. Besides, considering that no one has yet made a

scientific study of Burmese chronicles and shown their exact relationship to the Ceylon chronicles, a pronouncement as that of M. Finot is, to say the least, premature, and would be in error if there was any truth in the statement of Forchhammer¹ that the Burmese chroniclers had confused our Buddhaghosa with a later Buddhaghosa who *did* go to Ceylon from Burma. However that may be, their claim that Buddhaghosa was a native of southern Burma is discredited, not by the evidence of the Burmese chronicles, but by the absence of evidence in Buddhaghosa's writings that he is acquainted with places or persons in Indo-China, as there is evidence in them of his acquaintance with Ceylon. A casual reference, like the one to Suvannabhūmi,² does not go against this argument, since Buddhaghosa is here quoting the stock list of Buddhist missionaries to the different countries and gives no indication of his acquaintance with those countries. From the discussion of this point the commentaries on the *Jātaka* and *Dhammapada* are excluded as being, in all probability, not the works of Buddhaghosa.³

M. Finot next examines the Ceylonese sources such as the *Cūlavamsa*, *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, and *Buddhaghosuppatti*, which are late works and contain much legendary matter. He has utilized this legendary stuff to show that the tradition that Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon from India is only a legend, that the name Buddhaghosa is not authentic, that it was never known outside of Ceylon, and that it is a name assumed by a group of Ceylon writers. He has not found it difficult to show this by setting one legendary passage against another. Unfortunately, his conclusions are drawn from a study of these late works of Buddhaghosa, and not from a study of his writings themselves. On these writings he admits that he

¹ Quoted by Rhys Davids in his article on Buddhaghosa in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

² Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, iii, 314.

³ Burlingame in *Buddhist Legends*, p. 58 (Harvard Oriental Series), comes to the conclusion that Buddhaghosa is not the author of these two works.

has merely cast a glance, and that only to support his contention. It is true that the Chinese Pilgrims, Fa-hian and Hiuan-tsang, make no reference to Buddhaghosa. The value of this negative evidence is not reliable. A writer in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*¹ argues that Buddhaghosa did not visit Ceylon till *after* Fa-hian, and assigns A.D. 483 as the date of that visit. Now we know from Takakusu² that the *Samantapāsādikā* was translated into Chinese at Canton in A.D. 489. Although the two dates leave too little an interval of time for an important work like the *Samantapāsādikā* to have been composed in Ceylon (as is believed) and translated into Chinese at Canton, they show that the whole question about the Chinese Pilgrims on Buddhaghosa is unsettled, and any evidence drawn from them is at present doubtful. M. Finot rejects the tradition that the *Samantapāsādikā* was composed by Buddhaghosa on the ground that the author's name is not mentioned in the Chinese translation. But Takakusu tells us that it was not a habit of Chinese translators even to mention the dialects from which the translations were made, and that possibly some Buddhist book may refer to Buddhaghosa under another name.³ Since we can know little or nothing about this Chinese *Samantapāsādikā* before the edition promised by Takakusu comes out, we can place no reliance on the negative evidence of the silence of the Chinese translator regarding Buddhaghosa.

The question will not be finally decided until all Buddhaghosa's works have been printed, translated, and critically studied. But some attempt at finding out who Buddhaghosa is in his writings may even now be made.

The tradition that he was born a Brahman is strengthened by the indication in his writings that he was acquainted with the Vedas. He makes reference to the Vedas,⁴ and gives a

¹ Vol. i, part 2.

² *I-tsing, Records of Buddhist Religion*, 217.

³ *JRAS.*, 1896, pp. 416 f.

⁴ *Visuddhimagga*, 384.

vivid description of one practising Atharva power, i.e. power spoken of in the *Atharvaveda*,¹ in a way to show that he is acquainted with Vedic literature. There is evidence also to show his acquaintance with the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy. He lays stress on the difference between the Buddhist conception of *avijjā* (ignorance) and the Pakativādin's conception of *pakati* (original nature) as the *causeless root-cause of the world*.² "What, is ignorance also, like the *pakati* of Pakativādins, the causeless root-cause of the world? No; it is not causeless, for the cause of ignorance has been stated thus: ignorance originates through the origination of the intoxicants. But is there any explanation by which there may be a root-cause? What is this?" By way of answer the Buddha's saying is quoted: "The ultimate starting-point, brethren, of ignorance, before which it did not exist, but after which it came into being, is not revealed."³ And Buddhaghosa proves that the Buddhist conception of *paṭiccasamuppāda* (genesis through cause) is not the same as the imaginary conception of *pakati* and *purisa* of the heretics.⁴ Another reference to the Sāṅkhya may be sought in his conception of the relation between *nāma* and *rūpa*, a conception which reminds one of the Sāṅkhya definition of the relation between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, since the same simile⁵ of the blind and the lame is used to explain that relation. Further, his definition of *samūha* as "the simultaneous occurrence of many states"⁶ may be another link with the Sāṅkhya.

Buddhaghosa's geographical knowledge is confined to India and Ceylon. He refers to the Ganges and the Godāvarī,⁷ to the lands of the Assaka and Aḷaka,⁸ and to the Damilas

¹ *Expositor* (Pali Text Society, Translation Series), 122.

² *Visuddhimagga*, 525.

³ *Anguttara Nikāya*, v, 113.

⁴ *Visuddhimagga*, 578.

⁵ *Ibid.* 596; *Expositor*, 370.

⁶ *Expositor*, 81.

⁷ *Ibid.* 186.

⁸ *Paramatthajotikā*, ii, 2, 581.

and the Andhas,¹ besides many places in Ceylon. Although these references are too meagre to prove anything conclusively they may be held to lend support to the tradition under discussion.²

Lastly, M. Finot's suggestion that Buddhaghosa is a name assumed by a group of Ceylonese authors, who wrote the commentaries attributed to that name would not only accuse such authors of untruth, deceit, and hypocrisy, but also attribute to them that egoism, that *attā*, which it is their first duty to eradicate. And we know that these commentaries bear ample witness to their moral character and saintly life. Thus the tradition that Buddhaghosa was a native of India is one not to be lightly rejected. And we have seen that he was acquainted with the Vedas and the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy.

PE MAUNG TIN.

It is known to many in this Society that there was in preparation by the American Presbyterian Mission at Urumia a Concordance of the Peshitta Old Testament. After 1903 the expenses of the undertaking were met by the Hartford Theological Seminary, and the writer of the present Note was entrusted with the drawing up of the plan of the Concordance and with the duty of general advice and supervision. The actual making of the slips was done by native workers at Urumia, and supervised by Dr. W. A. Shedd there. Dr. Shedd, in fact, was the real maker of the Concordance, and gave to the task—only a small part of his multitudinous labours at Urumia—a most accurate scholarship and detailed patience. The basis was the Perkins, or Urumia, edition of the Old Testament according to the Nestorian Canon without the Apocrypha. With the Urumia text, Ceriani's

¹ *Manorathapūraṇī*, 58, Ceylon edition.

² Mr. B. C. Law in "A Note on Buddhaghosa's Commentaries," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xv, 1909, pp. 107 f., has thrown out suggestions which point to the same conclusion.

photo-lithograph of the Codex Ambrosianus was collated and all the variants recorded. The same was done with Barnes' critical edition of the Psalms and with his "Text of Chronicles". Everything was put in except enclitics and inseparable prepositions and particles ; for proper names there were references only.

All this, unhappily, has to be put in the historic past. When the war broke out the work was ready for the printer and had been tested and corrected throughout. Dr. Shedd was occupied in reviewing the corrections when he was compelled to stop. In 1918, after the flight of the American Mission, with some thousands of refugees, to British protection in the South, the fruits of his long labour were destroyed in the loot of the Urumia Mission Station. Dr. Shedd himself died on the flight, and was buried by the roadside. It is a terrible story, and is told by his wife in her biography of her husband, which has just appeared ("The Measure of a Man", by Mary Lewis Shedd : George H. Doran Co., New York). In that horrible record of human suffering the fate of a book seems but a small matter ; but this was one of the great undertakings of scholarship, and its loss is to be reckoned among the historical calamities of learning.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Short Notices of Recent Books on Chinese Subjects

THE CHINESE DRAMA. By R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

With six illustrations from original paintings by C. F. WINZER. 15×11, 36 pp. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1921.

An authoritative study of this subject has been long overdue. Since 1838, when Bazin published translations of four plays of the Yüan period with a short introduction, it has received scant attention from Western writers. And the little that has been said has often been misleading. Mr. Johnston comments on the popular fallacy to which even the author of *Village Life in China* has helped to give currency. That Chinese plays are long enough to last many hours or even days is as widely believed in this part of the world as that most Chinese habitually eat dogs and murder a large proportion of their female infants. The truth is that most of their plays are shorter than ours, but that they follow one another without pause or change of scenery (for the adequate reason that there is no scenery). The last remark applies to the old tradition. The modern tendency to copy everything Western has led to the opening in several large cities of theatres equipped with drop-curtain and other borrowed paraphernalia.

The author gives an illuminating historical outline, going back to witch-dancers and spell-chanters of 3,000 years ago and tracing the development of the drama down to the present day. He tells us that a trustworthy work on the subject written in Chinese by a Japanese is now being translated into English.

THE CHINESE THEATRE. By CHU-CHIA-CHIEN. Translated from the French by J. A. GRAHAM. With illustrations from paintings, sketches, and crayon drawings by ALEXANDRE JACOVLEFF. 13×10, 36 pp., 49 illustrations. London: John Lane, 1922.

The respective merits of text and illustrations in the book just noticed are reversed in this publication ; for M. Jacovleff's admirable drawings and the reproductions of ten native woodcuts give the work its value. The letterpress does not bear comparison with Mr. Johnston's able sketch.

STORIA DELLA FILOSOFIA CINESE ANTICA. By GIUSEPPE TUCCI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, xii+222 pp., 2 plates. Bologna : N. Zanichelli, N.D.

It is a strange fact that among the countless books published on Chinese subjects no adequate attempt up to now has been made to give a general survey of ancient Chinese philosophy. This book is therefore all the more welcome, and it is satisfactory to learn that it is the forerunner of a more detailed and comprehensive study from the same pen. Avowedly writing for those who are not specialists in Chinese matters, Sig. Tucci wisely refrains from entering into details of chronology and biography. He confines his attention to a tentative summary of the thought characterizing various schools up to the end of the Han dynasty in their several relationships and he appends translations of distinctive utterances attributed to the great philosophers of those early times.

LA RELIGION DES CHINOIS. By MARCEL GRANET. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xiii+202 pp. Paris : Gauthier-Villars & Cie, 1922.

It is obviously impossible in a handbook of this size to explore the vast field suggested by the title. Happily the author has not attempted the task. He scarcely mentions Manichæism, Nestorianism, or Islam, and he deals with Taoism and Buddhism in a chapter of forty pages. Space thus remains for a theme which M. Granet has studied with such distinguished success in earlier works—the life of ancient China. He adds to this an estimate of religious feeling in modern China, and it strikes one as admirably just.

MELANGES D'HISTOIRE ET DE GEOGRAPHIE ORIENTALES.

By HENRI CORDIER. Tome iii, 10×6½, 368 pp. Paris : J. Maisonneuve & Fils, 1922.

The five articles collected in this volume have been published previously, but they appeared in four different journals between the years 1883 and 1918, and therefore were not readily accessible. They provide important contributions to the history of commercial and political enterprise in Asia by European nations during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries.

AN INDEX OF CHINESE ARTISTS. By ARTHUR WALEY.

8½×5½, xii+112 pp. London : Trustees of the British Museum, 1922.

Only those who have attempted to grapple with the intricacies of native catalogues of painting and to search for biographical records of artists can appreciate fully the immense labour involved in the preparation of this invaluable index. All collectors and students of Far Eastern art owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Waley, and his book must be often in their hands.

CHINESE LIFE IN THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS. By the Rev.

JAMES HUTSON. 9¼×6, 210 pp. Shanghai : Far Eastern Geographical Establishment, 1921..

These studies are the result of many years of painstaking inquiry by a missionary living in a town 40 miles to the north-west of the capital of Szechuan, and they show that the author has achieved his aim to avoid an adverse spirit of criticism and to see things as the Chinese see them. Besides exhibiting this tolerant spirit of the true investigator, they have the merit of being compiled without the aid of Western writings. It is to be hoped that some day Mr. Hutson will publish an enlarged edition, well indexed, of this valuable contribution to Chinese ethnology. It should be added that the book is a collection of articles which have appeared in the *New China Review*.

TRAVELS OF A CONSULAR OFFICER IN EASTERN TIBET. By ERIC TEICHMAN, C.I.E., B.A. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxiv+248 pp., 64 plates, and 8 maps. Cambridge: University Press, 1922.

About a year ago there appeared Mr. Teichman's admirable account of his travels in north-west China. This work may be regarded as still more important, since it narrates the beginnings of war between Chinese and Tibetans on the border in 1918 and his services as mediator in the negotiations which led to peace. Its value as a historical document from the pen of an eyewitness is still further enhanced by an able summary of the relations between China, Tibet, and India from early times up to 1918, and by the author's excellent maps and photographs.

BOOKS ON CHINA IN THE HANKOW CLUB LIBRARY. 1922.

It is interesting to look through the catalogue of a library which has been got together mainly in recent years with the object of selecting only books useful to its members. Much labour has evidently been expended on this catalogue, and a beginning has been made to index articles relating to China which have appeared in some periodicals. It is to be hoped that work so valuable will be extended to other publications, such as the *Journal Asiatique*, *T'oung Pao*, *BEFEO.*, and our own *Journal*, and that we may look forward to another edition which will be a *vade-mecum* for students, even if they have not the advantage of using the Library.

THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS. Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave-temples of Tun-huang on the Western Frontier of China. Recovered and described by AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E. Introductory Essay by LAURENCE BINYON. 16×12 , xii+65 pp., 48 plates. London: Quaritch, 1921.

Students of the treasure trove of Buddhist art at Tun-huang must look to this magnificent publication as a necessary

complement to *Ruins of Desert Cathay* and *Serindia*. The pictures, here so admirably reproduced, range in height from 7 feet, and therefore size precludes some of them from being adequately presented in book form. Accordingly the book of text is accompanied with a portfolio of thirty-three plates, each measuring 25 by 20½ inches, twelve of which are in colour; and there are also fifteen smaller plates, most of them coloured.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

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- 1.—THE NIGHANTU AND THE NIRUKTA. The oldest Indian treatise on etymology, philology, and semantics. Critically edited and translated by LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D.Phil. English translation and notes. 10×6¾, 259 pp. Oxford, 1921.

In a previous number of this *Journal* we had the pleasure of noticing Mr. Lakshman Sarup's introduction to the Nirukta. We now have his translation, which, we may say at once, is a good one. But by publishing his translation before his edition of the text he places the reviewer at a disadvantage, for until we know exactly what text he has followed we cannot criticize his rendering of it in given passages. For example, on p. 14, l. 19, "who spread it" would be an inexact version of *ka ēnām aprathayiṣyad* if the latter is the reading that Mr. Lakshman Sarup actually has in his text, but possibly he may have another; and the same applies to other cases where he would seem at first sight to have translated rather freely. However this may be, it is quite evident that he understands his author well and is fully versed in cognate grammatical literature. We could wish that he had adopted some method, such as differentiation of types, to enable the reader to distinguish readily between Yāska's quotations and his commentary and to follow with ease the course of the argument without constant reference to the Sanskrit original. A few misprints may also be noted, such as *parijñāthāḥ* on

p. 5, n. 2, and *Sōyane* on p. 111, n. 3. But despite these minor points the book is a very useful and scholarly work.

2.—ŚIKSHĀ-SAMUCCAYA, a compendium of Buddhist doctrine compiled by ŚĀNTIDEVA. Translated from the Sanskrit by CECIL BENDALL, M.A., and W. H. ROUSE, M.A., Litt.D. (Indian Texts Series.) 9×7, i+i+328 pp. London, 1922.

The publication of the Sanskrit text of the *Śikṣā-samuccaya* by the late Professor Bendall was a signal service to Mahāyāna-Buddhist studies, and the learned world's debt of gratitude to him would have been doubled if fate had spared him to complete the translation of it which he had begun when death cut short his brilliant career. Happily this work was passed on for completion to Dr. Rouse, who, with the aid of Professor de la Vallée Poussin on many difficult passages, has brought the task to a successful conclusion, for which he merits our cordial congratulations.

But while this book as a whole is a fine monument of erudite industry, it is by no means without minor defects, of which the most noticeable are the many irritating misprints. Not to mention the numerous cases in which diacritics are omitted, there is abundant evidence that the sheets have been passed through the press without proper care, and some signs that the manuscript was not revised adequately before printing. Some of the footnotes contain emendations of the printed text, but alas! these emendations are so carelessly printed that they themselves need emendation. Thus n. 1 on p. 9 should be corrected to सत्त्वानवाणानाश°, n. 3 (out of place ?) to सम्यक्संबोधौ and n. 5 to भिन्नं. On p. 17, n. 2, read कतमैश्व°; p. 18, n. 1, read बद्धतर; p. 147, n. 4, read सौमनस्वेन; p. 218, n. 1, read ज्ञेयः; p. 253, n. 2, read प्रणाश. On p. 8, n. 1, विशेषः is misprinted विश्वः; p. 109, n. 1, suggests that the text has *anupubbo*, whereas it has *anupūrva*; *Vajracchedika* on p. 61, n. 2, is a *monstrum horrendum informe*. The meagre

errata-list hardly touches the fringe of the weaknesses of this book. In several places the translation invites criticism: thus "the weal of all at all times" (p. 306) is not a true rendering of **सर्वव्यासु सत्त्वार्थः**, and is almost immediately followed by the misprint "wickedness of", instead of "wickedness or". But it is hardly kind to dwell on these matters in reviewing a book which embodies so much hard work and knowledge.

- 3.—THE BHELA SAMHITA. Sanskrit text. 10×6½, ii+viii+272 pp. (University of Calcutta Journal of the Department of Letters, vol. vi.) Calcutta, 1921.

According to Indian tradition, the medical lore of the sage Ātrēya was transmitted by six disciples to posterity, which has somewhat ungratefully allowed the writings of at least four of these philanthropists to fall into desuetude and disappear. There survive of this school only the Samhitās of two alleged disciples of Ātrēya, that of Agnivēśa, known to us in the recension of Caraka, and that of Bhēla, now for the first time published from a single and very dilapidated MS. in Telugu script which is in the Palace Library at Tanjore. The publication is due to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who has had a Nāgarī copy of this MS. made and issued it with numerous emendations by Mr. Ananta Krishna Shastri. Though the work follows the same division as the Samhitās of Caraka and Suśruta, and claims to represent the teachings of Ātrēya, it seems doubtful whether—at any rate in its present form—it can be assigned to the same level of antiquity as Caraka. Nevertheless it well deserves to have been saved from oblivion.

- 4.—THE UTTARĀDHYAYANASŪTRA, BEING THE FIRST MŪLA-SŪTRA OF THE ŚVETĀMBARA JAINS. Edited with an introduction, critical notes, and a commentary by JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D. 6¾×9¾, 409 pp. (Archives d'Études Orientales, vol. xviii.) Uppsala, 1922.

The Uttarādhyayana is not a *terra incognita* to orientalists. Not to mention Hermann Jacobi's masterly translation in

SBE., xlv, we have Jacobi's own edition of the Prakrit text in J. G. Doshi's series (Allahabad, 1911) and the uncritical native prints of Calcutta, 1879, and Bombay, 1916-17. Nevertheless there is ample room for a new edition of this quaint and linguistically interesting repertory of Jain doctrine; and this of Dr. Charpentier, which owes its inception to the generous suggestion of Jacobi himself, marks a distinct advance. His aim has been to restore the text used by Devendra from the latter's commentary and the available MSS., and in this he has attained a marked degree of success. His text is not sensational, but it is sound and scholarly, and several of his readings are a distinct improvement upon those of Jacobi.¹ The annotations are full of instructive matter,² and the introduction contains an excellent outline of the history of the Śvētāmbara Canon and a critical analysis of the rather mixed contents of the Uttarādhyaṇa, which is undoubtedly a "collection of materials differing in age and derived from different sources".

- 5.—SIMON HEWAVITARANE BEQUEST. Vol. VIII: BHADANTĀCARIYA BUDDHAGHŌSA THĒRA'S VISUDDHI-MAGGA. Edited by P. BUDDHADATTA THĒRA; revised by M. SIRI ÑANISSARA THĒRA. Vol. IX: BHADANTĀCARIYA DHAMMAPĀLA MAHĀTHERA'S COMMENTARY TO THE NETTIPPAKARANA. Edited by W. PIYATISSA THĒRA. Vol. X: BHADANTĀCARIYA UPASĒNA THĒRA'S SAD-DHAMMAPAJJŌTIKĀ, or the commentary to the Maha-

¹ As such we may note that of i, 7, where he reads with Fischel (GP. 231, 254) *niyāga*, as against J.'s *nioga*. *Niyāga*, Skt. *nyāya*, should mean "arrival": cf. the usage of the verb, and the analogy of *prāpti*. On the other hand, we cannot wholly endorse his reading *jannatīhā ya jē diyā* (Skt. *yajñasthāś ca yē dvijāḥ*), which he admits to be unmetrical, but still thinks to be "certainly more correct" than J.'s *jīmdiyā* (Skt. *jīṇḍriyāḥ*). It may be due to a mere accident that *jē diyā* gives sense; and an editor should be very chary of admitting unmetrical readings.

² With regard to the remarks on *nisihīyā* (page 283) it may not be amiss to call attention to the common use of *nisidige* or *nisidhiye* in Kanarese inscriptions. It is the same word in origin, and it means there "grave", "monument".

Niddesa. Edited by B. ĀCĀRYA SIRI RÉVATA THÉRA ; revised by M. SIRI ÑANISSARA THÉRA. 6½×10. Colombo, 1920-1.

These publications of the Hewavitarane Fund will be welcome to serious students of Buddhism. True, there are already several editions of the Visuddhi-magga, and the present one does not seem to be from a critical point of view very greatly in advance of its predecessors. But the Burma editions are bulky and clumsy, and complete copies of the Ceylon editions, apparently, are not very readily obtained ; so the present edition, neatly printed on good paper, supplies a real need. The commentary on the Netti is not quite unknown, as Mr. C. A. Hewavitarane states in his preface, for it has been published together with the Netti itself at Rangoon in 1909 ; but as this edition was not known to the Rev. Piyatissa, he deserves much credit for having produced the present text. The Saddhammapajjōtikā is certainly an *editio princeps*, and a valuable accession to Pali libraries.

6.—THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS (SAṆYUTTA-NIKĀYA) OR GROUPED SUTTAS. Part II: The Nidāna Book (Nidānavagga). Translated by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. ; assisted by F. H. WOODWARD, M.A. 6×8½, xvi+205 pp. (Pali Text Society : Translation Series, No. 10.) 1922.

The system on which the various *vaggas* of the Saṁyutta-nikāya are constructed, and from which the latter derives its name, is well exemplified in the Nidāna-vagga, which is clumsily made up of ten groups of Suttas, each group being composed of homilies more or less germane to one another, and treating successively of cause,¹ understanding (*abhisamaya*), element (*dhātu*), and the impossibility of determining the beginning of the cycle of births, with dicta on Kassapa, on gain and favours, on Rāhula, on the questions of Lakkhaṇa,

¹ This rendering of *nidāna* by "cause" on page xv is perhaps too free. It is elsewhere translated as "base" (page 64), and even this rendering is rather doubtful.

on parables, and on the Brethren. Doctrinally the most important section is the first, the series of discourses on various aspects of the formula of the Paṭicca-samuppāda. As Mrs. Rhys Davids suggests in her pregnant "editorial notes", these may not all be the utterances of the Master himself: "it is no easy task to find the live teacher in records that have been handed down as these have been. To a great extent they consist of a stiff framework of words, of formulas, in which no semblance of the living words remains." Nevertheless, the variations in the formulæ of the causal sequence which appear in this book indirectly throw a little light upon the Master's original general statement of his law of Paṭicca-samuppāda, and more especially that contained in xii, § 27, where "a causal sequence of joy and happiness is, for this once only, harnessed to the scheme". Mrs. Rhys Davids is well justified in her further remark upon this unique passage: "how might it not have altered the whole face of Buddhism to the West if that sequence had been made the illustration of the causal law!"

There are some chapters in the book that have an interest of another kind. There are anecdotes that throw some light on the traditional personalities of some of the great Disciples; there are the apocalyptic visions of the wages of sin (pp. 170-4); and there are some forcible parables. The translation, of course, is excellent, as we should expect from Mrs. Rhys Davids; and her prefatory remarks, though brief, are keenly penetrating.

7.—ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1921. By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S. i, i, 37 pp., 11 plates. Bangalore, 1922. Fol.

Pressure of work entailed by the revision of the Mysore *Gazetteer* and other urgent matters have prevented Mr. Narasimhachar from carrying out any tours during the year under review, and hence the present report lacks some-

thing of the fullness and general interest of its predecessors. Nevertheless, the author is too modest when he laments its "meagreness", for in it he gives us eight good plates illustrating the lovely architecture of the Kēśava temple of Belur and the glorious Hoysalēśvara of Halebid, and publishes in facsimile with transcription and abstract a newly discovered record, the Kudlur plates of the Gāṅga king Mārasimha; son of Būtuga II, dated in Śaka 884. This document, which contains no less than 198 lines, mostly in florid Sanskrit verse and prose of considerable merit, is of great importance for the history of the Gāṅga kingdom. It is open to no serious objections on the score of genuineness, the language being good, the character of the writing suitable to the date borne by it, and the matter in no respect improbable; and it furnishes some noteworthy details on the history of the dynasty which seem to be quite trustworthy. It is in striking contrast to another grant from the same village, published in this report, which purports to have been issued by the early Gāṅga Harivarman, and which, as Mr. Narasimhachar admits, bears its condemnation on its face. A few other records, chiefly from the Vijayanagar period, are noticed in the report, as well as some manuscripts of rare Sanskrit and Kannada works.

L. D. BARNETT.

DIE AMƏSA SPƏNTAS : IHR WESEN UND IHRE URSPRÜNGLICHE BEDEUTUNG. By Dr. BERNHARD GEIGER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 248 pp. Wien : Alfred Hölder, 1916.

The delay in calling attention to this important publication on the Amesha Spentas, or Archangels of Zoroastrianism, will easily be understood. The monograph is one of special value, not only for the Avestan scholar, but also for the Vedic student and for the specialist in comparative religion.

The learned author states with due modesty that he does not aim at giving an exhaustive study of these spiritualized personifications of the divine attributes in the Avesta,

although properly emphasizing the significance of such idealizations by Zoroaster. Pages of scholarly research and well-weighed judgment lead up to laying stress anew (pp. 164-248) on the relationship between the Ādityas and the Amesha Spentas in Aryan times; appropriate emphasis is placed on the Iranian character of Zoroaster's conception of these abstract personifications that serve at Ormazd's bidding.

A striking point in the introductory section (pp. 6-31) is the suggestion of a new etymology for Avestan *spənta* in its various forms, *spanyah-*, *spəništa-*, etc., which he equates with Rigvedic *pāṇīyas-*, *pāniṣṭha-*, etc., from a Vedic root *pan*, with the sense of "to praise, glorify". In summing up, he concludes (p. 31) that the Amesha Spentas are either "die unsterblichen Herrlichen" or preferably "die herrlichen Unsterblichen". The acceptance or rejection of the proposed etymology is a matter for further consideration by specialists.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Geiger will follow this study by others along the same line.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

الجامع اللطيف في فضل مكة واهلها وبناء البيت الشريف

By JAMĀL AL-DĪN MOHAMMED JĀR ALLĀH AL-QURAISHĪ AL-MAKHZŪMĪ. Cairo: Office of 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1922.

Of this account of Meccah, which was composed in the year A.H. 950, some extracts were published by Wüstenfeld in the second volume of his *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, but they occupy only seventeen pages, as the editor's plan was merely to supplement the earlier chronicles which form his collection. The complete text of the work will be welcome, and the Egyptian editor has taken the trouble to supply it with an index of names, such as we rarely find in Oriental editions. It would seem that the excerpts made by the German writer by no means exhaust the matter of interest which the work contains.

كتاب الكتاب لابی محمد عبد الله بن جعفر الشهير بابن

درستویه. LE GUIDE DES ÉCRIVAINS PAR IBN DURUSTUYAH. Édité avec Notes et Tables par LE P. LOUIS CHEIKHO, S.J. Beyrouth : Imprimerie Catholique, 1921.

Père Cheikho has used for his edition of this treatise a copy made by a Syrian from the Bodleian MS. of the year A.H. 633. The author is a distinguished grammarian of the third and fourth centuries of Islam, and this little treatise (112 pp. in length) chiefly deals with orthographical rules for the benefit of clerks (for this, rather than *Écrivains*, is what is meant by *Kuttāb*). The matter seems similar to that which is embodied in Qalqashandi's Encyclopædia. The accuracy of Père Cheikho's editions is well known, and the beginning of a fresh series will be generally welcomed.

تورك ادبيات تاريخى. A HISTORY OF TURKISH LITERATURE. By KEUPRILI ZADEH MEHMET FUÂD, Professor of Turkish Literary History in the University of Istanbul. Two parts. Istanbul, 1920, 1921.

A historical account of Turkish literature is certainly to be welcomed, and it is likely that most of those who are interested will find no difficulty about the Turkish in which Mehmet Fuâd writes. His first part deals with the attempts at literature made in the Turkish dialects before the introduction of Islam, and his second contains a glimpse at Islamic literature and civilization, and treats specially of the effects of Sufism. Each of these parts consists of about 100 pages, and a third is promised, which is to bring the history down to the Mongol domination.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HANDBOOK OF THE LISU (YAWYIN) LANGUAGE. By J. O. FRASER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xi+108 pp. Rangoon: Superintendent Government Printing, Burma, 1922.

The author's name is not on the title-page of this work. He is responsible for the 108 pages of grammar, but apparently not for eleven introductory pages in which the ethnology of the Li-su tribe is discussed.

Few groups of Indo-Chinese languages have been so happy in their interpreters as the Lo-lo, of which Li-su is an important member. The various languages of the group are spoken in Yun-nan and in the adjoining parts of British Burma, and for the past fifteen years several of them have been the objects of special study for our French *confrères*. The list of modern works may be taken as beginning with Professor H. Cordier's *Les Lolos, État actuel de la Question*,¹ in which the then existing scattered materials were brought together, and admirably summed up. Two years after the publication of that essay, there appeared Liétard's *Notions de Grammaire Lo-lo* on pp. 285 ff. and his *Notes sur les Dialectes Lo-lo* on pp. 549 ff. of vol. ix (1909) of the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*. To the same scholar we owe the Lo-lo Dictionaries and Grammar in vols. xii and xiii (1911-12) of T'oung Pao, and *Au Yun-nan, les Lo-lo-p'o*, in the *Bibliothèque Anthropos*, vol. i, No. 5. The Nⁱ dialect has also been fully illustrated by Vial in his *Dictionnaire français-lolo* (Hongkong, 1909), while for Mo-so (the Mosso or Musu of the Gazetteer of Upper Burma) we have Professor H. Cordier's *Les Mo-sos* in T'oung Pao, vol. ix (separate reprint, Leide, 1908), and J. Bacot's *Les Mo-so, Ethnographie des Mo-so, leurs Religions, leur Langue et leur Écriture* (Leide, 1913). Finally, for the Li-su, we have now Mr. Fraser's book in English.

The present habitat of the Li-su tribe is, in Yun-nan, along practically the whole length of the Burma frontier from Wei Hsi down to Szemao, and, in Burma, along the same line

¹ *T'oung Pao*, série II, vol. viii, No. 5 (separate reprint, Leide, 1907).

from the north-east extremity of Putao District down to the Southern Shan States. It is assumed that, like their cousins, the Kachins and the Burmans, they came to their present seats from the country round the head-waters of the N'mai Hka, Salween, and Mekong Rivers, in or near eastern Tibet. This was long ago maintained by Bastian and Kuhn, and is confirmed by the traditions of the people themselves. The very name "Li-su" means "the people who have come down"; they themselves state that they have come from "the Head of the River", and at the present day their tendency is still to migrate towards the south.

Their language, like that of others of the same family, is monosyllabic. Every monosyllable must end in a vowel, and, with two exceptions, no unnasalized vowel can help to form a monosyllable unless it is preceded by an initial consonant. A Li-su cannot pronounce such letters as *á*, *ē*, *i*, *aw*, or *ü* (I give Mr. Fraser's spellings) standing alone. On the other hand, nasalized vowels are freely used by themselves, but cannot be used after any consonant except *h*. A word of the Li-su syllabary must therefore consist of:—

1. One of the two vowels *a* and *rg^h*,¹ or
2. Any nasalized vowel standing alone, or
3. A consonant followed by a non-nasalized vowel, or
4. *h* followed by a nasalized vowel.

The number of possible monosyllables is therefore very small, and there are only about 250 separate sounds in the Li-su syllabary. It hence follows that tones occupy a place of considerable importance in the language. Mr. Fraser describes them as follows:—

1. High and even.
2. Abrupt rising.
3. Medium even.
4. Very slightly lower than the third.
5. Low even.
6. Low abrupt.

¹ I shall refer to this vowel later on.

He does not tell us whether the second tone is high, middle, or low. I assume that it is middle, and that by "abrupt rising" he means a mid rising tone with a glottal check. Similarly, for the sixth tone, he does not say whether it is rising, falling, or level. I assume that it is the last, and, in that case, his sixth tone is merely the fifth tone with a glottal check added. With these assumptions, we may record the tones as follows, representing them according to the principles described by me on pp. 454 ff. of the *JRAS.* for 1920, and adopted for general use at the joint session of the associated Asiatic Societies held that year in Paris. For the fourth tone I suggest the conventional sign =. The imaginary syllable *ka* is used as a base for the tone-marks.

1. High level. \bar{ka} .
2. Mid rising. Always accompanied by a glottal check.
 ka° .
3. Mid level. -ka .
4. Slightly lower than No. 3. =ka .
5. Low level. _ka .

When No. 5 is accompanied by a glottal check, we have _ka° , i.e. Mr. Fraser's sixth tone, if I am right in assuming that it is level, and not rising or falling. There is also, as explained, some doubt about No. 2.

Mr. Fraser tells us that, in order to secure the greatest possible simplicity, the missionaries on both sides of the frontier have agreed to employ a special script for Li-su. It is to be regretted that, in making this laudable effort, they did not also consider the needs of persons other than their particular converts. The script adopted by them is totally unlike any other system of spelling employed either for Chinese or for Indian languages, and includes a number of arbitrary symbols which have no relation whatever to the sounds they are intended to represent. For instance, the sound *t* is represented by a capital F, and its aspirate form, *t'*, by the same letter reversed, F . Fortunately, in his Grammar, Mr. Fraser employs a script based on the system officially

prescribed for transliterating Burmese, which is at least intelligible and widely used. But even he is not impeccable in this respect. I do not understand why he indicates a sound approximating that of the *e* in "get" by the letter *ē* with a macron, which is universally employed elsewhere to represent an altogether different sound. There is another sound—a vowel—which the missionaries represent by *ī*. For this Mr. Fraser employs *rg̃h*, i.e. three consonants. What the sound so represented is it is difficult to say. He tells us that it is "a plain guttural vowel difficult to describe", and adds that it is "approximated in involuntary retching". As a vowel it can be nasalized, and, with *a* or *e*, may be a member of a diphthong. It is evident from this description that it is a letter the pronunciation of which it would be inadvisable to practise in an English drawing-room, but that is a fault of the language, not of transcription. What I do regret is that a vowel sound has been represented by consonantal letters. I presume that Mr. Fraser is right in stating that it is a vowel, and, indeed, from the words in which it occurs it is difficult to believe that it can be anything else, but I may note that in the cognate Lis'ā dialect of Burma the corresponding sound seems to be a consonant, and has been described to me by a very competent observer as a sound intermediate between *g* and *h*. This seems as if it was something like an Arabic *ḡayn*.

The grammar of Li-su is very fully dealt with by Mr. Fraser, and is supplied with numerous excellent examples. The tone-marks—he uses a system of numbers—are carefully given throughout, and I hope that this example will in future be followed by all writers of Tibeto-Burman grammars and vocabularies, using, if possible, the system of representing tones formally adopted by the associated Asiatic Societies. The book is remarkably free from misprints, but the student may be warned that the sound which Mr. Fraser, in his alphabetical table, represents by *ü* is elsewhere in the book represented by *ū*. The correct sign is undoubtedly *ü*, for it is described as "rather like *u* in French *du*".

The language being isolating and monosyllabic, each word never changes its shape. Mr. Fraser, however, mentions two instances of what is apparently incipient inflexion. In one, a very slightly sounded atonic *a* is added to a verbal root before the temporal suffix of the affirmative present-future tense. Thus =*ngwa nu -ye^a-law*,¹ we (=ngwa nu) do, or shall do, the root being *-ye* and the temporal suffix *-law*. In the other instance, the syllable *aw* is combined with the root in the affirmative perfect tense. Thus, the root =*jye* means "go", and =*jyaw* (i.e. =*jye*+*aw*) means "(he) has gone". One other solitary example of incipient inflexion occurs in the case of the verb =*la* (with the *a* of "father"), meaning "come". The imperative of this is =*lá* (with the *a* of "cat"). This, however, is an isolated case. No other verb changes in the imperative.

The book ends with an excellent English-Lisu vocabulary. Mr. Fraser may be congratulated on having successfully prepared so full and carefully arranged a work, and the Government of Burma may be congratulated on having secured his services for the purpose.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

13th September, 1922.

THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS. A Study in Social Anthropology (Anthony Wilkin Studentship Research, 1906). By A. R. BROWN, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 9×6, x+504 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1922.

I have set out the title of this book in full to show that, on the face of it, it purports to be the authoritative latest word on this oft-discussed subject. I cannot but help wishing it were, for the political situation with regard to the Andaman Islands is such that further serious research will be difficult.

The book is very well illustrated, and the author has taken

¹ Here, as elsewhere, I give Mr. Fraser's spelling, but my tone-marks.

great pains with it, but he constantly puts himself in opposition to his predecessors on matters of observation on the spot, often with much less title to dogmatize from length of utilized opportunity for study, and this propensity makes the earlier portion of this work, which deals with observations of fact, nothing more than just evidence for searchers to take into consideration with that of the older writers. The published observations, therefore, on the Andamanese are not nearer settlement than they were before its issue.

In the matter of writing the language Mr. Brown, who acknowledges to possessing but a limited knowledge of phonetics, has introduced many changes owing to his following the "Anthropos" alphabet of Pater Schmidt, and discarding that of the late A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., which had been established for half a century. The change is not a happy one for English readers, as it introduces an Eastern European appreciation of both vowel and consonantal sounds. Therefore, so far as users of English are concerned, it is actually misleading. E.g. *č* and *ĵ* do not convey to an Englishman, not specially trained in phonology, anything at all, and *ŋ* is simply to him an unknown letter of some strange alphabet. Also why use *ñ* for the well-worn *ñ* of the modern Western European Latin languages? One scholar has written to me: "Why represent such a word as 'châlanga' by 'calaŋa', making no difference between the a's? Shades of Ellis!" Why, indeed? Such things are not an improvement on Ellis and the established script. They mar the book, because they puzzle the student, just as much as would writing French or English in "Anthropos" style. There is so much confusion in transcription nowadays that the time has come to protest vigorously against any further upsetting of established methods such as occurs in this book. Scholars are really more mystified than enlightened by the unlimited vagaries of "scientific" writers now the fashion.

The book is in two parts—observations and theory thereon; and though I have pointed out certain defects in the first part

and show that the searcher must use caution in accepting all the statements therein, I do not wish to infer that the book is other than a good one on the whole, or that it does not contain valuable evidence of fact, just as its predecessors have done. The second part wants a careful consideration at length, such as is hardly suitable for a short notice in this *Journal*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY OF AVERROES. Tractata translated from the Arabic by MOHAMMAD JAMIL-UR-REHMAN, M.A. The Gaekwad Studies in Religion and Philosophy: XI. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 308 pp. Baroda, 1921.

The two (commonly counted as three) tracts by Averroes which now appear for the first time in English, namely, (1) *Faṣl al-maqāl wa-taqrīr mā bayn al-sharī'a wa-l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl*, together with a short appendix concerning the eternal knowledge of God, and (2) *al-Kaṣhf 'an manāḥij al-adilla fi 'aqā'id al-milla*, were edited in 1859 by M. J. Müller, who also published a German translation in 1875. In them Averroes deals openly and at some length with a subject which Mohammedan writers have left almost untouched—the relation of philosophy to religion—and in view of the importance and general interest of what he has to say, a good English version would have been very welcome. The present translator, however, has failed to recognize the difficulty of his task. "I am confident," he declares, "that the book will explain itself to the reader without any introduction on my part." This may be a happy and comfortable belief, but it does not help the reader to understand the position taken by Averroes or to follow a controversial argument involving some of the most vexed questions in Mohammedan theology. It would be unjust to reproach a young Indian scholar for not being acquainted with the full discussion of these same treatises (which were unknown to Renan) by Asín Palacios and Leon Gauthier, though he

might have learned from them that the work of Averroes "explains itself" in different ways even to specialists. What should have been obvious to him is that a literal translation, unaccompanied by an introduction and explanatory notes, is of little use. Take this sentence, for example: "The *Bombasts* hold that the method of obtaining knowledge of the existence of the Creator is by hearing and not by reason." We are not told who the *Bombasts* are, or why they are called by such a peculiar name. No doubt the puzzle is solved if we chance to remember that "bombast" once meant "cotton for stuffing garments", and that a party of anti-rationalistic theologians known as the *Hashwiyya* are said to derive their name from the Arabic word *hashw* (stuffing); wherefore, if they cannot properly be described as *Bombasts*, they may, at least, deserve the appellation of *Bombastics*. Still, it seems probable that not a few readers would be glad to receive enlightenment on this as well as on other points. Much of the translation is unintelligible without reference to the Arabic, partly because it is too literal. Averroes thinks clearly and logically, but his style needs considerable alteration in order that the meaning may be conveyed to European minds. In the present version it is often conveyed not only obscurely but also inaccurately. Thus on p. 22 the words

نَبِّهْنَا عَلَيْهِ وَحَذِّرْنَا مِنْهُ are rendered by "we should be warned by it, be cautioned", whereas the correct translation is "we shall call attention to it (the error) and warn (others) against it". In the next sentence the author is made to say that "a search into the books of the Ancients is enjoined by the Law, *when their meaning and purpose be the same* as that to which the Law exhorts us". Here the translator, ignoring the distinction between *idh* and *idhā*, has produced a statement which contradicts the fundamental doctrine of Averroes, that the study of the ancient philosophers is an obligation enjoined by the Law absolutely, "*since their object and purpose is the same* as that to which the Law exhorts

us." To give further instances is unnecessary. The translation into English of these highly interesting tracts will have to be done over again. Although excellent work has been accomplished by Indians in connexion with Islamic literature, success in this particular task is unlikely to be achieved by anyone who does not possess besides a thorough knowledge of English, the ability to read German and French, not to mention Spanish.

UNE MINE D'OR AU HIDJÂZ. Par M. CASANOVA. 10×6½,
57 pp. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1921.

This monograph was suggested by two unique specimens of a gold coin, dated A.H. 105, in the collection of the Princess Ismâ'îl, which bear on one side the following inscription:—

معدن

امير المؤمنين

بالحجاز

The mine in question has a curious history, having been bestowed in fee by the Prophet on Bilál ibn Hárith al-Muzaní, whose heirs disposed of it to the Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azíz, from whom it passed into the possession of Yazid II and supplied either him or his successor Hishám with the gold from which these coins were struck. Professor Casanova, citing Málik ibn Anas, Baládhurí, Mas'údí, Yáqút, and other writers, shows that it must be identified with a mine named Buhrán, described as *ma'din Baní Sulaym*, in the district or neighbourhood (*náhiya*) of Furu'. According to Yáqút, Furu' is situated on the route from Medina to Mecca—the easterly route is intended—eight *baríd*, i.e. 8×12 Arabian miles, south-east of the former city, a distance which Professor Casanova estimates as equivalent to 192 kilomètres. The mine itself, however, lay on the road from Baghdád to Mecca, which is crossed to the north of Ma'din Baní Sulaym

by the road from Baṣra to Medina. In order to determine its exact location, the author has studied minutely the topography of the triangle formed by the intersection of the three roads. His researches are illustrated by several tables and a map and will be found of great value, though he admits that the problem is insoluble at present.

THE ECLIPSE OF THE 'ABBASID CALIPHATE, ORIGINAL CHRONICLES OF THE FOURTH ISLAMIC CENTURY. Edited, translated, and elucidated by H. F. AMEDROZ and D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. Seven volumes; Arabic text, vols. i-iii; English text, vols. iv-vii. 10×6 $\frac{1}{4}$, 1313 pp., and xix+1409 pp. Oxford, 1920-1.

This is a work of capital importance to students of Mohammedan history. It was planned by that acute and industrious scholar, H. F. Amedroz, who, besides contributing many articles to the *Journal*, published editions of Hilāl's *Book of the Viziers* and Ibn al-Qalānisī's *History of Damascus*. For some years before his death he took a special interest in the *Tajārib al-Umam* of Miskawaihi—"Ibn Miskawaihi," as Professor Margoliouth shows, is a misnomer—and was engaged in editing those portions of the book "which deal with events posterior to the Chronicle of Tabari, to be followed by the Continuation of Abú Shujá', and a new edition of the fragment of Hilāl's Chronicle which he had already published as an appendix to the *Book of the Viziers*". In 1917 Amedroz died, leaving a sum of money to complete the printing of these texts (which for the most part had already passed through the press at Cairo) and provide a translation. His project has been faithfully carried out by his friend and collaborator, Professor Margoliouth. To the text, which has gained much from his revision, he has added an excellent version in English, while the introduction and indices, forming the seventh volume, are all that could be desired. Of the three Arabic volumes the first and second contain the same text that is photographed in vols. v and vi of the Gibb

facsimile of Miskawaihi; but as the facsimile is difficult to read, the present edition will be welcomed by Orientalists, whatever they may think of the circumstances which are set forth in the prefatory note to vol. vi of the Gibb reproduction. Miskawaihi's narrative covers the period A.H. 295-369, and includes the rise and establishment of the Buwaihid power; from the year 340 "he had materials furnished him orally by leading actors in the events". Professor Margoliouth describes his chronicle as one of the most instructive in the Arabic language, praises his skill in drawing character, insists on the value of his political experience, and ranks him as a historian above Tabari—a verdict which will probably be endorsed by anyone who compares the account given by Tabari of his own times with the corresponding portion of Miskawaihi's book. Although Abú Shujá', the vizier of Muqtadi, who brings the chronicle down to A.H. 389, is disappointing, for the last five years (A.H. 389-93) we have another contemporary record by Hilál. The translation, which fills three large volumes, can be read with pleasure, and its accuracy is beyond suspicion. Professor Margoliouth refers to his advancing years, but they have not slackened his energy, and he works so rapidly that they may well despair of overtaking him. Now that printing seems likely to become less costly, we look forward to receiving from his hand the deferred introductory volume, collecting under heads "the information contained in these and contemporary texts about the political and social institutions of the Caliphate in the fourth century A.H." It only remains to say that the typography is admirable throughout and that the English part of the work was printed in Oxford at the Kemp Hall Press.

THE FAITH OF ISLAM. By the Rev. EDWARD SELL, D.D.,
M.R.A.S. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$,
ix+466 pp. London: S.P.C.K., 1920.

That Dr. Sell's study of Mohammedanism should have reached a fourth edition is not surprising, for it conveys in

clear and vigorous language the impressions made by Islam upon one who possesses a wide, though hardly exact, knowledge of its theology and has lived amongst its people. On these grounds the author claims "to understand it aright". Knowledge without sympathy does not usually lead to full understanding, but even those who disagree with his conclusions will admit that he has endeavoured to do justice to Islam from his own point of view.

CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC AND PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN
THE ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY AT BANKIPORE. Vol. v,
Tradition, pt. i. By MAULAVÍ 'ABDU' L-ḤAMÍD. 10×6½,
vii+214 pp. Patna, 1920.

The Bankipore Catalogue, planned about twenty years ago by Sir Denison Ross and prepared under his supervision, is growing steadily. Of the seven volumes that have already appeared we owe no fewer than five to the sound learning and indefatigable industry of Maulaví 'Abdu 'l-Muqtadir, who has described over 2,000 MSS. in the departments of Persian poetry, Mohammedan and general history, and Indian history; one, admirably executed, on Arabic medicine to Maulaví 'Azímu'ddín Aḥmad; and one on Ḥadīth to Maulaví 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamíd. This last, which is to be followed by another on the same subject, is now before us. It comprises 292 Nos. (172 MSS.) classified as (1) Sunnī and Shī'ite canonical books, with their commentaries; (2) *Masānīd*; (3) *Arba'inīyyāt*. Some of the items are presumed to be unique, e.g. *al-Qarūl al-Musaddad*, written in defence of the Musnad of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalání (No. 251), and an incomplete copy of the Musnad of Zaid ibn 'Alí, from whom the Zaidite sect take their name (No. 273). There are one or two slips in transliteration, but the compiler's work has been done carefully and maintains the high standard of the series.

DER PHILOSOPHISCHE UND RELIGIÖSE SUBJEKTIVISMUS
GHAZÁLÍ. By Dr. J. OBERMANN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, xii + 345 pp.
Wien und Leipzig: Braumüller, 1921.

Ghazálí has recently attracted a good deal of attention in Germany. The *Ihyá* is being translated by H. Bauer, and Books 12, 14, and 37 have already appeared, while in *Ghazálí's Selbstbiographie* (Leipzig, 1919) H. Frick illustrates and discusses the striking parallelism which exists between the *Munqidh* and St. Augustine's *Confessions*. In the work under notice the Ghazálí-problem is brought into connexion not only with Islamic factors but with the general history and philosophy of religion, and a systematic attempt is made to trace the main lines of his development and to find the determining principle wherein all his diverse thoughts and activities are harmonized. I have no space to state the results here, but the book is well worth reading. According to Dr. Obermann, Ghazálí stands for personal religion, but also—since few can tread the way of the mystics—for a popular science of religion that will make men conscious of the divine element within them and enable everyone to develop this true self to the utmost. The writer lays great stress on the originality of Ghazálí's philosophical method and gives an excellent account of it. On the other hand, he seems to regard Ghazálí's plunge into Śúfism as a deplorable aberration, considers that his mystical experiences were "unfruitful", and represents him as criticizing the Śúfis for not being "Meister der Rede" (*aṣḥāb aqwāl*), when, in fact, he is praising them because, unlike the *Mutakallimín*, they prefer immediate religious experience to dialectic. Such remarks will not satisfy those who believe that the mysticism of Ghazálí is just as real and vital as the wider philosophy of which it forms the core. To identify Śúfism with pantheism, as Dr. Obermann often does, is misleading.

ZWEI GEDICHTE VON AL-'A'SHÂ. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, und erläutert von R. GEYER. II. Waddi' Hurairata. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, 306 pp. Vienna: Holder, 1921.

In this volume Professor Geyer, whose edition of al-A'shâ's *Dirwân* is now being printed at Vienna and will, it is hoped, be published in the Gibb Memorial Series, gives the text, with translation and commentary, of the same poet's *Mu'allâqa*, thus completing the work of which the first part was devoted to a similarly intensive study of the ode beginning *Mâ bukd'û*. The text is based on the recension of Tha'lab preserved in the Escorial MS., and is accompanied by two commentaries in Arabic and German. The latter, which contains an extraordinary number of citations from poets, in its thoroughness and fullness of detail reminds one of the most elaborate European commentaries on the classics. All students of Arabian poetry can learn much from Professor Geyer, though at some points they may find themselves unable to follow him. E.g. al-A'shâ's verse (p. 40),

إِذَا لَيْسَتْ شِمْدَارَةٌ ثُمَّ أَبْرَقَتْ * بِمِعْصَمِهَا وَالشَّمْسُ لَمَّا تَرَجَّلَ

is translated: "Wann sie lange schon verkehrt hat mit einem listenreichen (Liebhaber), so dass dieser ihrer schon überdrüssig zu werden beginnt, dann entschleiert sie sich mit dem Handgelenke (den Schleier oder die Haare zurückstreichend), und die Sonne erscheint nicht mehr so leuchtend."

It seems certain, however, that the words *والشمس لما*

ترجَّلَ can only mean "before the sun was high",

and probably *شمذارة* refers here to some kind of light garment. Without knowing the context I cannot say whether the following translation would be suitable:—

"When she puts on a *shimdhâra* and then displays, her (white) wrist, before the sun is high" (cf. *يَبْضَاءُ*

صَحْوَتُهَا in al-A'shâ's verse cited on p. 41, note 1).

The lexx. do not give *shimdhāra* in this sense, but the word is used of a youth who is light in limb (خفيف). Against the derivation suggested by Professor Geyer from Persian *sham*, deceit, and *dār*, possessing, it may be objected that initial *ḍ* in Persian does not appear as *ḍ* in Arabic.

ABOU YOUSOF YA'KOUR. Le Livre de l'impôt foncier (Kitāb el-Kharādj). Traduit et annoté par E. FAGNAN. 10×6½, xvi+352 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1921.

It is singular that we should have had to wait so long for the first European translation—concerning the Turkish one by Rúdúsizádeh nothing apparently is known—of such an ancient source for the history of Mohammedan law and for the political, economic, and financial administration of the Empire under the early Caliphs. M. Fagnan has used the only printed text, the Búláq edition of A.H. 1302, which he has collated with two Paris MSS. I have not tested the translation, but it reads well and seems to be carefully done. The notes supply useful information about the persons mentioned in the book, etc. There is a good index, and the abstract of contents is also good, though perhaps rather too concise.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

A COMPARATIVE DICTIONARY OF THE PWO-KAREN DIALECT. By the Rev. W. C. B. PURSER and SAYA TUN AUNG. 16½×4, 217 pp. Rangoon: American Baptist Mission Press, 1922.

It was really perverse of the American missionaries of the last century to invent an alphabet for the Karen language, based, not on the Roman, but on the Burmese. They could hardly have found one less suitable to serve as a model, and they have, moreover, deviated so far from it that hardly a word of Karen as written by them is legible to a Burman. The

tone-marks, which are not Burmese, look like letters and give no indication of their value, as do the simple lines recommended by Sir George Grierson.¹

Surely it is not too late to adopt the Roman alphabet? Probably most Karens who have learnt their own artificial alphabet have learnt the Roman also, and even if they have not they would find it incomparably easier to read. No doubt some special symbols would be necessary, but these are to hand in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.²

The book is a pocket dictionary and grammar, convenient and admirably printed. As far as one can tell without a knowledge of the language, it is superior to most publications of its class. The description of sounds, though open to criticism in several respects, is an advance on the puerilities to be found in too many manuals of spoken languages.

R. GRANT BROWN.

THE LHOTA NAGAS. By J. P. MILLS, I.C.S. 9×5½, xxxix+255 pp. London: Macmillan, 1922.

We congratulate the Government of Assam on the production of another of the series of monographs on the tribes of that province. We note with pleasure that the new volume is quite up to the high standard attained by its predecessors, and that the original plan drawn up by Sir Bampfylde Fuller has been adhered to, which ensures that each volume, while being the work of a specially qualified writer and bearing the impress of his individuality, shall fit harmoniously into the scheme of the Ethnographical survey of the province.

Mr. Hutton, the author of two volumes of this series and the Hon. Director of Ethnography in Assam, contributes many useful footnotes and an introduction of xxix pages in

¹ On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages, *JRAS.* 1920, p. 453.

² The Use of the Roman Character for Oriental Languages, *JRAS.* 1912, p. 647.

which he discusses the probable origins and migrations of the different tribes, as shown by their cultures, beliefs, and legends. These valuable pages suggest many fascinating problems, with which we hope Mr. Hutton will deal fully later on.

Mr. Mills has compressed a wonderful amount of information into the 230 odd pages of his monograph. It is very clear that he and his Lhotas are on the best of terms. To no one but a trusted friend would a people, stigmatized by a less genial observer as surly, sullen, and sulky, have disclosed its mysteries in such detail as we find them here set forth.

Students of ethnology, builders of theories of the migration of peoples, and folklorists will not turn to Mr. Mills' book in vain. Here they will find the beliefs, legends, cultures, customs, and mode of thought of the Lhotas dealt with in the greatest detail. There is an absence of theorizing, the book being crammed with facts, yet there are indications that Mr. Mills has his own views as to the meaning of these facts, and let us hope that he will give them to us before long.

Though the scientific value of Mr. Mills' book is very great, we venture to think that the Lhotas themselves and the future Sub-Divisional Officers of Mokokchung are the greatest beneficiaries. Such a book as this cannot fail to bring ruler and ruled together and lessen the chances of friction and misunderstanding between them. We hope that the members of the Governor's council will consider this point when they are asked to find money for more volumes such as the present.

The illustrations and maps are plentiful and good, and the turn-out of the book is worthy of the firm which publishes it.

J. SHAKESPEAR.

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA AND HER ONLY SON MENYELEK. A complete translation of the *Kebra Nagast* and introduction by Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A. 9×6, xc+241 pp., 31 plates. London: Medici Society, 1922.

After glancing at a book such as this is, there is probably no one who would cast doubt upon the inventive powers of

the Semitic mind. According to the author's preface, the work was compiled about the sixth century of the Christian era, probably by a Coptic priest, and travelled from Egypt to Ethiopia, where it was naturally adopted by the people, who saw in it a glorification of their nation, connecting them and their kings, as it did, with the Hebrew patriarchs and the Solomonic rulers of Ethiopia. But the work treated of does more than this—it is “the history of the departure of God and His Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, and the establishment of the religion of the Hebrews and the Solomonic line of kings in that country”. In the belief of the Ethiopians, therefore, they themselves are God's chosen people, to the exclusion, in all probability, of most of the other nations of the world.

According to Sir E. A. W. Budge's Preface, the Ethiopic version of the *Kebra Negast* was made by one Isaac from the Arabic version between the years A.D. 1314 and 1344, and the translator firmly believed that the lawful kings of Ethiopia were descended from Solomon, king of Israel; that the Ark of the Covenant had been brought from Jerusalem to Aksum in Ethiopia by Menyelek, Solomon's first-born son, according to the Ethiopians; and that the God of Israel had transferred His abode from Jerusalem to Aksum, the ecclesiastical and political capital of Ethiopia. Ethiopia had stretched out her hands to God (Ps. xlviii, 31), and He went to her, with the ark, to preside over Menyelek's kingdom, which was established in accordance with the commands that He had given to Moses and the prophets and priests of Israel.

It is difficult to compress into a short space the contents of a book such as this (229 pp., preceded by a preface and an introduction of 90 pp., and interspersed with 31 plates). It is needless to say that Dr. Budge's comments on it are instructive and illuminating. He points out how Isaac, the translator of this legend concerning Menyelek, argued that the kings of Ethiopia were divine, thus reviving an old idea current with regard to their kings among the nations of the

East. This belief appears very prominently in the Egyptian royal inscriptions, and was held also by the nations to the south. The Babylonians and the Assyrians likewise believed in the divine origin of their kings, so that the teaching of the Ethiopians in this matter was by no means alien to the nations of the Semitic and the Hamitic East.

To the Occidental mind *The Queen of Sheba* is a wonderful narrative, and in it we meet with many strange things. We are informed how Adam was redeemed by a log of wood brought from Paradise, and afterwards used to form Christ's cross; and how Adam was reviled by the angels on account of his fall. Also how Abraham visited Egypt, and Sarah, having been taken away, was restored to him with 'Agâr (Hagar) as a gift. Interesting, too, is the story of Karmin, the Judean, and Belâ'ôn, the king of Babylon, whose identity arouses curiosity.

With regard to the story itself, that is long and somewhat complicated. Menyelek, however, was the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. He is generally called, in the narrative, Bayna-Lehkem, and became king of Ethiopia as David II. Though we should regard his theft of the Ark of the Covenant as undoubted dishonesty, this does not seem to have disturbed the mind of the author of the narrative, and probably the immorality of the act did not occur to any Ethiopian, either of his own or any later age.

But the narrative is full of good things, and the literary and learned world has to thank Sir E. A. W. Budge for an exceedingly entertaining introduction to the religious literature and the Christianity of that romantic land.

T. G. PINCHES.

PIONEERS OF PROGRESS. Empire Builders: Sir Robert G. Sandeman. By A. L. P. TUCKER. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 64 pp., 1 plate, 1 map. London: S.P.C.K., 1921.

The story of Sandeman's work in Beluchistan is told in 60 pages. There is of course no room for anything like a

scientific discussion of questions of frontier policy, and the booklet is a summary of facts, perhaps a little too closely packed, and a sketch of the man who used the facts to such purpose. As such it is adequate.

W. H. MORELAND.

CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1660-3. By ETHEL B. SAINSBURY. Introduction and notes by W. FOSTER. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xlv+401 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

This volume fully maintains the standard which students have learned to look for in the series, and calls for no criticism. Perhaps the outstanding feature of its contents is the increasing emphasis on political, as opposed to commercial, topics. The Company was being drawn into closer relations with the Court and with Parliament; it was vitally interested in the negotiations on foot with Holland and Portugal; and a large proportion of the documents calendared come from the Public Record Office. The series is thus widening in interest as it progresses, and it appeals increasingly to students of English, as well as Indian, history.

W. H. MORELAND.

THE AHOM-ASSAMESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Compiled by RAI SAHIB GOLAP CHANDRA BARUA. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, xv+327 pp. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1920.

Ahom is a language which is spoken no longer; it is used only for the purposes of incantation and ceremony by the old Ahom *deodhais*, or priests, in the Upper Brahmaputra valley of Assam. The Ahoms are proud of their former language notwithstanding, for it was the language of the race which conquered Assam in the thirteenth century and in which the Ahom *buranjis*, or histories, are written. The number of Ahoms in Assam, according to the census tables of 1911 (the figures of the census of 1921 are not yet available), was 197,444, this tribe, in

Assam, being confined to the Brahmaputra valley, where 66 per cent of their number was enumerated in the Sibsagar and 30 per cent in the Lakhimpur districts. Ahom, which is the oldest of the Northern Shān alphabets, shows unmistakable connexion with the Lao, although in an abbreviated form (cf. Milne and Cochrane's *Shans at Home*, p. 212), and Ahom belongs to the same group of the Tai languages as Khāmti and Shān (cf. Grierson's *Notes on Ahōm*, p. 1). The Ahoms of Assam are the descendants of those Shāns, who, under the leadership of Chūkāphā, crossed the Pātkai range from Burmah and entered the upper portion of the valley of the Brahmapūtra (the country which is called now Assam after them) about A.D. 1228. Their place of origin may be located now, with some certainty, in the Chiangmai Province of Siam, on the banks of the river Mehkawng; here I would invite a reference to my paper on the origin of the Ahoms which appeared in the April number of the *Journal* for the year 1913.

The Ahom-Assamese-English dictionary, the work of Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, of the Assam Educational Service, represents a wide step forward in the study of the Ahom language; it has been published at the expense of the Government of Assam, which as far back as the year 1894, when the late Sir Charles Lyall was Chief Commissioner and Mr. E. A. Gait (now Sir Edward Gait) was his secretary, gave every encouragement to the work of linguistic and ethnological research in that province. It was under their guidance, and it was due to their initiative, that the work of research in the rich linguistic field of this portion of the North-Eastern Frontier of India took tangible shape. The present dictionary is one of the results of this wise policy. Sir Edward Gait encouraged Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, then a humble clerk in the Assam Secretariat, to learn the Ahom language, and it is by dint of the latter's perseverance and linguistic ability that not only this dictionary, but also translations of the *buranjis* or histories of the Ahoms, were completed. In

1899 Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua furnished specimens of the Ahom language and of the Ahom written script to Sir George Grierson, then at work on the volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, which deals with the Mōn-Khmēr and Siamese-Chinese families (including Khasi and Tai). Some of the Assamese themselves, amongst whom Rai Sahib Phanidhar Chaliha of Sibsāgar, and Rai Sahib Padmanāth Gobain Barua of North Lakhimpur, were the most prominent, took a keen interest in this research work, and it was largely due to their interest and to that of other scholars in the province that the Government of Sir Archdale Earle, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, undertook the publication of the present work. The author of this review, whilst laying no claim to anything approaching a knowledge of the Ahom language, must confess, however, to more than a bowing acquaintance with the Assamese language, gathered by him during a service of thirty-three years in Assam, most of which was spent in the Brahmaputra valley. The dictionary which forms the subject of this review has been well printed by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta, the same agency which produced the Hemakosha, the standard dictionary of the Assamese language, in 1900. The Ahom dictionary, which contains some 5,000 words, gives each word in the Ahom character, the part of speech, the transliteration of the Ahom word in the Assamese character, the same in the Roman character, the derivation and explanation, the Assamese equivalent, and the English meaning. The dictionary, therefore, is trilingual, and should be of the greatest assistance not only to students but to philological experts also. Whilst not presuming to criticize the learned author's linguistic work, I may be allowed perhaps to refer to the absence in the dictionary of the word *būranji*, বূৰঞ্জী, bū-ran-ji, literally ignorant-teach-store, a store of instruction for the ignorant (cf. *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ii, p. 67). Whether the absence of this word is due to intention or design I do not know, but perhaps অধিক মাহত বগলী ৰূণ

(adhik machat bagli kanā), “when fish are too plentiful the paddybird is blind,” is the explanation. Sir George Grierson, in his *Notes on Ahōm*, says that in the present Assamese language there are barely fifty words in common use which can be traced to an Ahom origin. The writer, however, ventures the opinion that even this apparently moderate estimate may be excessive, for Ahom words in the Assamese language are, as far as the writer knows, so few in number as to be said to have ceased to exist. The only words which occur to the writer at the present time are কান, which in Ahom means a pole for carrying a burden; in Assamese we have কানমাৰি (kān-māri), meaning the same. On the other hand, the কান (kān) in কানমাৰি (kān-māri) may be derived from the Bengāli কান্ধ, Sanskrit स्कन्ध (skandha) = shoulder. In the Assamese ৰঙ ঘৰ (rang-ghar), a palace with a raised floor, we have possibly the Ahom word ৰঙ, meaning the same. On the other hand, the ৰঙ in rang-ghar may be the Assamese ৰঙ্গ (rang), meaning pleasure or delight. This latter assumption would seem to be in keeping with the use to which the rang-ghar was put, which was as a “grand stand” for the Ahom royal family to witness elephant and buffalo fights from. The word নাম (nām), meaning, in Ahom, water, is to be found in names of places in Assam, e.g. in নামটী (Nāmtī), a small river which gives its name to a place near Sibsagar. This place-name is composed of two words for water, one Ahom and the other Bodo, নাম (nām) and টী = tī or dī. Similarly, in নামদৈয়াঙ্গ (Nāmdayang) we have another instance of the double use, in a place-name, of words for water, i.e. the Ahom নাম (nām) and the Bodo দৈ (dai = dī or tī). In the April number of the *Journal*, in the year 1904, appeared an article on an Ahom cosmogony, with a translation and a vocabulary of the Ahom language, from the pen of Sir George Grierson, the materials of which were supplied by the author of the present dictionary. From an interesting review, which appeared in a subsequent issue

of the *Journal*, by Mr. W. W. Cochrane, it would appear that the translation of the Ahom legend was not strictly accurate. Now Mr. Cochrane is an authority on the living Shan languages, and the author of the dictionary learnt the Ahom language from the mouths of the Deodhais or Ahom priests, who might have forgotten some of what was even then a dead language. It is Mr. Cochrane's criticism which has led Sir George Grierson to suggest that Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua might continue his studies in the Ahom language through the medium of Shān. This is an interesting suggestion which, I venture to think, is well worth the attention of the Assam Government.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the present work is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the languages of the North-Eastern Frontier of India, and that the Assam Government, which has shown so much enterprise and liberality in the encouragement of linguistic and ethnological research work in Assam, as well as the author, Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, are to be cordially congratulated on the appearance of this most valuable dictionary.

P. R. GURDON.

Яфетический сборник. RECUEIL JAPHETIQUE I. 8vo, pp. xviii+146. Peterburg. Published by the Institute of Japhetidological Investigations of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 600 copies printed at the Russian State Academic Press by order of the Academy. 1922.

The following preliminary observations may be of interest : (a) "Peterburg" is substituted for "Petrograd" on the title page ; (b) the names of all the compositors are given at the end ; (c) there is a "Sommaire" in French as follows : "Préface i-iv, L'institut de recherches japhétidologiques v-xviii. *N. Marr*. Le terme basque *udagara* 'loutre' 1-30. *I. Meščaninov*. Les numéraux at leur concordance dans les inscriptions Khaldes 31-42. *N. Marr*. Notice sur la question des japhétidismes dans les langues germaniques 43-56.

N. Marr. Notice sur la question des japhétidismes dans l'albanais 57-66. *N. Marr.* Le terme 'scythe' 67-132. *N. Marr.* 'Cheval' || 'oiseau,' le totem de la tribu urarto-étrusque 133-136. *N. Marr.* Le terme βασιλεύς 137-142. *N. Marr.* De la paléontologie des langues sémitiques selon la théorie japhétidologique 143-145." All the articles are in Russian excepting the one on the term "*udagara*", which is in French, for the benefit of Basque scholars. It is to be hoped that in succeeding publications of this series it may be found possible to give at least an abstract (if not a complete translation) in French or English of all the papers, for the subjects dealt with are of general interest.

As has been already stated in this *Journal*, Professor Marr is engaged on the vast enterprise of tracing from Portugal and Ireland to the Pamirs the underlying stratum of language which he calls "Japhetic", in Caucasian, Appennine, British, Mesopotamian, and other lands, and the results already achieved are sufficiently remarkable to justify the belief that they may completely revolutionize philological study. We do not know what other new scientific ideas may have been conceived in the darkness of Bolshevik Russia; this one at least is born. The programme of work for the new Institute (see pp. xvi-xvii) is of the most comprehensive sort, including (in addition to those languages already mentioned) Sumerian, Elamite, languages of Asia Minor, Pictish, Etruscan, Illyrian, Japhetic influences in Semitic, Armenian, Iranian, Turkic, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, German, Ugro-Finnic, Mongol, etc. Even if Russia were in a normal state, it would be impossible to carry out this scheme without generous assistance from Western students.

Lack of space prevents the publication here of an abstract of the various papers contained in the "Recueil", but in order to stimulate interest a further list of curious Georgian words is here appended. They are not given as being necessarily connected historically with the Western words resembling them:—

მეგობარი = L. amicus; ფუნჩი = Eng. bunch (of flowers); ცა = L. caelum; ჭურბი = Eng. jar; კურო = G. Hure, Eng. whore; პელი = Eng. field; პელური = Eng. wild; საქმე = G. Sache; შტო = G. Ast; ყმა = G. Knabe, Eng. knave; თესლი (= semen), cf. L. testiculus; ქალა = Eng. skull, cf. L. calvus, G. kahl; ქერი = Gr. κερῖ, G. Gerst; ქურხლი = hoar (frost); გვირგვინი = L. corona; ონე, ჰუნე = R. конь, G. Hengst, Gr. ὄνος; ხელი = Gr. χεῖρ; ყუა, სიტყუა, cf. L. inquit, queam, etc.; შუტელი (= vulva), cf. L. uterus, mater, matrix, G. Mutter; პატარა = L. parvus, Fr. petit; კლიტე = L. clavis; მინდორი = Eng. meadow; ობოლი = Fr. orphelin; ოგრ = Fr. gruau, Eng. gruel; ისარი = Eng. arrow; შნო = G. schön; ყუარება, cf. L. car-us, car-itas, Sp. querer; ყოველი = Eng. whole, all, every; ზღვა (= sea), cf. L. aqua; შვილი = L. filius, filia; პირველი = L. primus, prior, R. первый; ფრთა, ფთა (= wing), cf. Gr. πτέρων, Eng. feather; ფოთოლი = L. folium; ფლუა = L. sepelire; საფლავი = L. sepulcrum; თუბლი = Gr. ὀφθαλμός; მაღალი = Gr. μεγαλῆτος, L. magnificus; ლოკა = Eng. lick; ლოგინი = L. lectus, Gr. λέκτρον; შარბაცი = Gr. μάταιος.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1655-1660. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. 9 × 6, 446 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

BRITISH BEGINNINGS IN WESTERN INDIA, 1579-1657. By H. G. RAWLINSON. 9 × 6, 158 pp., 10 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920.

EARLY TRAVELS IN INDIA, 1583-1619. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. 7½ × 5, xiv + 351 pp., 9 plates, 1 map. Oxford University Press: H. Milford, 1921.

The tenth volume of the admirable Calendar of Records in the India Office brings the series down to a period where the mass of material available has made a change in method necessary. A detailed analysis of each document is no longer given, but those passages which merit quotation in full are printed and connected by a narrative which digests other documents of less importance. The period covered was a critical one for the Company, whose fortunes had sunk so low that it was proposed to withdraw from India altogether when Cromwell granted a new Charter. This period is also that of the rise of the Bengal factories and of the proposed settlements in Persia and Muscat.

Mr. Rawlinson's book is a sketch of the early days of the British in Surat down to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a useful and most readable book, which may be overshadowed by Mr. Foster's *Early Travels in India*, which covers very similar ground.

The latter is one of the most delightful books that have been contributed to the history of India. It was a happy thought to reprint the description of India by seven of the earliest English visitors to it. These are Ralph Fitch, John Mildenhall, William Hawkins, William Finch, Nicholas Withington, Thomas Coryat, and Edward Terry, and their narratives cover the forty years from 1580. Mr. Foster's notes are admirable and do not overload the text. We wonder, by the way, if a three hundred years old misprint is not to be corrected on p. 19, and would suggest *Name*, *Name* for *Rame*, *Rame*.

Never have we returned a book to the editor of this *Journal* with more reluctance.

J. ALLAN.

THE STORY OF MY LIFE. By Colonel MEADOWS TAYLOR.

New Edition, edited by Henry Bruce. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, xl+500 pp., 3 plates, 1 map. Oxford, 1920.

A reprint of Meadows Taylor's Autobiography was long overdue, and this neat and compact edition is most welcome. It remains a work of the highest interest, and, though written shortly before the author's death, has all the literary merit of his best novels. Its value as history is high, for it is based on the author's letters and diaries. It is the record of a remarkable life, and in reading it one wonders what might not have been Taylor's career had he belonged to the covenanted service. Mr. Bruce has done his work well, and his notes are just what is wanted. One regrets, however, that it is not possible to produce the book at a lower price.

J. ALLAN.

SASSANIAN COINS. By W. H. VALENTINE. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 118.

Illustrations in the text. London: Spink & Son, 1921.

This is a more ambitious effort than Mr. Valentine's earlier books, and, on the whole, not so successful. For Sassanian coins one particularly wants a very well illustrated book, and had the author only followed the model of his works on Muhammadan coins it might have been most useful. The comparatively few illustrations scattered through the text are not nearly sufficient, nor are they always as accurate as is necessary. On the other hand, the text might have been shorter. It has little claim to originality, and sufficient discrimination has not been shown in choosing authorities. Had Mr. Valentine given us a book like Dorn's Catalogue of the Bartholomæi Collection, with brief descriptions, it would have been invaluable. The present work is hardly destined to supplant Mordtmann's great work, which has recently been reprinted at a very reasonable price.

J. ALLAN.

THE CHAMARS. By GEO. W. BRIGGS. 8vo, 13 plates, 270 pp. Oxford and Calcutta: Religious Life of India Series, 1920.

Mr. Briggs here gives a very full and satisfactory account of the Chamars. After a historical account of the caste and its subdivisions and their distribution, the writer deals with their social and economic life. The Chamar is not a leather worker only, but an unskilled, more particularly agricultural, labourer. The latter half of the book embodies the results of a great deal of original research, and Mr. Briggs has accumulated a vast amount of information about the domestic customs and beliefs of the Chamars. The book is a credit to the series in which it is published, and is at the same time a valuable contribution to the study of folk-lore.

J. ALLAN.

STERNE'S ELIZA. By ARNOLD WRIGHT and W. L. SCLATER. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6, viii + 199 pp., 4 plates. London: Heinemann, 1922.

This is an interesting book, though possibly some readers may think that the editors, in their enthusiasm, rather overrate the value of Mrs. Draper's effusions, sprightly though they are. The fact might have been mentioned that Sir George Birdwood, in the *Journal of Indian Art* for January, 1891, and again in *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*, reproduced in facsimile the long and important letter quoted on p. 106. That letter, by the way, is assumed to have been addressed to Commodore James; but internal evidence and the fact that the writer signs herself "your ever grateful and [] child", both suggest that it was in fact sent to her grandfather, Charles Whitehill. The "Stephen" referred to therein was doubtless the old gentleman's son of that name, who entered the Bombay Civil Service about a year after the letter was written.

W. FOSTER.

MATERIALS FOR A SANTALI GRAMMAR. I. Mostly phonetic.
By P. O. BODDING. Dumka, 1922.

Santali is the best known of the so-called Kolarian or Munḍa languages. To a great extent it has apparently preserved the original features of the Kolarian type of speech, and it is to-day the dialect which is most likely to yield important results with reference to the mutual influence exercised on each other by Munḍa and Aryan forms of speech.

We are in a position to state that the parent tongue from which Santali and connected dialects are derived was once spoken over a wide area where we, at the present day, find Aryan forms of speech. These latter ones have accordingly, to a considerable extent, been adopted by Munḍa tribes, and it is reasonable to expect that we shall some day succeed in tracing the influence of this substratum in the principles underlying the present-day Aryan speech in many districts.

In order to do so, however, it will be necessary to get much better and much more detailed information about the chief features of Munḍa phonology and grammar than we have possessed hitherto. This want will be supplied when Mr. Boddington's work is finished. The first part, which is now out, gives a full and detailed analysis of Santali phonology, with exact determination of the character of the various sounds. The author is an excellent phonetical scholar with an unbiassed mind, and the rich materials which he has brought together considerably add to our knowledge. The usefulness of his book would perhaps have been still greater if long and protracted vowels had been marked as such. The rules which he gives about vowel-length are, however, so clear that no serious doubt is likely to arise.

I shall not try to show in detail to what extent Mr. Boddington has succeeded in rectifying old views and giving better information than his predecessors. I shall only mention that the result of his studies is that Santali phonology must now be said to be better known than is the case with any

other Indian vernacular. I should like, however, to add some remarks of a more general character.

The linguistic history of India is such a vast field that it has not been possible to carry on the study with the same exact analysis of phonology and grammar with which it was started by the ancient Indians. Sir George Grierson's monumental work is a first-rate survey, but it is largely based on specimina noted down by people without a special phonetic training, and it has not been possible to examine all the various sounds heard in the different dialects according to modern methods or to give so full materials that finer subtleties of grammar, and especially of syntax, can be ascertained in detail. His survey is a *monumentum aere perennius*, and it constitutes a landmark in the history of this branch of research. But it was never meant to be the final treatment of Indian languages; on the contrary, it itself shows the way to new problems which must now be taken up.

It will be necessary to study each language and each dialect in detail, not simply from written materials and not only through the ear, but also by means of modern instruments which register each sound over and over again, and it would be well to do so before literacy has made too much progress in India. For we know how great the influence is which a written standard exercises on the spoken language. Mr. Bodding's book reminds us of this fact.

The Santals possess a set of vowels which Mr. Bodding describes as resultant, because they are due to the influence exercised by a neighbouring *i* or *a*. Thus the *a* of *kami*, work, is different from the *a* of *dal*, to strike.

The sound causing the change may disappear, but the modification of the vowel remains. Thus *kol*, the Indian cuckoo, which is borrowed from Hindī *koil*, is spoken with a "resultant" *o*. The fact is of importance because it shows how far-reaching the effect of phonetic laws is.

Mr. Bodding, however, states that "one gets the impression

that Santals who have got some school education . . . except for the *a* and *o*, do not use the resultant vowels". He is evidently right, and his words ought to serve as a warning to us.

A detailed examination of Indian languages is bound to be of considerable interest, not only for Indian philology, but also for the study of language in general. Nowhere in the whole world is there a similar opportunity of studying the development of one language through the centuries, and the mutual influence exercised by neighbouring and different languages on each other. Since times immemorial different linguistic families have existed side by side, languages and dialects have influenced each other and replaced each other, and even at the present day we can see this process going on. It will be possible to derive general rules and laws from such features as are developing before our eyes in the India of to-day. But it will be necessary to analyse the facts in every detail, and it is much to be hoped that Mr. Bodding will soon find many successors in the work which he has started in such an excellent way.

STEN KONOW.

HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DE LA CHINE ET DE SES RELATIONS AVEC
LES PAYS ÉTRANGERS DEPUIS LES TEMPS LES PLUS
ANCIENS JUSQU' À LA CHUTE DE LA DYNASTIE MANDCHOUÉ.
Par HENRI CORDIER. Four vols. ; $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, 574, 434,
428, and 427 pp. Paris : Geuthner, 1920-1.

It is notorious that no satisfactory history of China, making any pretension to fullness of treatment, has yet been produced. The Chinese themselves in their dynastic histories have hardly attempted more than a bare chronicle of events, supplemented, it is true, by very valuable biographies and other monographs. But of history considered as a study of causal developments they have so far had very little conception. Hence the publication of these four volumes cannot but excite much

interest, and whatever the verdict may be, no one can gainsay the author's courage in undertaking so gigantic a task. As might be expected from the compiler of the *Bibliotheca Sinica*, accuracy and painstaking attention to detail are conspicuous features of his work. M. Cordier, one feels, is the reliable type of historian who never omits to verify his references. His industry is prodigious, his capacity for hard work, however monotonous, is almost inhuman. But there are other qualities, just as essential to the historian, in which he is strangely deficient. Not the least of these is a sense of proportion. In this respect he shows no improvement on Demetrius Boulger, and is decidedly inferior to Macgowan.

The first of his four volumes ends with the fall of the T'ang dynasty, and comprises some 3,500 years, from which perhaps 1,500 may be deducted as belonging to the period of myth and legend. That leaves two thousand years to be dealt with in the first volume, and one thousand in the remaining three. Why this singular disproportion? It was surely unnecessary to devote a whole volume to the oft-repeated tale of the nineteenth century, while the Chou dynasty, which lasted nearly 900 years, and during which the very foundations of Chinese civilization, as we know it, were laid, is dismissed in a paltry thirty pages—about one-eighth of the space devoted to the Mongols in vol. ii! M. Cordier cannot plead any lack of material, seeing that he has practically ignored that great storehouse of ancient history, the *Tso chuan*, translations of which are available both in English and in French. Instead of giving a connected narrative of the "Spring and Autumn" period, he contents himself with a few meagre notes on the principal states, while actually wasting three whole pages on Hsi Wang Mu, a purely mythical personage. A chapter is also devoted to Confucius and Lao Tzū, but that is small compensation. It is inexplicable that in a work of these dimensions no mention whatever should be made of such eminent rulers as Dukes Wên of Chin and Hsiao of Ch'in or Ho Lü of Wu, of statesmen

such as Kuan Chung, Fan Li, Wei Yang, Chang I, Su Ch'in, Wei Jan, and Fan Chü, or of generals of the calibre of Wu Tzū-hsü, Sun Pin, and Wu Ch'i. At the other end of the scale we get, for instance, a complete list of the Tokugawa Shōguns (qu'ont-ils à faire dans cette galère ?) and the names of the Europeans killed in the siege of the Peking Legations. Could there be a more amazing lack of historical perspective ?

Another grave defect is the indiscriminating use of authorities. The original Chinese sources are unduly neglected, and quite a considerable proportion of the work is simply transcribed from De Mailla's *Histoire générale de la Chine*. This was published in 1778, and purports to be a translation of the *T'ung chien kang mu*, but is by no means a guide in which implicit reliance can be placed. Scholars will also deplore the entire absence of Chinese characters, without which the romanization of proper names is apt to lead to woeful confusion. Thus, "Tchang Kio" in the index represents two entirely different persons. Contrariwise, in vol. i, p. 286, Hiouen Te (Hsüan-tê) and Lieou Pei (Liu Pei) are treated as separate individuals, whereas, of course, they are one and the same. Two other small corrections may be made here : 947 is not the earliest known date, as stated in i, 406, for a specimen of block-printing. A beautifully printed roll, dated 868, has for some years been on exhibition at the British Museum. In i, 473, the invention of paper is assigned to the T'ang dynasty, through the misreading of a date as 753 instead of 153. It is only fair to add that such inaccuracies are quite exceptional.

LIONEL GILES.

THE SEA GYPSIES OF MALAYA, BEING AN ACCOUNT OF
NOMADIC MAWKEN PEOPLE OF THE MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO.
By WALTER GRAINGE WHITE, F.R.G.S. 5½ × 9, 318 pp.,
20 plates, 1 map. London : Seeley, Service & Co., 1922.

The first thing that must strike a reviewer of this book is that the main title is misleading and erroneous, the Mergui

Archipelago lying well to the north of the Malay States, which together with the Straits Settlements comprise what is usually called Malaya. The book is a very readable work on a little-known tribe. It reveals an attractive personality and it gives much discursive information on the habits and customs of the Mawken, which will be invaluable to all future students. The author's linguistic knowledge is not profound or he would not marvel at the absence of inflections and conjugations in the language of this primitive people. It is strange that a writer who can appreciate the niceness of the Mawken's placing of adverbs (p. 240) should be guilty of such misuse of grammar as—"We opened and drank the milk from the nut. While engaged in these pleasantries, two buffaloes rushed through the settlement," etc. "It seems to be the common custom of Eastern peoples for the bride to go to the bridegroom's house" (p. 203) is far too sweeping a generalization.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

PERSIAN SKETCHES. By the Right Rev. J. H. LINTON, D.D.,
Bishop in Persia. 8×5½, x+130 pp., 9 plates. London:
Church Missionary Society, 1923.

This little book in a series of short chapters gives a vivid picture of Persia and its people. Bishop Linton has travelled widely in the country, and has grasped the mentality of the race that has had such a mighty empire in the past. He has mixed with all classes, and his outlook is uniformly fair and kindly, while the chapters about the women and children are written by a woman of insight and sympathy. Intending travellers to Iran and those interested in the country will learn much from these informing "sketches" with their excellent illustrations.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-April, 1923)

We have at the same time to greet the birth of two journals devoted to Asiatic subjects, and to mourn the death of another. There appeared at the beginning of this year the first volume of *Asia Major*, edited at Leipsic by Dr. Bruno Schindler. It is a bulky publication of more than 700 pages, containing contributions from twenty-seven scholars, and its primary purpose is to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary on the 16th April, 1920, of Dr. Hirth's birth. It will be recalled that the esteem inspired by the veteran sinologue had been evinced previously by a *Festschrift* forming the eighth volume of *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. *Asia Major*, we are told, will appear quarterly in future. The first number of the bi-monthly *China Journal of Science and Arts* appeared at Shanghai in January of this year under the joint editorship of Mr. A. de C. Sowerby and Dr. J. C. Ferguson. The latter contributes an article on *Chinese Landscapists*, which is the same as one published in the introductory volume of *Asia Major*, except for a few verbal alterations. An interesting note on *Chinese Gardens* is given by Mrs. Ayscough; otherwise the contents are mainly concerned with the flora and fauna of the country.

We mourn the death of not only the *New China Review*, but that of its enthusiastic and gifted originator and editor, Samuel Couling, who died at Shanghai on 15th June, last year, aged 62. For nearly four years, struggling bravely against physical infirmity and other difficulties, he maintained the *Review* at a high level of excellence. His services to sinology in this connexion and as compiler of the *Encyclopædia Sinica* will be borne always in grateful remembrance. His widow successfully carried on the *Review* to the end of 1922, and was prevented only by a combination of adverse circumstances from arranging for its continuance. May it arise again some

day and maintain worthily the great traditions associated with its names and that of its last editor.

Mr. Beveridge has presented to the Society copies of the *Journal* from 1904-22, a large number of the publications of the Bengal Society, and some books on Indian archæology ; Professor H. A. Giles a copy of his work, *Gems of Chinese Literature* ; and Miss Sylvester Samuel an *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, two volumes, by S. H. Bilgrani and C. Willmott.

The Burton Memorial Fund has now been taken over by the Royal Asiatic Society. The object of the Fund is to provide a triennial silver medal as a memorial to the character, career, and services in Oriental literature and in travel of the late Sir Richard Burton. This medal will be awarded to a lecturer who deals with some subject connected with the varied activities and interests of Sir Richard Burton.

The following thirty members have been elected during the quarter :—

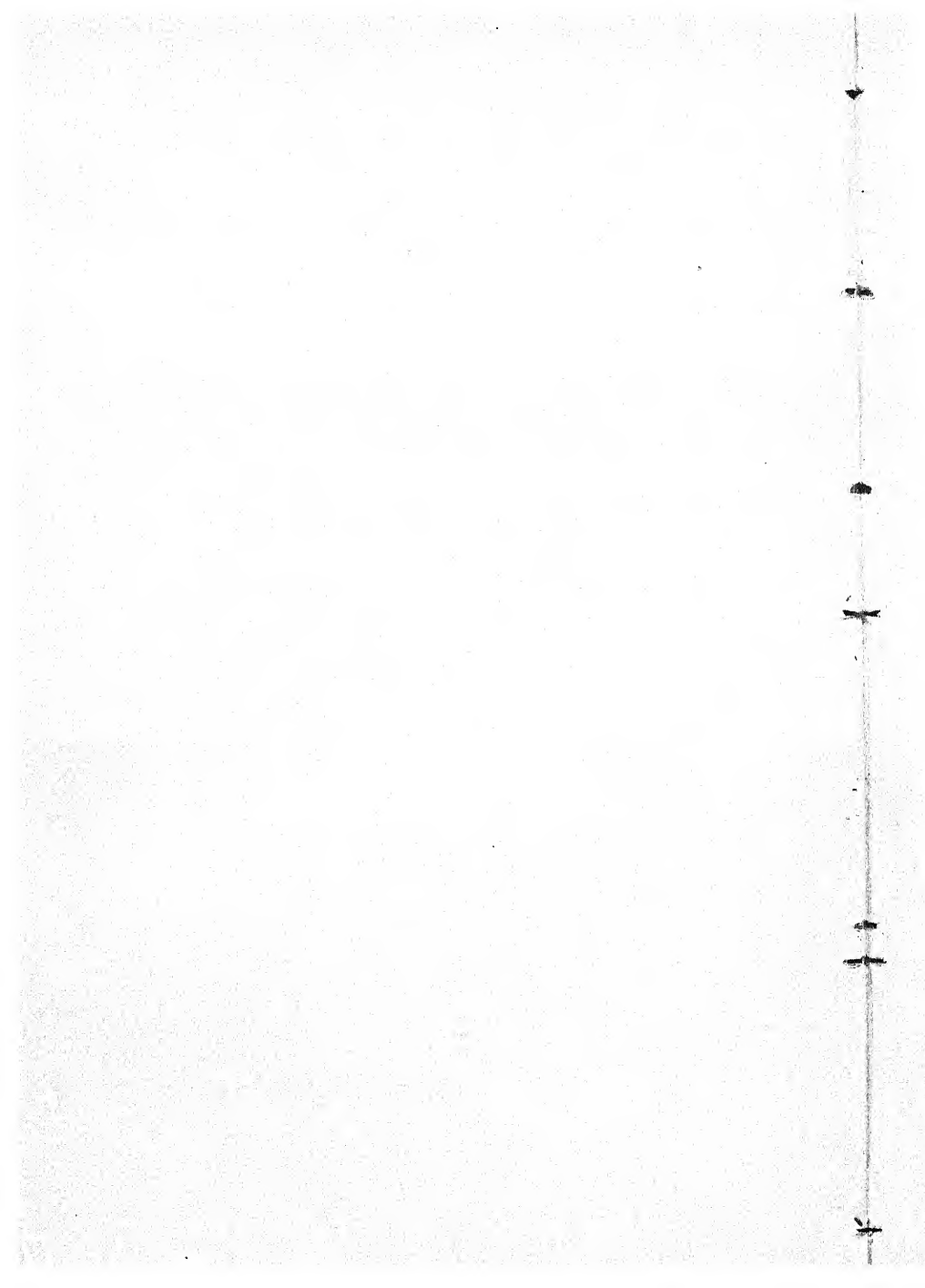
Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A.	Pandit S. Nath Misra, B.A.
Mr. L. H. Raj Anand.	Mrs. Humayun Mirza.
Mr. M. Mehdi Hossain Beg.	Mr. M. Ghulam Muhammad.
Mr. S. K. Ray Chaudhuri.	Babu A. C. Sanyal, M.A., B.L.
Mr. D. C. Dutt, M.A.	Lord Scone.
Mr. S. V. Fitzgerald, I.C.S.	Mr. C. G. Seligman, M.D.,
Mr. U. N. Gaur.	F.R.S.
Miss M. S. Gladstone.	Babu K. Shankar.
Mr. C. Zafar Husein.	Raja N. Singha, Deo Bahadur.
Mr. C. Md Ismail.	Dr. G. Elliot Smith, M.A.,
Mr. M. Jinavijaya.	LL.B., M.D., etc.
Mr. N. W. Kathlay, B.A.	Dr. St. F. Michalski Turienski.
Rao Bahadur Sirdar M.V. Kibe,	Professor Varma.
M.A.	Mr. H. L. Vratl, B.A.
Mr. E. Kirby.	Lieut.-Col. Sir A. T. Wilson.
Mr. P. V. A. Kuppasamy.	Mrs. Winckworth.
Mr. Levine.	

The following fourteen have resigned during the quarter :—

Mr. I. Abrahams.	Colonel H. P. Leigh.
Mr. B. V. K. Aiyar.	Mr. R. Levy.
Mr. G. Brownen.	Mr. S. E. Loxton.
Mr. Buchia.	Mr. G. R. S. Mead.
Mr. Ong Thye Ghee.	Professor Muller-Hess.
Mr. F. W. Green.	Mr. L. F. Shroff.
Lieut. H. E. Jagoe.	Don R. Wijewardene.

The following seven have died :—

Rev. J. Drew Bate.	Professor Clermont-Ganneau.
Professor Rhys Davids.	Dr. Buchanan Gray.
Professor Delitzsch.	Major E. B. Soane.
Mr. Arthur Diósy.	



OBITUARY NOTICES

Thomas William Rhys Davids

BORN 12TH MAY, 1843.

DIED 27TH DECEMBER, 1922.

A record of fulfilment, "great tracts of thought to order brought", is the "In Memoriam" of Rhys Davids. There is a remarkable completeness about his long life's work, equalled only by the clear vision with which, from the outset, he saw his goal and mapped out his course to attain it.

Before entering the Ceylon Civil Service, in 1866, he had studied Sanskrit (at Breslau, under Stenzler), then a rare accomplishment, which in Ceylon led him at once to take up Pali. His teacher was Yātrānullē Unnānsē, to whose learning and character he pays so eloquent a tribute in his Hibbert Lectures of 1881. Returning to England, Rhys Davids was called to the Bar in 1877, but did not seriously pursue the law as a career.

For thirty years from 1882 Rhys Davids was Professor of Pali at University College, London, and Secretary and Librarian of our Society from 1887 to 1904. In 1894 (the year of his marriage) he visited the United States to deliver his American Lectures (published in 1896) on "Buddhism: its History and Literature" (being the first of the "courses in the History of Religions, somewhat after the style of the Hibbert Lectures in England"). He took an active part, in 1902, in founding the British Academy and, later, the London School of Oriental Studies. In 1904 he was elected Professor of Comparative Religion in Manchester, a post which he held till the outbreak of the war. In 1910 he was elected the first President of the India Society and retained office till his death. He was a Fellow of the British Academy, and held the honorary degrees of D.Sc. (from the Danish Royal College of Sciences and also from Sheffield University), of Ph.D. (Breslau), of LL.D. (Edinburgh), and of D.Litt.

(Manchester). From these biographical details I pass to his records as a scholar.

It was in 1877 that Rhys Davids, who had already contributed papers to the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, not only brought out his excellent "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon", but also wrote his little manual of "Buddhism", which brought him immediate recognition by the general public and an assured reputation among Orientalists. "It was (he wrote, in 1894) a very venturesome undertaking (in 1877) to attempt to give an account of a system on which its European interpreters differed irreconcilably, at a time when they could not be brought to bar before the original authorities. The conclusions arrived at in 1877 have been throughout confirmed by the more recent publications of ancient texts, and have even been adopted and circulated by authors who have not deemed it necessary to refer to the manual in which these conclusions were for the first time stated. . . . But no one is more surprised than its author to find that a work written originally under so many difficulties requires now so few alterations. He ventures to indulge the hope that it may have contributed somewhat to the interest which is now increasingly taken in one of the most instructive chapters in the history of human thought." Eight and twenty years since 1894 have only served to justify his brilliant pioneer work (now in its twenty-second thousand) and to fortify the sure foundations on which the whole of his future Buddhist labours were to be based. In 1880 Rhys Davids published the first (and only) volume—still a standard work—of a translation of the *Jātaka*, and in 1881 not only the first volume of his translation (with Dr. Oldenberg) of "Vinaya Texts" but also his "Buddhist Suttas from the Pali" and his "Hibbert Lectures, 1881"—a *tiratanam* indeed of literary excellence and rare insight.¹

¹ Rhys Davids himself was wont to maintain that his succinct volume on *Early Buddhism* (1908) was intrinsically the best book he ever wrote.

A new chapter now begins. It was in his Hibbert Lectures of 1881 that, fulfilling the idea already adumbrated in 1877 (in the appendix to the first chapter of his "Buddhism"), Rhys Davids announced the formation of the Pali Text Society—"in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various MSS. scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe. The historical importance of these texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is not too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history—whether anthropological, philological, literary, or religious—than the publication of the Vedas has already been". (The original Committee of Management, it may here be noted, consisted of Professor Fausböll, Dr. Oldenberg, Dr. Richard Morris, and M. Émile Senart, with Sir William Hunter as Hon. Treasurer and Rhys Davids as Chairman; of these, M. Senart is to-day the honoured survivor.) With a courage as boundless as his resources were slender, Rhys Davids gave himself to the task, undertaking single-handed the interminable labours of organization and of correspondence that was world-wide from the outset. In 1882 he was able to issue the *Cariyā Piṭaka*, the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and Part I of the *Anguttara Nikāya* (all edited by Dr. Morris), with Professor Jacobi's (Jain) *Ayāraṅga Sutta*; and he could point to a substantial list of "works in progress". From 1882 onwards, the issue of Pali Texts continued without a break; and "forty years on", at his death, he could claim a total issue of some 25,000 printed 8vo pages, covering the whole of the four great *Nikāyas* and almost the whole of the entire Canon—supplemented by commentaries and minor Pali works. As his own contribution to the Pali Texts, he edited—with the commentary duly proceeding—the *Digha Nikāya* (in co-operation with Professor Estlin

Carpenter, who brought out the last volume alone). *Katani karantyan*; it was a great adventure, finely conceived and finely executed, through forty years; nor can we hail as other than happy the scholar who lived to see so noble an ideal realized in all essentials. He was privileged for nearly three decades to receive in this work the devoted co-operation of his wife, in whose accomplished hands it is left to set the coping-stone on this enduring monument of English Scholarship.

In my judgment, his translation of the Dīgha Nikāya (1890, 1902, and 1921) is his finest achievement, as it is—with perhaps the “Questions of King Milinda” (1890 and 1894)—the most characteristic of his style and maturity of outlook. No one can read his masterly “Introductions” to the more important Suttas in the first two volumes without learning much of Buddhism and contemporary Indian history; few will have read them without a conviction of their sanity, depth, and finality in essentials.

In Indian history as such, Rhys Davids had at all periods of his life a most lively interest. It was by no means by way of a *parergon* that he addressed himself to his “Buddhist India” (1903) and to his succinct chapter on “The Early History of the Buddhists” in the first volume of the new “Cambridge History of India” (1922). In this field, chief significance—outside the history of the Buddhist Canon—attaches to his insistence on the early oligarchies round the Ganges and the subsequent development of the successive Kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha. Here he has added much to the pioneer work of Prinsep and George Turnour.

Lastly, in another field—closely associated with the publication of the Pali Texts and always included with them in his outlook—he was also destined to be fortunate, though not so fully, and then only after “cruel rebuffs and disappointments”; I refer to his Pali Dictionary. . . . Long before the end of last century he had looked forward to a modern Dictionary of the language, and, as each new text appeared,

entered up verbatim quotations and references in his interleaved copy of Childers. When, at the beginning of the present century, he had secured financial support sufficient to warrant him in formulating a definite scheme for the execution of the work, his original idea was to form a Pali "League of Nations" by enlisting as fellow-workers the Pali scholars of the world; and on this basis mapped out the work at a prodigious cost in energy and correspondence. In the end, frustrated—by the war and by the death of fellow-workers—in his hope of uniting scholars in a joint undertaking, he, at a time when he was well over 70, undertook this laborious work himself, with the philologist, Dr. W. Stede, as co-editor. Yet he lived to see nearly half the work actually in print and part of the remainder revised by his hand. To Pali students this dictionary, "provisional" though Rhys Davids styles it in his "Foreword", is invaluable as setting out the ordered results of half a century's growth in our Pali and Buddhistic knowledge since Robert Cæsar Childers began to print his pioneer work. The names of the two friends, both of them from the Ceylon Civil Service and both, in succession, Professors of Pali in University College, London, will always have an abiding fame in the lexicographic *paramparā* of Pali.

It was as "a friend of historical research" that in 1881 Rhys Davids made his anonymous contribution to the funds of the infant Pali Text Society; nor can I suggest a better description of him. To him all knowledge in the ultimate analysis came under what he called "history"; and, outside politics (in which he was always an earnest Liberal), the ideal of his intellectual life was centred in research, interpreted by him with the fullest catholicity of sympathy for workers and each and every field of research—in physical science as well as in humane letters. I do not think that he cared greatly for mere learning, as such. But for sound learning, wisely digested and scientifically applied—as for example in the bearing of Vedic philology on the Pali language of the

older Nikāyas—his reverence was profound. What he abhorred was an unscientific jumble—such as what had too long passed as Buddhism—of distinct and successive “strata”; what he sought always to achieve was the presentment of historical fact in its due sequence and in ordered relation to what stratigraphically preceded and succeeded it. Incidentally, he never shrank from combating, in the interests of what he deemed truth, established and powerful interests; against Sanskrit supremacy in a sphere not its own he argued as energetically as Gotama himself argued against the sacrificial Brahmins; he never lost an opportunity of attacking animism and “the soul-theory”. But I do not think that, keen disputant as he was, he ever wrote a line for writing’s sake or without the sincerest conviction; nor was he ever more gratified—as the true friend to historical research which he was—than when he could put his own materials, knowledge, and quick intelligence at the disposal of a fellow-worker. Though he never made the claim, he was entitled to claim (and what nobler claim can a scholar advance?)—“*Yam satthārā karaṇīyaṁ sāvakanāṁ hitesinā anukampakena anukampaṁ upādāya, kataṁ vo taṁ mayā.*”

C.

M. Clermont-Ganneau

In M. Clermont-Ganneau the Society has lost one of the most brilliant of its honorary members. He was born in 1848 and from his boyhood devoted himself to Oriental studies. Encouraged by Renan, he entered the Diplomatic Service, and spent much of his life in Syria, Palestine, and Constantinople, thus acquiring a first-hand acquaintance with Oriental thought, languages, and antiquities, which was invaluable to him in his scientific work. He also became, and always remained, rather a man of the world, but he was at the same time an untiring worker. His first great achievement was in connexion with the discovery of the Moabite Stone, when

he was little more than 20 years old. Twenty years later he was made membre de l'Institut and professor at the Collège de France, where he proved himself to be the foremost authority in the world on Semitic epigraphy. He possessed in the highest degree the specially French gifts of brilliant insight and exact reasoning, and these gave a distinction to all the varied work of his long career.

He was much broken by the death of his mother in 1916, at the age of 101, but he still maintained much of his old *verve*. Only last summer at the centenary of the Société Asiatique he seemed as vigorous as ever—full of interest in all that was being done and planning work for the future. His end must have come unexpectedly. In answer to a letter urging him to come to the centenary celebration of this Society, he wrote that he was not very well and spoke of *des ennuis et des soucis*. Within a week he died at the age of 75, and he died young.

A. COWLEY.

Dr. G. Buchanan Gray

By the death of Dr. G. Buchanan Gray, England loses one of its most distinguished Hebraists and Biblical scholars, and Oxford a valued member of its teaching staff. Dr. Gray's death took place on 2nd November, 1922, at a meeting of the Theological Board, not many minutes before he was to have delivered his address as President for the year to the Oxford Society of Historical Theology; the circumstances were, therefore, tragic, as he was in his 57th year and appeared to be in good health.

He studied the Semitic languages at Oxford and Marburg, where he attended the courses of J. Wellhausen, and entered the Independent ministry in 1893; two years before he had been appointed tutor at Mansfield College, Oxford, where he was promoted to be Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in 1900, and he further held certain University appointments connected with these studies. His *Studies in*

Hebrew Proper Names (1896) received very favourable notice, and brought him into the front rank of Hebraists. He contributed the commentary on Numbers to the "Temple Bible", and a more extensive treatise on the same book to the "International Critical Commentary"; to this latter series he also furnished a commentary on the first portion of Isaiah, and the completion of the very elaborate work on Job which the late Professor Driver had left unfinished at his death. These works embody the latest results of research and are characterized by painstaking thoroughness. Dr. Gray was greatly interested in Palestinian archæology, and contributed to the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which he helped to administer. He also devoted some attention to that elusive subject, the Forms of Hebrew Poetry, on which he published a monograph.

In the Preface to his *Job*, Dr. Gray acknowledged his obligations to Dr. Driver, whose influence in giving new directions to the study of his subject and founding a school with many distinguished representatives must have been as great as that exercised by any teacher of a literary subject. One who comes from the perusal of Dr. Pusey's *Minor Prophets* to the study of the commentaries composed by or under the influence of his successor finds himself in a new environment. The new school is justly commended for the attention which it devotes to archæology and in general for the sobriety of its conclusions.

D. S. M.

The Rev. John Drew Bate

The Rev. John Drew Bate was born in Plymouth in the year 1836, and by his death at a ripe old age the Society has lost one of its oldest and most valued members. He was sent to India by the Baptist Missionary Society in 1886, and, after a short stay in Eastern Bengal, was posted to Allahabad, where, earning the respect and affection of all classes of the com-

munity, he laboured for nearly thirty years before his retirement in 1897. He became a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1873, and of this Society in 1881. This is not the place for describing his evangelistic work as a missionary, but a tribute must be paid in the pages of our *Journal* to his great knowledge of the people amongst whom he lived and of their language. With the latter he acquired an intimate familiarity, ripened by a sympathetic scholarship, and by his share in the translations of the Scriptures and by his other linguistic work he successfully carried on the tradition of learning which had been founded by his great predecessors in the same Missionary Society, Carey, Ward, and Marshman.

He is best known to Orientalists as the author of the Hindi Dictionary published in 1875, which is still the standard work on the language and has lately passed through a second edition. Some idea of the extent of his researches in connexion with this valuable work may be gathered from the fact that through his reading alone he was able to add no fewer than twenty-five thousand new words and forms of words that had not hitherto been explained. In regard to the width of his attainments, which were by no means confined to the language of the dictionary of which made him famous, I take the liberty of quoting the remarks of a most competent authority—a scholar who sat at his feet in Allahabad and who knew him well. In the *Missionary Herald* for March, 1923, the Rev. G. J. Dann writes :—

“ His knowledge of the classical as well as the vernacular literature of India was great, especially of Muhammedanism, in which his learning was encyclopædic. Only one of the many volumes he wrote on this subject—*Studies in Islam*—was ever published. Publishers wanted only his scholarly researches, but Mr. Bate did not care to sacrifice his own purpose in writing, which was to help the missionary and the religious inquirer.”

His later years were clouded by ill-health, which prevented him from taking an active part in our proceedings, and he

passed peacefully away on the 26th January of this year. The only son who lived to man's estate became one of the sacrifices of the war, and every member of the Society—especially those whose lot was cast in northern India—will extend their liveliest sympathy to his widow and her daughters in their latest bereavement.

G. A. G.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1923

PART III.—JULY

Tabaqat of Ansari in the Old Language of Herat

By W. IVANOW

(Continued from p. 34.)

C. *Verb*

1. *Stems.* Besides a few uncommon spellings (as یاویدن، اوکندن، تاوستن، etc., see above, A, 4) nothing particular can be observed with regard to the formation of both verbal stems, present and past.¹ The latter in a few cases appears to be formed from the former in a so-called 'regular' way, and to be used instead of the original preterite, as in (18) سازیدم، بردازیدم، نازیدم، (92 v.)،² افتیدم، etc. The verbal compounds also do not show many peculiarities,

¹ There is a form which seems to be different from the literary, viz.

درجه، ویرا محسوب (38 v.)، انگیخت، انکشت
نکرد و بنه انکشت.

² Although this form seems to be quite Pehlevi-like (cf. C. Salemann, op. cit., 303), it is very common in Khorasan (*āftidum*).

and only a few more or less archaic prepositions, as فراز, etc., deserve to be mentioned.

2. *Nominal formations.* I. *Infinitive.* (a) The regular infinitive, with suffixes *-tan* and *-dan*, is more common here than in the literary language or the colloquial, where nowadays it is used very rarely.¹ Apparently the verbal sense of this form was well felt in the time of Anṣārī because the modal particle *bi* is frequently added to it, but, on the other hand, the infinitive appears only in nominal constructions, and, while often found in the *status constructus*, *iḍāfa*, rarely governs the definite accusative. The examples are very numerous:

(1) The infinitive as a subject: (18) یاد کردن کسبست و فراموش نکردن زندگانی, etc. (cf. C. Salemann, op. cit., 308).

(2) The infinitive in the same sense with *bi*: (21 v.) (آن) ازدنیا دست (38), خدمت بنه کردن سود نکند

(3) بنه اندیشیدن جنایت است (67), بدداشتن است, etc.

With *iḍāfa*: (6 v.) آن بکذاشتن نصهای کتاب است

سبب دست (32), سبب چشم بشدن تو جه بود (21 v.)

از کار بدداشتن او آن بود که, etc.

(b) The so-called 'apocopated' infinitive is still more common here. Not only is it used with various

¹ In the peasant language in many districts of Khorasan this form seems to be practically never used, and the direct verbal construction is

invariably preferred. Instead of بعد از رفتن او the people will say:

ا کی رف (with this 'post-positional' *ki*), etc. It seems that even good colloquial avoids it.

auxiliary verbs,¹ but apparently even at that time seems to have been more popular than the regular form. Examples are available in great number, but a few will suffice: (16) کارک خود روز و شب می اندازم و از بیم
از یافت (43), یاد کرد را (17 v.), تو اندر بود می گذارم
همه نیکوینها نیکو (70 v.), حق نیستیء خود نشان دهد
(95 v.), شود بیود او و بنه بود همه زشتها زشت شود
(145 v.), گذارد طاعت, etc.²

(c) Another verbal noun, although not as common, seems to be simply the present stem. The examples are rather rare and I arrange them into a special class, only judging from the analogous usages in the present colloquial³: (18) سه چیزست (55), بتوان تو ترا می جوید (18)

¹ As we will see later, however, there are instances (common in the old language) in which the full form of infinitive is used in such cases.

² There is no doubt that in the colloquial this 'apocopated' infinitive is the only one used. Many special suffixes are mentioned as being in use in the dialects (as in the Central group, cf. W. Geiger, *op. cit.*, 399-400, and D. Lorimer, 466), but it is necessary to be extremely cautious in treating them as such. The idea of an infinitive is too abstract for the practical and unsophisticated peasants, and therefore they easily add the personal pronominal suffixes, etc., to make it more concrete. The

suffix *-mun*, perhaps, is مان — of the 1st pers. plur., and *kertmun* means 'our doing', etc., but in the case of *-un* or *-iun* it is necessary to note that they (apparently originally the suffixes of the plural) occasionally

form a sort of abstract name: *arusún*, i.e. عروسی 'wedding',

churāghún (چراغان) 'evening' (i.e. period from the beginning of darkness and till the peasants go to bed, 6-7 p.m. to 8-9 p.m., when lamps are used—*ākhiri churāghú umad* 'he came late in the evening').

³ The examples of this use of the present stem are very numerous in the colloquial: *furush*, *bedeh* (*hich bedéyi nedārám*), *gir* (*de pul begir uma*), etc.

همهء ائمه این کوی (96), کوی دی بود¹ (66), بتوان ایشان
نه با اهل آن کوی برایشان حمل (85 v.), میکویند
کرده بی, etc.

(d) Probably the same form, but with the addition of
the suffix *-a*, appears in several cases: (38) اندوزه,²
اندازه (140 v.), شماره (136), بذیره (80, 115 v., etc.),
بنداره (141 v.), etc. (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., 174).³

(e) Such instances as (9 v.) جوینده نایافتنی زندانیست
(‘seeking after things which cannot be found is a punish-
ment’) and (94 v.) عیش کوارنده زندکانیست
(‘pleasure is the enjoyment of life’) suggest, on an
analysis of the context, that such participial forms are
used here instead of the infinitive.

(f) The usual formation of the abstract noun with the
suffix *-agī* may be also regarded as a sort of substitute
for the infinitive: (16) از این افتادگی کی بر خیزم.

II. *Participles.* (a) The present participle ending in
-ā appears here very rarely, almost exclusively in such

¹ *Nafahāt*, 116, گوئی که دی بود.

² For its meaning see the list of rare words, E, No. 4.

³ May it be possible that these forms are similar to the verbal nouns
in some Caspian dialects, also with a suffix *-a*? (cf. W. Geiger, op. cit.,
369, in the dialect of Tālish).

forms as روا and سزا (which are used impersonally),¹ and occasionally کویا and بینا.

(b) The form with *-ān* is here more common and preserves its verbal or gerundival sense: (16) جون مرغ
افتان وخیزان (141), آرا خواهان وطالبند (19), پرواز کنان
(119) همه خلق آرا جویانند, etc.²

(c) The present participle in *-anda* is quite common here and fully preserves its verbal nature: (34) بازدارنده
از هزار تن برسند است که تصوّف چیست (52), تو بود
etc. As we have seen above, this form is used occasionally with the suffix of the comparative degree *-tar*.³

(d) The past participle seems to have nothing particular about it. It appears often in the sense of a past tense without the auxiliary verb, and although in some cases it is easy to reconstruct the original perfect or pluperfect, in others it is extremely difficult.

(e) The future participle (similar to those in Latin in *-urus* and *-ndus*), formed from the full infinitive by the suffix *-i*, is quite common here: (16) از بودنی کی کریم

¹ There are many similar participles, as *guyā*, *dānā*, *binā*, etc., in the colloquial, but they seem to be treated, as often in the literary language, as ordinary adjectives.

² This form of the present participle can be regarded as non-existent in the more simple kind of colloquial.

³ The present participle generally is as rarely used in the simple colloquial as the infinitive. This form (in *-anda*) is also borrowed from the literary language and treated as an adjective. Cf. W. Geiger, op. cit., 399, and D. Lorimer, op. cit., 465.

کیفیت او (v. 74), مولی فرا بودنی گفت که باش (18)

دانستنی نیست, etc.¹

3. *Tenses and Modes*. I. *Indicative*. (a) The present tense has nothing particular about it except a few instances of phonetic confusion in the suffixes of the 1st person of the singular and plural, as mentioned above (A, 1, a).

(b) The preterite, which usually is quite normal here, occasionally, however, shows some undoubtedly old peculiarities. Whenever the suffixes *-i* or *-īd*² are added for expression of the conditional, subjunctive, or simply historical cohesion of the actions indicated by the verbs in question, they are joined directly to the preterite stem, thus resembling closely the similar usage in Pehlevi.³ The personal suffixes are entirely omitted on such occasions, and although in a book as *Tabaqāt* the narrative involves mostly the forms of the 3rd person, there are many examples for other forms as well: (74) ارنه کسائی

وی کوید هر گه جیزی (100), اید من در عراق نبید⁴

¹ Cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 153. It is very interesting that while the original base of this form is not popular at all in the colloquial, this future participle is very common. It has various shades of meaning, but a sense of the future seems to be essentially inherent in it.

² About it see later on, section 6.

³ Cf. Salemann, op. cit., p. 314. Examples of a similar use of the preterite with the suffix *-i* are numerous in the old language, and P. Horn, op. cit., 151-2, quotes several of them, as (*Shāhnāma*, Vullers,

1672) اکر من ترفتی بماز ندران, etc.

⁴ Naf., 142, اکر نه ابو بکر کسائی بودی من در عراق

نبودی.

مشکل شدی بر من مصطفی را بخواب دیدی و ازوی
ار من (v. 117), کاشکی ما آنجا بودی (v. 94), برسیدی¹

ابوبکر قرّا ندیدی من صوفی نبودى etc. (For examples of this use of the preterite with the suffix *-īd* see later on, section 6.)

(c) The perfect and pluperfect are formed and used quite normally except when they receive the modal particles *bi* or even *mī* (see later on, 5). The forms of the substantive verb will be discussed in a special section (8).

(d) There are a few instances of the 'second future' (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., 155): (18) هرگز کسی جنان نستوده
باشد. A very strange form of the same (or a peculiar optative ?) appears on f. 107: اورا بقران و سنت بشناختی

اورا بدو بشناخته بی (= باشی or باش ?). In the present-day colloquial this 'second future' is very common.

(e) The usual 'definite' future (with خواستن) occasionally receives *bi* as well (see later on, section 5, c, 5).

II. *The imperative mode* is occasionally used in the form of the 2nd person of the singular of the present tense (common in the colloquial): (40) کن, and later in

بس وجود حق می دعا کنی (44), کنی, the same sentence

نشوی (102), etc. The imperative is often used (for کن)

¹ Naf., 227, gives دیدمی . . . برسیدی.

here with *mī*, and if the prohibitive and negative particles *ma-* and *ni* are used, *bi-* is frequently added to them. A strange form (if not a mistake) may be noted on fol. 38 v.: هرگز فرا تو نخواهم گفت که تو ام جیزی داد (unfortunately Nafahat gives no parallel sentence). In the 'dubitative' sense, as an admission of possibility, the

imperative also appears: گفت به نپذیری گفتم (63)

باش اکنون مانه درویشانیم (v. 133), بو که بذیرم, etc.¹

III. *The precative* (or 'direct' optative) is here represented by few instances: (28 v.) الله ترا بخویشتن از

خویشتن بمکناد ترا بخویشتن از خویشتن بمبراد ترا از خدا دهاد (29), خویشتن بمپوشاد, etc.²

4. *The passive*. Nothing peculiar can be noticed in this connexion, only a few forms are not very common, as (18)

دیده بر تو آمد³.

5. *The Modal Particles bi and mī*. (a) It may seem that in Anṣārī's time the sense of modality added by both these particles to the original form of the verb with which

¹ In the earlier language the expression تا بو که is common, but I cannot remember many examples like the one given above in the text. (The contemporary colloquial equivalent of this expression is *balki*, rarer *kāshki*.)

² It is somewhat strange to find that the authors of the more recent grammars invariably call this form conditionalis or conjunctive, etc. It may be taken for certain that even if it recalls the ancient conditionalis, etc., it is in the Modern Persian only optative or rather 'precative'.

³ Similar formations are not uncommon to the vulgar form of the present colloquial, and can be regarded as rather impersonal.

they are used in every particular case, was not felt as strongly as at present. Sometimes they are apparently left out, judging from the context and from the point of view of their present use, as *mī* in (30) *بوی نسبت کند*.

تواز بامداد تا جاشتگاه شربت و کوارش خوری (119), etc.

But more frequently they appear, as it would seem, quite pleonastically or even in contradiction with the original sense of the verbal form as when *bi* or even *mī* are used with the perfect, pluperfect, future, etc.

Moreover, although logically they might be expected to paralyse each other, there are a great number of instances in which they appear together (especially in

negative forms): (21) *یکی از طلب می بماند* (39 v.)

(57 v.) *بنه می دید* (57), *بای من کران شد بنمی توانم رفت*

بنمی دانست (131), *بنمی گرفت* (72 v.), *بنه می پذیرند*

کفت, etc.

The same is the case when these particles are accompanied by the verbal suffix *-i*, also believed to express the sense of duration (called by the grammarians

یای استمراری). The examples of its use with *mī* are very common. Therefore I will give here only some of

those with *bi*: (66 v.) *از هر کس خواستی که آن مرا*

هر که که سخن شنیدی (127), *بنه بسندیدی* (68 v.), *بنوشتی*

خویشان فرو می گرفت (ibid.), *از وی زعقه بلند بزدی*

بنه دیدی (129 v.), چنانکه از هرموی وی آب بچکیدی
(134 v.) نیکشتی, etc.

(b) *mī-* appears in its old form as *همی* only very rarely, probably on account of the modernization of the text: (89), *همی رسید* (70 v.), *پاک همی کردند* (31 v.)

¹ *در بغداد همی رفت*. It is also noteworthy that *mī* is almost systematically separated from its verb by various words.² Every page furnishes several examples of this, as *وی را می بزرگ* (79 v.), *جون می جدا خواست شد* (19)

داشتی, etc.

This particle is added to almost all tenses, even to the perfect, as in *می رد* (113 v.), *بزرگ می داشته اند* (25)

¹ It is difficult to say how much the modernization of the text by the later scribes is to be blamed for the disappearance of *hamī*. A book, which was probably written at exactly the same time as the *Ṭabaqāt*, in the district of Jām, a dependency of Herat, by the celebrated saint Aḥmad-i-Jām, shows also a tendency to avoid this archaic form. It is

انس التائین, often referred to above. At the same time, the books composed before and even after that period, but which reached us in older copies, prefer to write *hamī* very often, as is the case with the *Tadhkira* of 'Aṭṭār, from Nishapur, *Asrārū't-tawḥīd* by Ibn-Munawwar, who apparently wrote it in Abiward or Tūs, the translation of Ṭabari's *Tafsīr* (see above, note on p. 23), made probably in Bukhara, etc. Therefore, it is impossible to come to definite conclusions, and it would be more cautious to believe that the copyists have done much to damage the texts in this connexion.

² The book of Aḥmad-i-Jām, mentioned in the preceding note, which tries to use the highest standard of the literary language, very often, nevertheless, cannot avoid a similar order of words. This may prove that it was very common in the colloquial of that time, although it might be regarded as 'rustic'.

کرده اند, etc.,¹ and is very common with the imperative.

(c) *bi-* (written joined to or separated from the verb) is used in various ways: (1) with the infinitive, as mentioned above in this section, 2, I, a, on p. 338.

(2) With the prohibitive *ma-* of the imperative (as well as with *ni-* in similar circumstances): (31)

بمکذر (147 v.), بمه بسند (54), ازان هیج بمخور

بنشنو (141 v.), مرا بنه کوئی (53) *ni*: etc.

(3) With the enclitic form of the substantive verb
ام، ای، اند (see later on, p. 357).

(4) With all past tenses, preterite, perfect, as in
خلق بکشته (93 v.), بفروخته است (45), بداده اند (11 v.)

بیامر زیده ام² (136 v.), در تاریخ بیاورده اند (131 v.), اند

etc. Pluperfect, as in (22 v.) برفته بود (56 v.)

بپوشیده بود (91), بنکدشته بود (72 v.), بنخفته بود

etc. بیامر زیده بود (136 v.), بگذرده بود (130 v.)

(5) A very rare construction, where *bi* is added to the future, can be noted on f. 26 v.: و بخواندت سوخت.

(d) Probably archaic or local are the traces of the frequent

¹ Cf. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 154.

² This is not uncommon in the colloquial and the dialects: *tâ ze pizkhanda bare bike wagaw bandâkhtâi*, 'when, smiling with the upper lip, thou hast thrown the cheek and mole into a dimple' (from Nayyir, in Sabzawari).

use of *فرا*, now entirely forgotten except in compounds.¹

It appears to be an equivalent of *bi*, not only forming the dative but very often taking the place of that particle

with verbs: (4) *فرا خواهند*, (133) *فرا بوشد*, (140 v.)

دور (82 v.) *از آن بازارک فرا سازند* (74), *فرا او کند*

فرا بوده, etc. But it is somewhat difficult to specify

every case because *فرا* may be simply a preposition, while originally the verb may not require a prefix.

6. *Suffixes of verbal coherency.* The suffix *-i*, which gives a verb in a proposition the sense of connexion with another, conditional, historical (as participation in a complex action), or causal (explicative), and which therefore may be called the suffix of verbal coherency—a sort of verbal *idāfa*—appears here very frequently. In the present colloquial it is extremely rare, and in the dialects it is doubtful whether it exists at all.² In the literary language we can trace its gradual disappearance since the earliest period. It is often taken for a particular suffix of the conditionalis, etc., but it is hardly really that. In an isolated verb it conveys no definite modal idea (while the particles *bi* and *mī* do), and its most essential peculiarity is that it appears invariably only in verbal groups, and in these combinations only its full value is manifested. The analysis of the examples shows that whenever it is used as ‘*-i* of the narrative’

¹ In Aḥmad-i-Jām’s book it is used as freely as here. (Its presence in the *Nafahāt* may be explained as only the result of Jami’s carelessness as to the style of his book.)

² Personally I heard this suffix on one or two occasions in Southern Khorasan, but my materials, collected there, are not available to me at present.

or 'of duration', its force is not sufficient, and this is why *mī* or *bi* are usually added to the verb notwithstanding the presence of the *-i* at the end. There are also many cases where *-i* is not added to all connected verbs of the sentence, and this may prove that this suffix was not as essential as, e.g., the personal suffixes, etc.¹

The frequent use of this suffix may be regarded, therefore, as a really archaic feature of the language. Its origin is traced back to the Pehlevi particles (of the same use) *haδ*, *hēδ*, *hē* (C. Salemann, op. cit., pp. 313 and 315), which are themselves of rather uncertain origin (ibid., 313). And one of the most interesting surprises which the old-fashioned Herati speech offers to the linguist is that it preserves this suffix in an undoubtedly much more archaic

form *ید*—, which cannot be anything else but the Pehlevi particle *hēδ*, just mentioned above. The use of this suffix strictly follows that of *-i*, but while the latter is added here occasionally to the personal verbal terminations (and even

to the optative as on f. 88,² *این سرک وقت خود که داری*

جاوید بادی (?), the former is usually added only

to the preterite stem, for all persons and numbers. I noticed only one instance of its being joined to the 3rd

pers. plur. in (64 v.) *هر که ویرا گفتندید که فلان کس*

¹ It seems that these subdivisions of the 'classes' of the suffix *-i*, as many other constructions of traditional grammar, are based on logical speculations, and have nothing to do with the real synthetic study of the language. P. Horn's attempt to revise these elaborate 'hair-splittings' in a more scientific way cannot be called quite successful. It is difficult to agree with him (op. cit., 151-2) that this suffix has much optative sense in it, and still less with his opinion that it appears as a *prefix* (this is quite a different matter, and the prefixes *e-*, *i-*, etc., are connected with the dialectical particles *ha*, *he*, etc., similar in their use to *bi*).

² Not found in the *Nafahāt*.

بمرد وی گفتید¹ and not many instances of its use with the present stem: (67 v.) اگر من ترا نمیخواهید و نمی
ار من نخواهید میگوئید (73 v.)² آید و نمی خوانید

The examples are very numerous (over two hundred cases), and therefore I will reproduce here only the more typical:

(a) *Condition* (with *agar*): (9 v.) گفت ار من بچستن
ار ما دیدن تو (20), تو یافتید من در حسرت تو بکداختید
ار نه آنستی که (25), دوست نمیدارید دیرستی تا ترا ببرید
ار نه آن (59 v.), تو میگوئی الله ما همه بغداد بسوختید
کر من (65 v.), بودید که دانستم . . . زهره من پاره شدید
در تو عاصی شدید تو بامن چه کردید گفت ترا بسوختید
اگر مرا بنزدیک تو هیچ قیمتی بودی مرک (68)
ار خرقانی برجا اید و محمد قصاب (83), من بین المنزلین بودید
اگر ایشان کافر (120), من شمارا بمحمد قصاب فرستادید
بودید الله تعالی ایشانرا راه نمودید, etc.

(b) *Casual and explicative consequence* (so-called

¹ Not in the *Nafahāt*.

² *Naf.*, 121, اگر من ترا نخواستمی نخواندمی و نیاوردمی

In the same way Jami changes all these uncommon forms if he finds it necessary to reproduce the sentences in which they occur. He is particularly fond of this suffix *-i*, and uses it even in those cases in which it is omitted in the *Tabaqāt*.

وی نہ آئینہ روشن (68): (تا and کہ 'subjunctive', with من شمارا (83), کردید کہ بسخن وی دلہا روشن شدید بمحمد قصاب فرستادید کہ وی شمارا سود تر دارید بانک کرک کردید تاجای کہ سک بودید آواز دادی بان (90) خضر در (134 v.), حیّ شدی و یارانرا چیزی آوردی از طعام¹ مجلس او می بودید کہ وی سخن می گفتید etc.

(c) *Participation in a narrative*: (47) بدر وی جام کوید کہ (من) شب شنبہ نشسته بودید و (58), فروختید از بس بیران کہ دیدہ بودید (ibid.), مادر بر من می کرستید انجا کہ خلق را تاریکی (ibid.), و سخنان کہ اشنوده بودید شیخ ہرگز جنین (6), بود دیدار اورا روشنائی بودید جون روز عید بودید درخانہ باز کردی (68 v.), نکردید زنی دیدم سیاہ ہر گہ اللہ یاد کردید (70), (کردند) واز (78 v.), من ہرگز دعا نکردید (73 v.), سفید کشتی (82 v.), گرمی کہ بودہ خواستند کہ دست من بسوختید ہمہ شب (ibid.), (وی) خاموش کم بودید یا در نماز بودی

¹ Naf., 183.

از کوروی آواز (90), فریاد میکردید و سخن میگفتید
 قران خواندن می شنودید هر کس که زیارت وی شدی¹
 بوی آمدی ویرا بدیدی و آنچه خواستید برسیدید (108)
 (117), زاری بروی افتاد کاستید که تباه شدید (v. 111)
 بیرسین شب رمضان سجده کردید و تا صبح می زاریدید
 از بزرگان بنوحه نیوشیدی و بکرستید (132), و میگفتی
 کاهها بکوشیدید ویرا هیچ مکس ندیدید² (v. 134)
 باز (v. 135), نهانندی دیک نبختید تا مهان نبودى (135)
 هر که در مجلس وی نعره (v. 138), کردید و آمد بهری
 زدید وی در برابر آن نعره باز زدید, etc.

7. *Suffix of emphasis.* The suffix *-ā*, used with exclamations and probably intended to convey the idea of the logical accentuation placed on the verb, appears here rarely, only in a somewhat dialectical sentence: (73 v.)

با حفص بغاوردان³ (تا) باسی از شب بر بیل^(?) خفته و
 میگفت کاری که بد اش نا بده و آنچه نبده^(sic) اش بده
 جوامع کما چون کما. Jami in his *Nafahāt* (127) renders

¹ Naf., 183.

² Naf., 312.

³ So in *Nafahāt*, 127.

it in this way: کاری که بوده است نا بوده چون کنم
چون کنم.¹

8. *Auxiliary verbs.* (a) \sqrt{ah} . The enclitic forms of this stem are used quite normally.² There is only one strange form, probably a dialectic 3rd pers. sing. هن³: (41)⁴

وی در بلخ گفت که بو منصور مارا بسر آمد جنان هن.

The form of the 3rd pers. sing. است appears (positive and negative) with the suffixes *-i* or *-ā*: (25) (20 v.) ار نه آنستی که تو میکوئی الله ما همه بغداد بسوختید (وی را) اکر انکار عالم نیستی ازین کار نشان نیستی است⁵ (3rd pers.), etc. The same (21 v.)

¹ This suffix, which quite probably, as P. Horn (op. cit., 152) thinks, is of the same nature as *-ā* of the vocative case, does not exist in the present colloquial and dialects (except in the expressions borrowed from the literary language, such as *khudāyā shukr*, etc.). Therefore, the example above, which undoubtedly belongs to the colloquial (or even a dialect) spoken at that time, is interesting evidence that this form was really 'living' and used in speech.

² Except in the case where they receive the prefix *bi* (if it is really so, cf. later on, subsection (b) of the present section).

³ This form is very strange, because it recalls those used in the dialects of Fars (see O. Mann, op. cit., 26, 37-8), while in Khorasan, at present, no traces of it are found (cf. W. Geiger, op. cit., 398, and D. Lorimer, op. cit., 461-2).

⁴ On the margin is added یعنی جنانکه می بایست, which is probably the conjecture of one of the scribes.

⁵ The addition of the cohesive suffix *-i* to است is quite common in the old language. It is particularly frequent in the old Persian Tafsir (mentioned on pp. 20-1) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, JRAS. JULY 1923.

appears in a strange way: (18) *جون من کیست که این* (18) *مرتبہ را بسندیدم*. On f. 9 v. even the 2nd pers. is formed from it: *(تو) جونسق*.¹

The most prominent, however, in the language of the *Ṭabaqāt* is another form of the 3rd pers. sing., i.e. *اید* or, written joined, *ید* -- or, after a vowel, *ئید*. I took it first for *آید* because in the old texts this word is occasionally used in the sense 'to become' (cf. C. Salemann, op. cit., 315-316, and P. Horn, op. cit., 154),² and that it really is in many cases. But this meaning does not always fit it as in the frequent quite 'static' sentences *وی شا کرد فلان اید* or *وی استاد بغدادیان اید*, etc., because the statement is one purely of fact, not of 'becoming'. The cases in which this word is used as an enclitic verbal suffix dispel all doubts, because this could not be possible with *آید* where *آ* is the stem.³ There is

Aa 7. The same is the case with the language of the *انس التائبین* mentioned above, where even a plural form appears with the same suffix as on f. 33, *اگر این علما بد نیستندی*, etc. The instance of *نیستید* (3rd pers. sing., with the suffix *-id*) mentioned here is the only one I came across in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

¹ These forms seem not to be frequent.

² Not rarely used in even the more 'rustic' forms of the colloquial at present (as well as the verb *rāstān*) instead of *shudan*.

³ It is very difficult to suppose that the original *ā* was shortened and could then disappear. It becomes *i* or *e* in some Kurdish dialects, but the whole character of the language of the *Ṭabaqāt* does not permit to suggest such accidental possibilities of analogy.

even one more circumstance in favour of this admission.

Not only does the spelling **آید**— after vowels prove that the pronunciation ought to be *-īd*, but through the whole copy, although the scribe wrote first **آید**, the *madda* was erased later, and there are traces of erasion found almost invariably at every occurrence. This careful correction suggests that the manuscript from which the present copy was made possessed special authority and authenticity in the eyes of those who were copying it, otherwise they would not do this, and this conjecture adds to the significance of the fact.

It seems that in this *-īd* we have the missing link in the row of enclitic verbal forms of this stem (replaced

by **است**), and it may be the prototype of the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. of the present tense *-ad* (which in Pehlevi was still *-ēd*). There can be no doubt that it goes back apparently to the ancient Persian *aiti* and Avestan *aēti* (see Bartholomae, "Awestasprache," *G.I.Ph.*, 1, i, 202), which seems to have survived till a comparatively later period in the other part of the Iranian world, i.e. in the Soghdian, as *χaci*.¹ If so, we can claim great antiquity for this form. An interesting question arises in this connexion. The 3rd pers. sing. of the substantive verb was usually reproduced in the Pehlevi books with an ideogram **𐭠𐭡** (C. Salemann, op. cit., 313), spelt in Pazend

as *hast*. Its likeness to our form **آید** is remarkable.

There was another ideogram for the same form **𐭠𐭡𐭠**, and it is extremely tempting to believe that the former, **𐭠𐭡**, was originally *not* an ideogram but a *phonetic*

¹ In that language the 3rd pers. sing. *sti* is also used. It would be extremely interesting if the students of Soghdian could discover a definite difference in the use of both.

reproduction of a word, which in the earlier period was used everywhere, but for some reason was forgotten later and became a kind of symbol, the phonetical value of which was taken from the other more fashionable and up-to-date form of speech.

The examples of it are very numerous : (47 v.)

نیازو (119 v.)، اوّل کسی که بر منبر آشکارا کرد اوئید
 تعلّم علم محض و شرع صاف (60 v.)، افلاس دکان اوئید
 ار تو آکاهید¹ ازو که من (64 v.)، همه سخنان ممشادید
 ار نه آئید² که او گفته (73 v.)، آکام حال تو بر هم بکردد
 آن نه آئید که³ دعا نباید (ibid.)، که ار من نخواهید میکوئید
 ار نه آئید که گفتند ذکرًا کثیرًا هرگز (17 v.)، کرد
 نکزارید که زبان من کرد یاد تو کردید یاد کردرا
 . . . و آن آئید که . . . etc.

(b) \sqrt{bw} . The forms derived from this stem are quite regular in the preterite (often used with *bi* as بیود، etc.). In the present tense some deviations from the standard

¹ This is an extremely strange use of *ید* — which could be taken here for *-id* as the cohesive suffix, if the word to which it was added were a verb. Therefore we must take it either for the form of the 2nd pers. or the 3rd pers. sing.

² Naf., 141، ا. کر نه آن بودی.

³ Naf., 142، آن نه آنست که.

forms can be noticed. Cases of the present tense from *بو* (except 3rd pers. sing.) are rare : (35) *اینان بدو* (35) *اينان بدو*, and a few others. As rare are the forms from *باش*, as in (51 v.) *اهل حقيقت کی باشی که از* (51 v.) *اهل حقيقت کی باشی که از*, etc.

Instead of these some other peculiar forms are used :

Sing. 1st pers. *هم*, 2nd pers. *بی*, 3rd pers. —? (*یید*?).

Plur. 1st pers. —? (*ییم*), 2nd pers. *یید*, 3rd pers. *بند*.¹

I cannot take upon myself to decide whether (1) they are the result of the change of the original *u* into *i*,² and then shortened; or (2) they are the enclitic forms of the substantive verb with the addition of the particle *bi*.³ Both explanations are equally possible, but to me the first theory seems more probable.

These are the examples :

1st pers. sing. (35) *من برهان ده که خاموش هم* (35) *من برهان ده که خاموش هم*,
 من ور آنجا (92 v.) *جون شاد نیم⁴ که بر عالم تو میکذ شتم*

¹ Similar forms are very common all over Persia, not only in the dialects (cf. W. Geiger, op. cit., 366, in the Caspian group, 398, in the Central dialects, about which also D. Lorimer, op. cit., 463, 464, and O. Mann, op. cit., 37-8, for the dialects of Fars), but in the colloquial of the cities as well. Except in the Caspian dialects, however, these forms usually convey the idea of the past tense.

² At present it is one of the most prominent phonetic phenomena of Khorasani Persian, and the usual *بود* is frequently *بی* here.

³ If *bi* may be prefixed to the past tense of the substantive verb, why cannot it be added to the present as it is usually added to other verbs?

⁴ Naf., 76, *نباشم*.

ار من باین باخرت شوم¹ من که بم² وبر (107), چنان بم
جه بم, etc.

تا پاپس نمانی درهر جه بی بزندگانی (34) 2nd pers. sing.
آن کنج کجا (105), تو نبی نبی او بود (43), بی نه بکرا هیت
آنجه از تو اید خجل بی و هرجه از (140 v.), بود که تو نبی
آن آنست که ذکر را ملازم (ibid.), او اید بآن راضی بی
بی و مشاهده را ملازم بی همواره رقیب ازل بی و کوش و
آن سبق خوئی تو فرا او کند (اوکن?) از دنیا سیر آئی
etc., و باخوده بیکاری بی.

3rd pers. sing. ?

1st pers. plur. ? I have not noticed any instances.

2nd pers. plur. (133) گرفته نه بید.

همه خلق در بادیه تشنه بند (107 v.) 3rd pers. plur.

An interesting case of the suffix *-īd* added to this form of
the substantive verb was quoted already (74): ار نه کسائی

اید من در عراق نبید.

From the examples given here it seems quite clear that
if it would be necessary to replace these peculiar forms

¹ Naf., 243, روم.

² Ibid., باشم, etc. In this way Jami usually renders these peculiar
forms.

by those of Standard Persian, in many cases the best substitute would be the forms of the preterite and not of the present. This is why the suggestion seems more likely to be correct that they are derived from *بو*, in which the original *u* was, under some dialectic influence, altered into *i*.

(c) *√st*. The verb *ایستادن* in our text can hardly be taken for an auxiliary.

(d) *shudan* has no peculiarities (except those mentioned above, A, 4, on p. 22).

(e) *khwāstan* is used with the apocopated infinitive not only in the cases where it appears as an auxiliary verb, but even where it retains its original sense of 'to wish', as in (26) *بحجّ خواست رفت* or (63) *بحجّ خواست شد*.

etc. At the same time: (35) *او که رفتن میخواهد*, etc.

The case where it is used with *bi* when forming a 'definite' future was mentioned above (5, b, 5, on p. 347).

(f) *tuwānistan* is not only frequently used with the apocopated infinitive of the chief verb for all persons in the same form of the present stem (as on f. 141 v. *ببتوان ساخت*, etc.), but, if this is not simply a mistake, the main verb receives its original personal suffix: (66 v.) *صفت نتوان کفتم* (for *صفت نتوانم*), etc.

(g) *dānistan*. It is a rather archaic feature of the language of the *Ṭabaqāt* that this verb in the same way is constructed with the apocopated infinitive.¹ This does

¹ Cf. E. Browne, "An old Persian Commentary," *JRAS*, 1894, 438.

not happen consistently, however: (87) برنای بود جیزی
 دو تن دیده ام که ازوی (82 v.) بدانست خواند
 سخن باز دانست گفتن, etc.

(h) *shāyistan* is frequently used in personal forms:
 شایم که مرا از اهل توحید کردی (37), ترا شایم نه دلم (16 v.)
 (36) نشائی . . . بشائی (see F, a, on p. 378), etc.

(i) *bāyistan* appears often in the form of واید, etc.:
 نواید (37), etc. It is even used with the suffix -i, discussed above (section 6), as in
 او ترا نمی بایدی (91 v.), etc.

8. *Impersonal expressions.* The verbs just mentioned above are used impersonally in a quite normal fashion. But there are sometimes rather uncommon constructions, as: (35) او که آرزوی رقتن است 'because he wishes to go',
 مرا نان . . . آرزو کرد¹ (113) 'I wanted some bread', (90) آرزو مند مست باید که (!), probably simply
 'I want that . . .'

D. Particles

1. *Negative particles.* Both نه and نا are often confused, but no general rule in this connexion can be deduced. The examples are very common, as (19 v.)

¹ It seems to have been the usual form of expressions of this type; cf. E. Browne, op. cit., JRAS, 1894, 440, and R. Nicholson, *Tadhkira*, vol. ii, introd., 11.

ذرهء تر نأ شده (115), نا توانم گفت expect نه.¹

2. *Prepositions.* Some of them seem to be used in a really archaic way, but there are traces of modern (or local) prepositions as well.

اندر appears here rarely (16, 69, 129).

از آب نکون اندر (129) از used in a strange sense in (129) افتاد (mistake for در ?).

با assumes various forms and is, in some cases, not very common :

(1) With the dative instead of به: (21 v.) با دنیا داری
 با وطن خود میروی (104), باز با سران شد (31), افتادی
 کم با دید آئی (119 v.), با سر وقت خود شد (107)
 (122) با جای نهادم, etc.

(2) Is spelt occasionally وا, as in (138) با حقیقت
 etc. (see above, A, 4, on pp. 21-2).

(3) Sometimes appears as فا, etc. فا تو سخن کوید (107).

(4) Takes the form of باز before pronouns beginning with

¹ This seems to be quite common in the old language, and a similar confusion is still observed in Khorasan.

a vowel¹: (15) کس بازو نمیتواند (41 v.), بازو گردد (15) ترا بازان (52 v.), بازو صحبت مدارید (72 v.), رفت کار نیست, etc.

(5) Apparently simply a phonetic variation of the previous form is فازان (60), فازوی نکرم (95 v.): فاز (95 v.) فازین درویش دهد (56 v.), نداده ام, etc.

بر is very commonly used, as in the colloquial, instead of the به of the dative, sometimes in a vulgar (or old?)² form ور (for examples see above, A, 4, on p. 21). The old form ابر is found on very rare occasions (as f. 56 v. ابر طریقت).

به, as mentioned above (A, 3, on p. 20), often appears before pronouns, beginning with a vowel, in the form بد.

¹ The final z in باز (فاز) and فراز is undoubtedly an archaism because it goes back to ž of the Pehlevi *frāž* and *awāž* (see C. Salemann, op. cit., 319). It is remarkable that it appears only before the initial vowels of the pronouns, as *ā*, the old *t*, and after *ō* in *paō* = بد for به.

These forms, باز, فاز, فرا, فراز, are not common in other books, and therefore it was a kind of indirect evidence in favour of their being regarded as dialectic to find them in the book of Aḥmad-i-Jām, who uses them very freely.

² In the present 'rustic' forms of the Khorasani colloquial *bār* and *wār* seem usually to take the place of به and برای.

تو, which is regarded usually as vulgar and modern (cf. P. Horn, op. cit., 162), is noticed here only once: (115) مجرد توجھان توئی (without the *idāfa*, as in the colloquial).

سو and سر (at present very common all over Persia in many various forms as *sī*, *sī*, *sūne*, *sīne*, etc.) appear here very often, as (65 v.) نہ حلاست بسوی ما, etc.¹

فرا is very common instead of بہ (even verbal sometimes, as above, 5, *cl*, on p. 347). Occasionally it corresponds to the more modern برای, which *does not appear here at all*.² The examples are very numerous and a few will be quite sufficient: (78 v.) اگر ملوک دنیا دانند کہ من ایدر فرا جہ , (8) فرا من گفت (5) , ام بشمشیر فرا سر من آیند (24) , من فرا خواب نمی شدم (17) , فرا من رسید

¹ This preposition may be regarded as peculiar to Fars, where it takes the place of the Khorasani *wūr*. Its applications are manifold, as *sūt*

means برای تو (cf. O. Mann, op. cit.; 52), *si kâzerân* instead of

بہ کازرون, etc. In Khorasan it is not very common and used only to show direction, as in *sune shār* سوی شهر, etc.

² فرا is used as commonly in Aḥmad-i-Jām's book, but I noticed some cases of برای as well.

فرا درآمد, etc. A case, which may be a psychological mistake, where the author wrote به, but for some reason found it more suitable to use here فرا, and forgot to erase the former, is found on f. 28 بفرا دیدن آوردن.

Although instances of فراوی, etc., are common, before pronouns beginning with a vowel the other form فراز appears more frequently, which is apparently quite analogous to the باز and فاز mentioned above.¹ The

examples are numerous: (94) فراز و راه هست (70 v.)

(105) فرازو میگویند که دعا کن (104), فرازو افتادم

, etc. (77) فرازین کاری نکریست, رو فرازو کنی

3. *Adverbs.* Of more or less archaic adverbs only ایندر (or ایدر) can be mentioned (53 v., 68, 75, 78, 88, 91, etc.).

ترا فرو نشانند (131) is used occasionally as an adverb:

و مرا بر نشانند, etc.

فرا as an adverb also appears several times: (19)

, etc. (20) از من فراست, فرا تر نشسته

آنجا as commonly in the old language, is used with

¹ Cf. above, n. 1 on p. 362.

سفر جکئی انجا که ارادت تو (73) reference to time:
درواخ شود.

E. *Vocabulary of rare words and uncommon expressions*

In the list given here are included (a) the words which seem to be local and which are not common in the literary language of the same period as that of the *Ṭabaqāt*, (b) the words which are not rare, but which appear in our text in a somewhat uncommon sense, and (c) the expressions which, although quite common, may be traced at present to a particular province of Persia outside which they are not current. On the contrary many words, which can nowadays be regarded as archaic, such as

تیمار، تاوان، پذیره، پاس، پاداش، انکاریدن، آشامیدن etc., and which one never hears in the colloquial, are omitted.

- 1 سخن او نه بطاقت (96) 'pain, sorrow': آزرَم
خلق بود که توحید آزرَم نبود.

ا کین? (has perhaps something to do with the Pehlevi *akvīn*, cf. C. Salemann, *op. cit.*, 289, 'zusammen'?).

Here only one case: (89 v.) ا کین همه یینی. Jami in the *Nafahāt*, 182, reproduces this sentence literally (he writes ا کین).

آمیختن as a trans. verb in the sense of 'to console':

ناجاره را جون آمیزم (16)

اكر ملك دنيا (38): 'thought, care, anxiety' اندوزه

دارد از آن تو ازوی دریغ نداری و چون داری آنرا قیمت
(in the Nafahāt it is omitted).
ندهی و اندوه بر آن نخوری و اندوزه نکنی

درجه‌وی را (38 v.): انگیختن for انگشتن 5

محسوب نکرد و بنه انگشت (omitted in Naf.).

(ديك) 'caldron' (پاتله) باتله. Apparently a dialectical word now used only amongst the Parsiwans of the Herat province (f. 72 in *margine*).

(124): ¹ (؟ دانستن باذانك from بازانك)

در علوم این طائفه بازانك بود (Naf. omitted).

(126): 'to watch' (پاس) (verb derived from باسیدن)

. بیفتاد باسیدند برفته بود.

(86): 'putties' پایتابه apparently a mistake for بافتابه

. بای در بافتابه دارد.

¹ Cf. below, نازان in the present list, and also A, 3, p. 20. I cannot remember having ever seen or heard بادان, of which this word may be a diminutive. On the other hand, the more natural reading of this expression نادانك (نازانك) would be in contradiction with the context.

از آن (29) : ¹ بوج of 'futile', diminutive of بچلو 10

دنیای بچلوی شما برستم (Naf. omitted).

(الله) آنکاه بدیس (36) : instruction ? (پدیس) بدیس

داد بتفصیل ریاضات (Naf. omitted).

برزکری husbandry, peasants' work, farming (129 v.).

As far as I have found, this word is used nowadays only in the south-eastern part of Khorasan and, apparently, in the district of Farah. It is spelt *bāzgāri* (from *bāzgār*, a peasant). In Western Persia this word is not known to the people.

پنه دانه (as further سپند دانه), instead of the usual

تخم اسفند، تخم پنه are also expressions peculiar to the same part of Khorasan and freely used by Heratis.

پنداره (پنداره) 'thought' (141, 141 v.).

او بوست کراه بود (117), بوست کراه 15 I regarded it

first as a mistake for the more common بوست کر, but found it written in the same sentence in Nafahāt in the same way (213). The vocalization apparently belongs to Nassau-Lees (بوست گراه), and it would be interesting to find the grounds on which it was written so, because I do not find anything like this in Vullers' *Lexicon*, or anywhere else.

¹ In the rustic colloquial of Southern Khorasan similar formations are still in use, such as *kuchulu*, from *kuchak* (so it is spelt locally), *kachalu* ('bald', from *kal*), *gululü* (from the usual *ghullü*, 'bullet'), etc.

بها, here used in the sense of 'greatness, awe': (13 v.)

این نور و بها بر روی و دستان وی چیست

(Naf. بر بیل خفته (73): a sort of carpet? (پیل?) omitted).

جون بر کدرد از آن (15): 'sorrow, displeasure': تاسا
(Naf., 69, renders it by تاسا بکرفت (33), تاسا شود
(ملول شدی), also on ff. 93 v., 134 v., etc.

ترا توانا (14), (تافتن or تاییدن apparently for تاوستن
کردم تا دیدار من در تاوستی و شنوا کردم تا سخن من
این مرا بر نتابد. Such expressions as در تاوستی, etc.,
are very common here.

20 برفته در تشنا مار (84), 'thirst', تشنا مار (cf.

(تشنگی). (Naf. and above, B, 1, l, on p. 27).

خواهی جرّه بر سنک زن (43), 'bowl, cup?', (جرّه) جرّه
خواهی سنک بر جرّه.

(وی را) بسری رسید نه یجم و (132 v.), 'nature', جم
بدر از وی می رنجید. Naf., 308, translates this word by
نهنجار.

بر کران (کنار) (129 v.), (= جراب 'socks' ?) جورب
آتش دان نشسته بود و جورب در بای.

جولاه, an abusive expression, 'rascal, rogue,' (133 v.,
etc.) جولاهی آمده است مارا از درویشی می بیرون نهد.
(probably in a metaphoric sense as a 'weaver of intrigues',
etc.; cf. جولاهک, E. Browne, op. cit., 454).

25 آن خار نمی (21), خوار, probably a mistake for خار,
بود که بر زبان تو گفت.

(73), (خوابیدن) خاییدن, apparently for خاویدن
بر سوی ردای وی خا ویدم.

خا یکینه 'omelette' (22, 22 v.), can be regarded as a
local word at present used chiefly in South-Eastern Persia
(cf. Lorimer, op. cit., 429, *khīya*). It is derived from *khūy*,
khuyk (in Central dialects, *hek* in Kurdish), which belong
to the same stem as the Persian خایه, and is usually pro-
nounced as *khuginā* or *khāginā*.

خرسته و آرائش (124) ? 'show, exhibition' ? خرسته
جامه. Jami translates it in the Nafahāt, 305, as
خردهء ظاهر و آرائش جامه.

خرسته او پیدا بود کسی که اورا (8 v.) 'sickness' ? خرسته

دیده بود جان در تن او شیدا بود. Jami reproduces the whole sentence literally (Naf., 38); cf. E. Browne, op. cit., 458.

30 عبد الله خفیف (119) 'quarrel, dispute', خویشه

را هنگامی با شیخ موسی عمران جیرفتی خویشه افتاد.
Jami omits the whole sentence.

خینا کری چیزی میزد (135) 'musician', خینا کر.

دست درو لایت درواخ زند (2) 'strong, firm', درواخ

(8 v.) دار (73, etc.). I have not been able to trace any of these sentences in the Nafahāt. Cf. P. Horn, Asadi's Lughat-i Furs, f. 15 (text).

دوزخ, an older form of دوزخ.

دهشت. There are two words spelt in the same way, Persian and Arabic (دهشة), but it is difficult to say which

is meant here: (30) در اندیشیدن درو دهشت است و

دهشت نقصان است و معرفت حیرت است. Probably the Arabic word in its sense of 'fear' will fit best.

35 بروز کار (66 v.) راز, 'secretly', راز, adverb from

(وی) راز می بودم باصفهان.

(22) رُستی صحبت تباه کند (21 v.) 'alone' رُستی

خا یکینه خورده (ibid.) رُستی بی یاران با براهیم رفت

بود رُستی بی یاران. (Jami omits this word in these sentences.)

زشت (112 v., etc.). This word is very common indeed in literary Persian, but I place it in this list because it seems to be also a Khorasani idiom. At present it is used in that part of Persia instead of *bad*, but is rarely heard in other provinces.

زینهار as a substantive, apparently in the sense of 'defence': (65 v.) زینهار خواست (104 v.) وی زینهار زمین بود, etc.

و این که میکویند که وی سید (28) 'nonsense', ژند عارفانست خود ژند است.

40 ساختن 'to prepare (a dead body) for funeral' (80).

همه ساز (80) 'all things required for the funeral': ساز کوری دیدم کنده و ساز و حنوط وی (ibid.), من نهاده یابید.

دانه, see also بنبه دانه (سپند or اسفند, a sort of grass growing in the desert. When dry it is burnt on various occasions, and its smoke is believed to avert the effects of the evil eye).

آب دهان وی می (122) 'to cleanse, to dry', ستردن

(پاک می کردند, 301, Naf.) ستردید

هر چه می سکالم می (16, 17) 'to think': سکا لیدن
 هر چه من می سکالیدم جزان می شد (140), جدا اید
 45 شاشک خر بکزید (115) 'a kind of fly' شاشک
 مگسی. Jami translates it (Naf., 256) with

'to fear' (شکوهیدن apparently for شکویدن
 (10 v., 11 v., 52 v., etc.). One example will be sufficient:
 10 v.) الله را بدوستی برستم که به شکویم که نه برستم

من وقتی در طرز خود بودم نشسته و دران (130) ? طرز
 (ترز, 396, Naf.) ایام که وا داشته بودند مرا از مجلس

طرکست 'crackling' (121). See above, B, 1, on p. 27.

طوطلی (cheating?) طوطلی نکرده بود از کسی (86) ? طوطلی

50 از فرهیونده لا اله (36), (? فریبنده for) فرهیونده

الا الله دروست نیاید.

وی قزین بافتی (133 v.) قزین, a kind of cloth, (probably
 from قز 'silk').

هم بکار بارگاه مادر کورست (131) ? کار

کالای خود بدست او یافتی (12) 'belongings', کالا
 (as Colonel G. Ranking told me, this word is common in
 the *Siyāsāt-Nāma*).

کاهیدن, the equivalent of کاستن 'to be small,' (70)

بهرجه از بهانه می کاهد از حقیقت می فزاید.

55 کرفه 'shovel' (31).

خریجست و بای او در (115) 'wrong'? (کج for) کز
کز آمد و Jami gives (Naf., 256). درخت کز فکار شد
افکار = wound). Or it may be
from گزیدن 'to bite'? (the leg was caught or
scratched by the thorny tree and this caused a wound).

کشنامار 'hunger' (96 v., 123, 124). See above,
B, 1, l, on p. 27.

سجاده فرو کلانند (79) 'to shake (a carpet)', کلانیدن

(now in the colloquial *takundan*, تکاندن, is used instead of it).

کن 'a cave' (still used in various places of Khorasan
as an equivalent for غار), در کنی از آن کوه بای وی در

نرمی آمد . . . بیرون آمد از آن کن

60 ربوبیت همه عین عبودیت است (131) ؟ کوسی
کوسی نادانی بیجاره (بیجارکی؟) ضعیفی بحاصل نفس فراز
آمد سیدی کردد (nothing in the Nafahāt).

می باید که بخدایان (shriek, excitement', (138 v.)
 خدایان (Naf., 329, where only the word
 is transformed into خیابان). This word is still quite
 common in the same sense all over Khorasan.

کو کجه 'button' (120 v.). Obviously a diminutive of
 گوک 'a ball'.

هوا که عرش در آنست (to depend' ? (141 v.)
 آن دانش بر علم ربوبیت کویزد (144 v.)
 از صنائع آن جوی (145 v.) بر طلب و استبشار نکویزد
 که بران کویزد.

ابو الادیان کنیه کردند (ویرا) که (108) کیش
 در همه کیشها مناظره کردی.

65 در مرغوزن (cemetery, burial ground', (68) مرغوزن
 کوران. Cf. Asadi, *Lughat*, f. 63.

(مرا) نازان (نادان or ناذان) (apparently for
 گذاشت.

وغستن, see ناوغست.

نیوشیدن 'to listen' (11, 22, 26 v., 52, 75, 95 v., etc.).

وگست (pres. stem وگند) 'to show, make clear':

با خلق بوگست (85), او می وگندد بر نبده (24 v.)
common (3 v., 4 v., 25 v., 32, 93, 143, etc.). I did not
find a single instance in the Nafahāt, but it is perhaps
possible to expect it in older MSS. of Jami's book.

70 هاریوکان 'Heratis' (for هریوکان, although
always هرات and هری): (82 v.) هیچ نکرده درکار
هاریوکان دور فرا بوده و بیشتر مشائخ جنان بوده اند
که هاریوکان را بزرگ داشته که هاریوکان نیکو دل
هاریوکان صفاتی باشند یعنی برحمت (83), بوده اند
(او) پدر هاریوکان بود (131 v.), و عفو و کرم بگویند
و شب و روز تیمار شهر و خلق می برد.

بی تیمار چه بود یافت (49 v.) 'to discern' ? هسکیدن
(بی) هسکیدن (141 v.), بی جستن و دیدار بی هسکیدن
(nothing in the Naf.). معرفت او بمنتوان شناخت

خدای ترا هویره کناد (77) 'hopeful' ? هویره
(nothing in the Naf.).

برسزای خویش افسوس (16) 'to extend': یازیدن

کسی ور مقام بود بردیکری یازد این (114) می یازم
(Naf. omitted). بی ادبی بود

یاویدن for یاقتن (see above, A, 4, on p. 21, and C, 1, on p. 337).

در¹ یتہ بنی (107 v.) 'Jewish ghetto'? یتہ
اسرائیل رفته

F. *Specimens of the text of the Tabaqāt*

It is not easy to select from the Tabaqāt some typical passages which could give a more or less adequate idea of its peculiar language. The uncommon expressions, analysed above, are sporadically distributed throughout the book, and although accumulated occasionally in various places, they are sometimes separated one from the other by pages of text which present nothing particular. It is impossible, however, not to give any specimens of the text at all, and I therefore offer here some of them, which probably will be quite sufficient:

(a) Some of the passages to which apparently Jami alludes in the Nafahāt saying that they are incomprehensible. He does not reproduce them, and therefore we have no means to decide if they were really damaged. In some of them, as they appear in our MS., the 'obscurity'

¹ Apparently the same word is met with on two occasions in Professor Nicholson's edition of the *Luma'* (Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. xxii), the text,

pp. 173, 215. It is spelt in the edition as یتہ, but it would be interesting to learn if the original MSS. admit the reading یتہ.

It is for the specialists in the Semitic languages to decide whether this *yata* and the Italian word ghetto are the same, or go back to a common origin.

often depends on an unusual sequence of words, which may be original.

(b) Jami omits also in the *Nafahāt* many of the Shaykh's moral and Sufic discussions, not directly connected with the exposition, and it will not be useless to give a page of such contents. (Here I offer one of those in which quotations from Anṣārī's *Munājāt* can be found.)

(c) In conclusion, a passage, which is also reproduced in the *Nafahāt*, will be useful as showing Jami's methods in dealing with the original text.

(a) Typically 'obscure' passages :

(5 v.) برو خواستند (خاستند؟) بانکار وا راندن تا انگاه

که از دنیا برفت.¹

(33 v.) ای کاشکی تو بازو خالی دالی شد.²

(33 v.-34) در قدرت بیر و جوان کی نبود تاوانی بود

کار فراخ بود وی را فرمان بود.

(34 v.) علی بن سهل کوید استادرا (sic?) که فتح (موصلی)

ار در خوابد (خواب بود؟) ان مرد اکاه بود جرا نه

بحق برستش ان گرفتار بود.

بروی بانکار بر خاستند تا انگاه که
¹ Naf., 36,

² Probably an instance of لاف گداف, something as تابع,
(colloquial, S. Kh.) *lāt-u-pāt*, etc.

(36) مکر منادمت ملوک را نشائی در خلوت که ملوک
 خالی بود در ایشان در مشو مکر که بشائی.
 (36) ارش دوست یافت اش نور یافت ور در طلب
 بمبرادش (?) شفیع یافت.

Here are some specimens of the unusual sequence of words :

شیخ گفت که چندین بس بود که کویند که تو برین (126)
 بس میکویند در کسی آن جه تو probably for در کسی
 وی را قبول (115 v.). In the other example, (115 v.) میکوئی

فرا دید آمد بر بزرگان نیشابور, it is not that "he accepted the shaykhs of Nishapur", but, on the contrary, they accepted him, etc.

(b) A page from the *Ṭabaqāt* not reproduced by Jami :

(f. 18) شیخ الاسلام گفت که وقتی در عرفات ازین
 جوانمردان یکی ایستاده بود، گفت الهی من امروز ترا
 یادی کنم و بستایم که هرگز کسی جنان¹ نستوده باشد،
 در ساعت زبان او خشک شد و کنک، آخر بدل وی
 در آمد گفت الهی بتوبه ام، من کی توانم که بسزا ترا
 یاد کنم یا بستایم باین زبان آلوده، خود بسزای خود،

چنانکه (sic)¹ توانم مفلس وار ترا یاد کنم ، در ساعت زبان یافت ، شیخ الاسلام گفت یکجند بکسب یاد تو برزیدیم باز یکجند بیاد خود ترا نازیدم (sic) ، دیده بر تو آمد با نظاره² تو پردازیدم ، در خبر و غفلت آن همه سازیدم ، چون عیان بدید آمد از آن همه بپردازیدم ، یاد بشناختم خاموشی کزیدم ، چون من کیست که این مرتبه را بسندیدم ، شیخ شبلی کوید المرید ناطق و العارف اُخرس ، شیخ الاسلام گفت قدس سرّه که یاد کردند (کردن sic for) کسبست و فراموش نکردن زندگانی ، و زندگانی ورای دوکیستی است و کسب چنانکه دانی ، فی مناجاته ، الهی دوستی نکذاشت جزز دوست و دیگر همه آوار ، ذا کر و مذکور یکی و رسم ذکر از ویادکار ، الهی فریاد از یاد باندازه و دیدار بهنگام ، و از آشنائی بنشان و دوستی به بیغام ، و از یاد بیش از صحبت آمیختن در یاد ، الهی چه یاد کنم که همه یادم ، من جز من نشان خود فرا باد نهادم ، به بهانه من بهانه چون

Perhaps چندانکه would be better ? ² Better به نظاره

شویم، و گفت که علتست چون گویم¹، چه سود از دعا و کوشش و با داش، که مولی فرا بودنی گفت که باش، الهی جز تو ترا که شاید که در یاد تو جزز تو کس نماند، جز تو ترا که داند هیچکس نتواند، و هر که ترا بخود جوید بر سزای خود فرو ماند، بتوان تو ترا (f. 18 v.) می جویند و با تو از تو میگویند، بیننده کنکست و اگاه کو یاست.

(c) The following is a passage to show Jami's usual methods of handling the original text (f. 82 v., corresponding to the Nafahāt, 324):

(شیخ الاسلام گفت) ابو العباس کوینده برو همواره می گفتی خاموش کم بودید یا در نماز بودی قبله این کاران وقت او برد و² در ایام من بوده³ * من میخواستم همواره⁴ و می گفتم فرا⁵ شیخ عمو که سه بیر⁶ می خواهم که زیارت

¹ Better کوئیم.

² In the Nafahāt, 324, so far omitted.

³ Added است همواره. ⁴ N. omitted from the asterisk. ⁵ N. با.

⁶ N. different order of words با شیخ عمو می گفتم که سه پیر را

کنم شیخ ابو العباس قصاب¹ بآمل و شیخ احمد نصر²
 بنشابور و شیخ ابو علی سیاه بمر و مرا³ گفت * من خواهم
 رفت بهار⁴ ترا⁵ با خود ببرم، * او خود نبرد و⁶ روزی
 نبود و⁷ لیکن بیوسته کسی می آمدی از نزدیک وی
 بخانقاه⁸ عمو و من احوال⁹ و سخن وی می پرسیدم که
 کس را¹⁰ احوال و سخن وی جنان معلوم نیست که مرا،
 وی گفته که وقت کیماست، شیخ احمد کوفانی گفت که¹¹
 همه شب فریاد میکردید¹² و سخن میکردید¹³ بآخر کفتی¹³
 ما بکی شیء لیس کثله شیء یعنی ما بقی شیء، شیخ
 الاسلام گفت که دو تن دیده ام که از وی سخن * باز
 دانست گفتن¹⁴ یکی شیخ ابو علی (f. 83) کاثر از¹⁵ حکایت

¹ N. omitted. ² N. added را. ³ N. وی.

⁴ N. که من بهار بخوام (sic) رفت. ⁵ N. added هم.

⁶ N. instead of this را شیخ. ⁷ N. omitted.

⁸ N. added شیخ. ⁹ N. added وی. ¹⁰ N. هیچکس را.

¹¹ N. added وی. ¹² N. میکردی. ¹³ N. میکردی.

¹⁴ N. تمام باز توانستندی گفت. ¹⁵ N. omitted.

آن جوان وسك كه دید كه گفتند كار بنماینده¹ است نه به
 بیننده و بگفته² ازو، و دیگر³ شیخ محمد قصاب آملی که⁴
 شا کرد وی * بود مذکری کردی شیخ ابو العباس وی را
 از مجلس داشتن باز داشته بود که عامرا سخن نکوئی (sic)
 که سخن وی بلند شده بود.⁵

Note.—Another copy of Anṣārī's *Tabaqāt*, dated 839 A.H., is preserved in the Nūrī 'Uthmāniyya library at Constantinople, No. 2500. See L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, 1922, vol. ii, Bibliographie, No. 1059. In this work a short extract from the *Tabaqāt* is edited and translated, vol. i, pp. 367-69 and pl. xiii. Another in *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, by the same author, 1922, texts, pp. 99-100. Concerning the exact relation between Anṣārī's work and Jami's *Nafahāt* see W. Ivanow, "The sources of Jami's *Nafahāt*": *JASB*, 1922, pp. 389-91.

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P.S.—I take this opportunity to mention that I am greatly indebted to Colonel G. Ranking and Mr. J. Van-Manen for their invaluable help with my English as well as friendly advice.—W. I.

¹ N. نماینده.

² N. وی گفته.

³ N. دیگری.

⁴ N. omitted.

⁵ N. omitted from the asterisk.

July, 1921.

Pictographic Reconnaissances. Part V

By L. C. HOPKINS

A RIGOROUS restriction of space in the *Journal*, which to the editor has all the virtues of necessity, and to the contributor most of the features of calamity, confines me to a few lines of preliminary matter. I should have wished to explain the use in these papers of the words "ideogram" and "ideographic", but I cannot. I should also have liked to include entries on the important characters *yin* and *yang* of the dualistic system, which occur in my own collection of Honan relics, but are unknown to either Lo Chên-yü or Wang Hsiang, but this too is impossible. Let us therefore proceed to business.

* * * * *

Yu 猷 and 猶. These two characters are mere variants, with the relative position of their elements reversed. But in modern usage, the first is reserved for the sense of "scheme", "plan", while the second is restricted to the adverbial or conjunctive functions of the words "still", "as though". These various senses must all be those of non-cognate although homophonous syllables, on behalf of which 猷 and 猶 have been borrowed. The true and original word to write which the prototype of this compound was designed, was *yu*, a puppy, though doubtless *yu* was not exactly the ancient sound. Perhaps I may make a short digression in support of this statement.

The *Shuo Wen* (s.v. 猶 *yu*) adds at the end of its entry the sentence 一曰隴西謂犬子爲猷 "Another explanation is that in Lung-hsi (Western Shen-si and Kansu in part) they call a puppy *yu*". Such a dialect word would account for the element 犬 *ch'üan*, dog, being a determinative part of the character, while its presence is inexplicable with the usual meanings attributed to the syllable. And there is more.

A well-known expression survives in modern Chinese, which in *Kuan-hua* speech is pronounced *yu-yü pu chieh* and written 猶豫不絕. For the second character a homophone is found in the *Li Chi*, in the phrase 定猶與 *ting yu-yü* "to settle hesitations or doubts", so that by an ironical coincidence there exists some doubt and hesitation as to the correct way of writing this very phrase of doubt and hesitation.

But be that as it may, the whole four-syllabled expression means "hesitating", "irresolute", "undecided". To account for the enigmatic binomial *yu-yü*, early Chinese scholars have related fairy stories of irresolute apes and vacillating elephants! But the Sung dynasty author 戴侗 *Tai T'ung* knocks the bottom out of that nonsense in one common-sense and convincing sentence. After defining the word *yu* 猶 as a puppy, 犬子 *ch'üan tzü*, he continues, 犬子視人所向提出其先覆次且以俟所謂猶豫也,¹ that is, "When a puppy sees which way a man is going, he dashes in front, and waits for him with constant fits and starts, as we say, 'puppy-fashion.'" We all can recognize this vividly truthful explanation, and further comment is needless.

But it is right to say at once that the character under review does not bear the sense of puppy where it occurs on the Honan bones, nor yet of "scheme", "plan", "still", or "as though". Its meaning on these relics is as yet obscure, but in view of the word 伐 *fa* "to attack" preceding *yu* in one instance, it is just possible that *yu* was a tribal name, or a derisory Chinese nickname, of some indigenous people on the then frontier.

Returning now to the *Significance of the archaic forms*, we find that there is none, the character being a phonetic compound, with "dog" for the determinative and 音 *tsiu* for the phonetic, either because in the most ancient times a syllable that had the same rhyme (as 音 *tsiu* and 酉 *yu* have) was good as a "phonetic",—and this seems to be the curious

but general view of Chinese philologists from the *Shuo Wen* onwards; or, because both 盥 and 洗 were once both pronounced with an initial *ts* (which is the view I personally hold), besides occupying the same rhyme category.



Figs. (Bronzes) 1; (Bones) 2 to 5.

Hsi and *Hsien* 洗 “to wash”, “to cleanse”; “a vessel for holding water”; “to wash the feet”, this last sense being obsolete in the spoken language, and confined to the sound *hsien*. It is, however, the sense selected by the *Shuo Wen*, which explains the character as 洒足也 *sha tsu yeh* “to wash the feet”, and derives it from “water” and *hsien* 先 “first” as the phonetic.

There are no known examples of this character to be found on old Bronzes, and we must be content to cite the Lesser Seal given by the *Shuo Wen* instead. Happily it is otherwise with the Honan relics, which furnish not only numerous examples, but examples of two types, if we may safely follow Lo Chên-yü in his equation of both as variants of an obsolete form of 洗 *hsi* or *hsien*.

Significance of the archaic forms.—Type 1. A foot surrounded by drops of water. Type 2. The same within the archaic figure of a 盤 *p'an* or “basin”, though the drawing rather represents a tub with feet and a handle. Some variants are without the latter. Lo Chên-yü has the following lucid passage on his examples:—



“Here the character is composed with 𣥂—the outline of a foot [and the prototype of 止 *chih*, to stop]—and . . . or ::, that is, [a combining-form of] water. To place the foot in water is 洗 *hsi*, to wash. Sometimes 𣥂 is added, depicting a *p'an* or basin, namely a basin used for washing the feet. Within it there is water, into which the feet are put. Judging by the forms of the characters, the ancients used 皿 *min*, vessels for table service, both for washing the face and head, 沐 *mu*, and for washing the hands, 盥 *kuan*, and used basins, *p'an*, for the feet.”

Without challenging Lo's treatment of these two types as mere variants, I would draw attention to the possibility that we have to do with two separate words, each with its own written form. Thus, one form might be restricted to the verbal usage "to wash", and correspond to the simpler Type 1. The second, showing the outline of the vessel, whether a sort of wooden bath-tub or a large basin, might have served to illustrate the word when used as the name of such a vessel. What has rather inclined me to hesitate as to the exact equivalence of the two types is the frequent occurrence on the Bones of a strange and unexplained binomial written  ; the second character is as yet unidentified, and may be a proper or ethnic name, or perhaps a title. But this binomial, whatever it is, is never written with the more elaborate Type 2, so far as I can find. Caution is advisable.


NOTE.—The sole possible exception on the Bronzes, mentioned above (Fig. 6), occurs in a short inscription, only partly decipherable, on a sacrificial vessel probably of Shang date.

Figs. (Bronzes) 6; Lesser Seal, 7; (Bones) 8-14.


Hsün 訊 "to question, interrogate, examine with authority". This character has, if I have rightly judged, a far more interesting origin than has been discovered by Chinese scholars. The figures given in the Plate support, it would seem, the following analysis and suggested origin.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A kneeling human figure having the arms pinioned behind with cords, indicated by the sign  *mi* (= modern 糸), and supplemented on the left by the determinative  *k'ou* "mouth", to suggest the evidence that has been or will be extorted.

Such is the analysis now submitted, and being believed to be quite new, it naturally requires to be sustained by arguments, and these follow.

If the archaic examples are examined, the determinative, and the old form of  *mi*, can both be recognized at once,

the latter being, in composition, ideographic not only of textiles but also of thread and cordage. But between these two signs there appears a central element presenting a complicated and unintelligible plexus, varying to some extent in the surviving examples. And if archaic specimens of the element appearing on the right side of such characters as 執 *chih* and 蕤 *i* are compared, a general resemblance to our plexus is observable. All are linearized and disguised alterations of a human figure, usually drawn in a crouching attitude with arms extended in front. Sometimes the lower part of this figure appears to have the ancient shape of 女 *nü* "woman", and in such cases has not been really explained by Chinese authorities. I think there can be little doubt that such terminations are the misunderstood and misformed lines


of the kneeling leg, originally drawn as . But in the present character now suggested to be 訊 *hsün* there is one material variation. The arms are not extended in front, but bent backwards and bound at the elbow. This, it is true, so far as the examples from Bronzes show, is no longer evident, and could only be inferred from the position of the sign for "cord". But a single example from the Honan relics recorded by Wang Hsiang from Lo Chên-yü's publication, unfortunately as usual without precise reference to chapter and verse, is much more convincing. I take it (Fig. 21) from p. 4 of the 存疑 Ts'un I section of Wang's work. He conjectures, and I am confident he does so correctly, that the character is 訊 *hsün*. This character is the only known instance yet discovered on the Honan bones, but suffices to show the backward position of the two arms, while it is also a more normal outline of the kneeling man figure than any yet produced from the Bronzes.

The several forms found on the latter have been identified by various Chinese scholars with different modern characters, e.g. with 侯 or 候 *hsi*, with an alleged ancient version of 誡 *kuo*, with 繫 *hsi*, with 紂 *ch'ü*, and with 訊 *hsün*.

Among these competing equations I do not hesitate, but concur with 陳介祺 Ch'ên Chieh-ch'i, 吳大徵 Wu Ta-chêng, and Lo Chên-yü in regarding 訊 *hsün* as the corresponding modern character, and not, as do 孫詒讓 Sun I-jang, the able author of the 古籀拾遺 *Ku Chou Shih I*, and the great Japanese scholar, Mr. Takada, the compiler of the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, in finding the counterpart in 拘 *ch'ü*, written in an "unusual scription".¹

But neither Wu Ta-chêng nor Lo Chên-yü indicate in any way what they suppose the primitive design of the pictogram to have been, the former merely observing, "Composed with 糸 *mi* and 口 *k'ou*,—to hold captive an enemy and question him, 執敵而訊之," leaving a convenient blank in the centre, which I have ventured to "rush in" and fill.

Accordingly, I suggest as the hypothetical ideal form the figure that follows, the cord of course not being drawn to

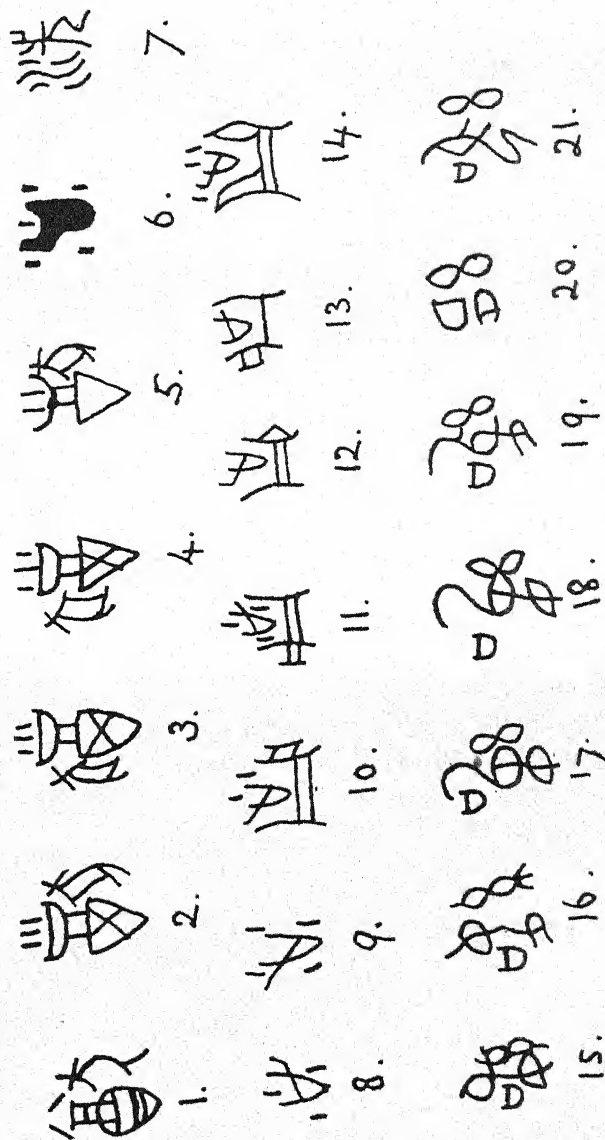
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It will probably tend to convince the reader that there is solid ground not only for the equation of the archaic forms with the character later but not originally written 訊 *hsün*, but also for the analysis of the complex now propounded, if I draw attention to a common ancient use of a binomial expression of which this word *hsün* forms the second member. This binomial is 執訊 *chih hsün*, literally, "to hold and question," which is still used as "to make inquiries" and "to interrogate a person in court". But it has in the *Odes*, and frequently in inscriptions in the older Bronzes, the sense of "bound captives", or, as Legge renders it, "captives for the question."²

Thus also we find in a Bronze inscription cited in facsimile and modern transcription in the *Chün Ku Lu Chün Wên*, vol. viii,

¹ See the point discussed by the former in part 上 *shang*, pp. 26-7 and 29 of his work, and by the latter on p. 13 of *chün* 19 of his.

² The *Chinese Classics*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 455.



PICTOGRAPHIC RECONNAISSANCES. PART V.

p. 52, the four characters 折首執訊 *chê shou chih hsiün* "dissevered heads and bound captives". Again, in vol. ix, p. 20, we have (I transcribe, as above, into modern script) 多折首執訊 *to chô shou chih hsiün* "many dissevered heads and bound captives" in one passage, followed four lines lower, by 多擒折首執訊 *to ch'in chô shou chih hsiün* "seized many dissevered heads and bound captives". This last passage is the more valuable because the right-hand element in the archaic character 執 *chih* "bound" has precisely the same corruption of form at the bottom as appears in most of the figures of 訊 *hsiün* in the Plate, that is to say,

it is written



To end with a double example from another work, the 古籀拾遺 *Ku Chou Shih I*, of Sun I-jiang, cited in part 上 *shang*, pp. 25-7. Here we meet first with the words 首百執訊 卅 *shou pè chih hsiün ssü-shih* "heads 100 bound captives 40", and further on, 告擒馘百訊 卅 *kao ch'in kuo pè hsiün ssü-shih* "reported his seizure of 100 heads and 40 prisoners".

Here, then, we see one more instance of the disastrous consequences for investigators, of the process of substituting for the vigorous verisimilitude of a picture the mechanical adequacy of a determinative parasite on a mere phonetic token!

Figs. (Bronzes) 15-20; (Bones) 21.

LIST OF REFERENCES FOR FIGURES IN PLATE TO PART V

Abbreviations

C.K.L.C.W. = *Chün Ku Lu Chün Wên* 牆古錄金文.

I.S.T.P. = *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝術叢編.

K.C.S.I. = *Ku Chou Shih I* 古籀拾遺.

T.Y.T.K. = *T'ieh Yün Tsang Kuei* 鐵雲藏龜.

Y.H.S.K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契.

Y.K.L.T. = *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan* 簠室殷契類纂.

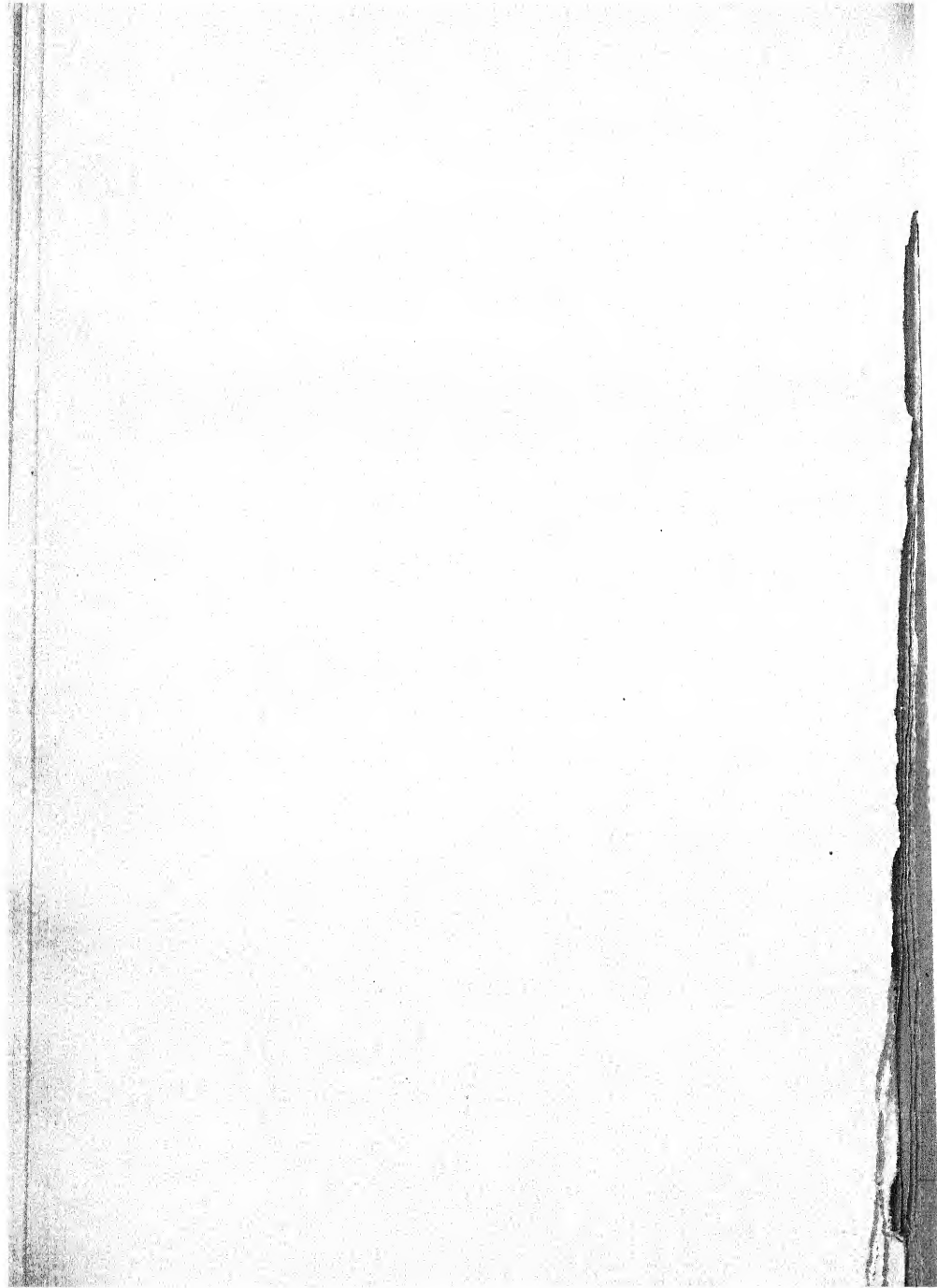
FIG.

- 1.—C.K.L.C.W., ix, 52 (Mao Kung Ting Bronze).
- 2.—Y.H.S.K., vii, 12.
- 3.—T.Y.T.K., 87.
- 4.—Y.H.S.K., vii, 18.
- 5.—T.Y.T.K., 81.
- 6.—C.K.L.C.W., vi, 3.
- 7.—*Shuo Wen*, Lesser Seal.
- 8.—Y.H.S.K., i, 47.
- 9.— „ v, 23.
- 10.— „ vi, 35.
- 11.— „ vi, 35.

FIG.

- 12.—Y.H.S.K., vi, 35.
- 13.— „ iv, 11.
- 14.— „ vii, 42.
- 15.—I.S.T.P., xxii, 2.
- 16.— „ xxii, 3.
- 17.—C.K.L.C.W., ix, 20.
- 18.— „ ix, 20.
- 19.—K.C.S.I., part 上, 26.
- 20.—C.K.L.C.W., viii, 52 and 54.
- 21.—Y.K.L.T., part 存疑 *Tsun I*, ii, 4.

April, 1923.



The Name Kurd and its Philological Connexions

By G. R. DRIVER, Magdalen College, Oxford

IT is not unlikely that the earliest trace of the Kurds is to be found on a Sumerian clay-tablet, of the third millennium B.C., on which "the land of Kar-da" or "Qar-da" is mentioned.¹ This "land of Karda" adjoined that of the people of Su, who dwelt on the south of Lake Wân, and seems in all probability to have been connected with the Qur-ṭi-e, who lived in the mountains to the west of the same lake, and with whom Tiglath-Pileser I fought²; the philological identity of these two names is, however, uncertain, owing to the doubt about the precise value of the palatals and dentals in Sumerian.³

The next appearance of the root must be found in the Kardûchi (Καρδοῦχοι) of Xenophon.⁴ This is clearly nothing but a conversion into Greek of some such form as Gortu, of which Qurṭi was the Assyrian equivalent, together with the Armenian plural termination *-kh*, which must have been current as Gortu-kh in some form of *Urarmenisch* in the fifth century B.C., and which the Ten Thousand assimilated to Greek words ending in the well-known termination *-οῦχος*.⁵ Further, although nothing is known of Armenian at such an

¹ Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, i, 150 (No. 22, § 2).

² Tiglath-Pileser's *Cylinder-Inscription*, I, ii, 17; iii, 50.

³ This identification is accepted by Winckler in Schrader's *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i, s.v. Tiglath-Pileser; Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, i, 356; Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der Alten Geographie*, p. 80; Sachau in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xii, 52; and Hommel, *Geschichte*, p. 524; it is rejected by Streck in *Z. f. Ass.*, xiii, 101.

⁴ Xen., *Anab.*, III, v, 15, 17; IV, i, 2-4, 8-11; iii, 1-2, 7, 26-7, 30; v, 5, 17; VII, viii, 25.

⁵ The singular Cardûchus is an artificial form deduced from the plural Cardûchi (Xen., *Cyr.*, vi, 3, 30).

early period, and though consequently it must be assumed from the classical Armenian Gortu-kh or Gortai-kh, "Kurds," that Kardûchi represents the Greek version of a similar form in the pre-literary speech of the early Armenians, this argument is strengthened by two important facts preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium: (1) that the true name of the people called by Xenophon the Taochi (*Τάοχοι*)¹ was the Tai (*Τάιοι*),² as recorded by Sophænetus, and (2) that the people of Gordiaea were called, amongst other things, both Gordi and Gordochi.³ Both must be Greek transliterations of the Armenian plurals Taïkh and Gortukh respectively, of which *Τάιοι* and *Γόρδοι* (or the like) were the true Greek equivalents.⁴ A variant form of Kardûchi or Gordochi is to be seen in the Kardakes (*Κάρδακες*), a name only used to describe certain Asiatic mercenaries, who seem to have been recruited from the very districts which the Kardûchi are known to have occupied; from being the name of a tribe, it is not improbable that the word Kardakes came to be employed generally for Asiatic mercenaries.⁵ On the latter a scholiast on Strabo (*Geogr.*, xv, 734) has the interesting note that they were called the Kardakes "because they lived by theft; for *karda* means 'manly' and 'warlike'"—as indeed *kurd* does mean in Persian; and they can hardly be anything else than Kurdish tribesmen who lived partly by brigandage and partly by serving as mercenaries in foreign armies.

But soon the erroneous nature of the terminations *-οῦχοι* and *-οχοι* was discovered, and they were replaced by *-αῖοι* or

¹ Xen., *Anab.*, IV, iv, 18; vi, 5; viii, 1; V, v, 17.

² Steph. Byz., *Ethnica* (Meineke), s.v. *Τάοχοι*, i, 211; see also his note on *Καρδοῦχοι*, i, 358.

³ *Id.* *ib.*, i, 211.

⁴ See also Meillet, *Esquisse d'une Grammaire comparée de l'Arménien classique*, pp. 40-3, and Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, pp. 404, 518-20.

⁵ See Polyb., *Hist.*, v, 79, 11, 82, 11; Corn. Nep., *Datames*, viii, 2; Arr., *Anab.*, ii, 8, 5-6, and Plut., *Sec. Epic.*, xiii; see also Steph. Byz., s.v. *Kardakes*; Hesych., *Lex.* (Schow), p. 403, (Alberti), ii, 147; Phot., *Lex. Synag.* (Porson), i, 131.

-ῥῥοι or the like, although the form in -οῦχοι survived for a while beside the more correct gentilic adjectives. And Pliny definitely speaks of "the people formerly called the Cardûchi but now the Cordueni"¹ bordering on the Adiabeni, past whom the Tigris flowed, and elsewhere of "the mountains of the Gordyaei", under which the same river passed in its course after separating the Orroean (*i.e.* of Edessa, the Syriac Urhai and the modern Urfah) Arabs from the Adiabeni²; and Strabo had identified the latter with the Kardûchi in speaking of "the lands of the Gordyaei whom the men of old called the Kardûchi".³

These two forms, therefore, and variants of them, which may in many cases be due to the carelessness or ignorance of the copyists, prevailed in later Greek and Roman writers and survived in a mutilated shape even in the writings of the Christian Fathers.

TABLE OF FORMS EMPLOYED FROM THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.
ONWARDS BY GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS

In the first century B.C. :—

Cordueni (Sall., *Hist. Fragm.*, iv, 72).⁴

Gordyene (Diod. Sic., *Hist. Gr.*, xl, 4; Strab., *Geogr.*, xi, 527; xvi, 747).

Gordyaeus and Gordyaeā (Strab., *Geogr.*, xi, 522, 529, 532; xvi, 739, 746, 747, 750).

In the first century A.D. :—

Gordyeni and Gordyene (Plut., *Luc.*, xxi, 505; xxvi, 508, 509; xxix, 512; xxx, 512; xxxiv, 515; *Pomp.*, xxxvi, 638).

Cordueni (Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 44).

¹ Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, vi, 15, 44.

² *Id. ib.*, vi, 31, 129.

³ Strab., *op. cit.*, xvi, 747. For references to Kardûchi see Strab., *Geogr.*, xvi, 747; *Epit.*, p. 148 (Kardûchiā); Diod. Sic., *Hist. Gr.*, xiv, 127; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, vi, 44; Ptol., *Geogr.*, vi, 2; Agath., *Hist.*, iv, 29; Theophyl. Simoc., ii, 10, 2.

⁴ In the corresponding passage in Josephus (*Archæol.*, xx, 2, 2, § 34) the MSS. read *Καπῶν*, *Καρῶν*, or *Καπεῶν*, all possibly errors for *Καρδῶν*, although the form *Καρδοί*, with which *Γόρδοι* should be compared, does not actually occur.

Gordyaeus (Plut., *Alex.*, xxxi, 683).¹

Kordyaei (Josephus, *Archaeol.*, i, 3, 6, § 93).

Cordiaei (?) (Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 118, where the MSS. have Condiaci or Gurdiaei, and vi, 129, where they read "Coridaeorum" or "Choridiorum").

In the second century A.D. :—

Gordyene (Ptol., *Geogr.*, v, 12; xi, 527; App., *de Bell. Mithr.* cv).

Gordyaeus (Ptol., *Geogr.*, v, 13; Arr., *Anab. Alex.*, iii, 77).

Korduēne (Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*, xxxvii, 5, 3).

Kardynus (Dio Cass., *Epit.* lxviii, 26, 2: τὸ Κάρδυνον ὄρος).

In the fourth century A.D. :—

Kardūēni (Petr. Patr., *Hist.*, in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv, 187).

Cardueni (Sext. Ruf., *Brev.*, iii, xx, which is copied from the *Historia Miscella*, x, 3; Eutrop., *Hist. Rom.*, viii, 3, 1).

Kordyaei (Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, ix, 11; *Onom.*, 208; *Chron. Armen.*, p. 23).

In the fifth century A.D. :—

Cardueni (*Not. Dign.*, Or. xxxvi, 34, and *Occ.* vii, 209) or Cordueni (*Not. Dign.*, Or. xviii, 6, 19, and *Occ.* vi, 40, 83).

Corduena (Amm. Marc., *Res Gest.*, xviii, 6, 20; xxiii, 3, 5; xxiv, 8, 4, 8, 5; xxv, 7, 8, 7, 9).

Cordyena (Jul. Honor. in *Reise's Geogr. Lat. Min.*, xxx, 5, and Aethicus, *ib.*, lxxvi, 21).

Kardūēni (Zosimus, *Hist. Nov.*, iii, 31).

In the patristic writings :—

Kardyeus (Epiphani., *adv. Haeret.*, i, 1, 4; ii, 66, 83).

Cordulia (Philostorg., *Hist.*, iii, 7; *Lib. Generat.* (Reise), § 24, p. 116, where the editor conjectures that *l* is an error for *a* and that Cordyaia should be read; see also *Excerpt. Lat. Barb.* (Frick), p. 208, where some MSS. read Cordyna; *Monum. Germ. Hist.* (Mommsen), *Saec.* iv–vii, vol. i, p. 106).

Codryalia (*Syncellus*, edited by Goar, p. 47, where some MSS. have altered the reading to Cordulia).

¹ The other writers of biographies of Alexander the Great have Gordiaei, Gordyaei (Curt. Ruf., *Hist. Alex.*, iv, 10, 8; v, 1, 4, 14–15), or Cordiaei (*Epit. Rer. Gest. Alex. Magn.*, xxix); in one passage of Curtius (*op. cit.*, iv, 10, 8) some MSS. appear to read Cordei.

No importance need be attached to any other variations which abound in MSS., nor to such fictitious forms as Gordyas, invented by Stephanus of Byzantium¹ as a name for the land of the Gordyaei. There is, however, one more gentile adjective, seemingly derived from the same root, which must be considered. The Cyrtii are mentioned by several classical authors as an Asiatic tribe who were, like the Kardûchi and the Kardakes, famous as slingers; thus Strabo says that they dwelt in Persia, near Mt. Zagros beside the Mardi,² and that they lived by robbery,³ and both Polybius⁴ and Livy⁵ record their employment as mercenary slingers. The habits, therefore, and the locality of these people combine to connect them with the Kardûchi, while the short vowel preceding the termination (incorrectly lengthened in the variant Cyrtaei as in certain other forms), which is common to all forms of the name (*e.g.* Qardā, Qurtī-e, Kardû-ochi = Kardûchi, Kardā-kes, Gordy-aei, and Cordû-eni, *etc.*), and of which the importance will be seen later, offers philological confirmation of this argument.

The name then passed over into Syriac as Qardû,⁶ a land defined as lying between the Tûru-'l-'Abdîn, the Zagros mountains, and Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar, a district overlapping the territory of the Kardûchi and now occupied by a population predominantly Kurdish. The lengthening of the final vowel is due to the reluctance felt by the Semites to form words terminating in short vowels, so that this short vowel, which has been shown to be essential, had either to be dropped or to be supported by a weak letter; thus Gortu-kh became, according to Syriac custom, Qardu-w, which in its turn formed

¹ Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Gordyaea.

² Compare the note, quoted below, in Land's *Anecd. Syr.*, iii, p. 332.

³ Strab., *Geogr.*, xii, 13, 533; xv, 3, 727.

⁴ Polyb., *Hist.*, v, 52.

⁵ Livius, *ab Urb. Cond.*, xxxvii, 40, 9 (where they are called Cyrtaei), and xlii, 58, 13.

⁶ *E.g.* Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon* (Hunt MSS. 1), 36 v., *Ascensus Mentis* (ib., 540), 83 v.; *Patr. Or.*, Sim'on bar Sabba'e, cp. 23 (and 25); Wright, *Catal. of Syr. MSS. in the B.M.*, iii, 1136a-b; *al.*

Qardû by the coalescing of the weak letter *w* in the preceding short vowel. That this is the true explanation of the termination is shown by the parallel form in early Arabic; there the final short vowel was *a*,¹ as in Karda-kes, and this gave rise to Qarda-y, which became Qardâ.² In one passage the Arabic version has Qardûh where the Syriac has Qardû,³ but this is exceptional; usually Qardû is equated with Qardâ.⁴

The town of Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar, the capital of Qardû, is called by several names in Syriac, which are instructive from the light which they throw on the gentile adjectives formed from the same root. The following forms are in use:—

Gāzartâ d'Qardû (Wright, *Catal. of Syr. MSS. in the Libr. of Cambridge Univ.*, ii, p. 746; Forshall and Rosen, *Catal. MSS. Or. in M. Brit.*, pp. 102a, 104b; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, ii, pp. 251b, 256b; Barhebr., *Chron.* (Bruns and Kirsch), p. 329).

Gāzartâ d'Qardwithâ (Forshall and Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 102a; cp. Assemani, *Cat. MSS. Bibl. Apost. Vat.*, iii, p. 355).

Gāzartâ d'Qardawâyê (Wright, *Catal. of the Syr. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, iii, pp. 1181a, 1182b).

This last name gives us the gentile adjective corresponding to Kardûchi, Gordiaei, etc., with the Syriac ending for the plural; and this is the commonest form in Syriac.⁵ Further, a note in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* (vol. iii, p. 332) definitely states that the Qardawâyê and the Marûdâyê (i.e. the ancient Mardi) lived together in Assyria. A later form, however,

¹ The Nestorians pronounced Qardû as Qardâ, which without doubt contributed to the Arabic Qardâ (*Acts of Mārī*, 23, 2).

² Avri et Slibâ, *de Patr. Nest. Comm.* (Gismondī), p. 80; Maris, *de Patr. Nest. Comm.* (Gismondī), pp. 2, 3, 10; Balādhurī, 176, 5; Aṭ-ṭabarī, iii, 610, 3; Ibn Faqīh, 132, 8; 136, 2; Ibn Rustah, 106, 14; 195, 12; Ibn Khurdādhbih, 76, 12; 245, 15; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 53, 12; Ibn Haūqal, 145, 13. Yāqūt (i, 476) has Qirdā, which he says that people pronounced Qardā. Compare also Bāqardā in Arabic (Aṭ-ṭab., iii, 610, 1).

³ *M'art d'Gazē* (Bezold), Syr., p. 98 = Ar., p. 99.

⁴ Elias of Nisibis (Baethgen) in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, viii, 3, p. 17.

⁵ Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, vol. i, pp. 204a, 352a; Chabot, *Nest. Synods in Notices et Extraits* (Paris), x, p. 165.

weakened the *q* into a *k*, giving Kartawāyê,¹ of whose identity with the Qardawāyê there can be no doubt; for a scholiast on a passage in the Syriac *Life of Mār Yabhalāhā* states that the Kartawāyê are the Qurdāyê, whom the Hebrews and Chaldaeans called Qûrdāyê and the Persians Kûrd, and that these Qardawāyê are from the mountains called Qardû.² And this note confirms Nöldeke's suggested identification of the hill in Syria called in Syriac Tellâ d'Qûrdāyê and in Arabic Tallu-'l-Kurdi.³ The usage, however, varies even in the pages of a single author; for, if the copyists are to be trusted, Barhebraeus employs the forms both with *q* and with *k*, though Qardû and Kûrdāyê predominate.

FORMS FOUND IN EDITIONS OF BARHEBRAEUS

Qardû (regularly, as stated above).

Kardû (a variant reading in *Chron.*, p. 522).

Qardawāyê (*Chron.*, p. 81, and *Chron. Eccl.*, Abbeloos and Lamy, § ii, p. 75).

Qûrdāyê (*Chron.*, p. 306, and *Chron. Eccl.*, p. 731).

Kûrdāyê (*Chron.*, pp. 329, 398, 459, 554, 575; see also derivatives from this form in *Chron.*, pp. 153, 151, 238; *Chron. Eccl.*, p. 569).⁴

The forms which were in use in Aramaic need not long detain us, for they are themselves little more than deviations from or corruptions of those employed in Syriac, while the passages themselves are of little or no importance. Onqelos, following the Syriac translation, calls Mt. Arārât, where the ark came to rest (Genesis viii, 4), Qardû⁵; Sa'adiyah's Arabic version has Qardû' and the Targûm of Jerusalem

¹ Chabot, *op. cit.*, x, p. 423 (Syr., p. 165); Tāmā d'Margl, *Governors* (Budge), p. 98, *al.*; Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, ii, p. 673; Wright, *Catal. of Syr. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, iii, p. 1207a.

² *Mār Yabhalāhā* (Bedjan), chap. xiv, p. 121.

³ Nöldeke in *ZDMG.*, xxix, pp. 419 ff.

⁴ Compare the form Kûrdayyâ in a writer of the twelfth century A.D. (Johannes of Nisibis, in Assemani's *Bibl. Or.*, ii, pp. 221-2).

⁵ The Arabic account of Abu-'l-Faraj (Pococke), p. 13, has "the mountain of the Qurd which is called Al-Jûdî".

Qardûn,¹ recalling the form Kardynos of Dio Cassius. Elsewhere in the versions of the Old Testament (2 Kings xix, 37 = Isaiah xxxvii, 38, and Jeremiah li, 27) the same place is called Qardû and its inhabitants Qardawayyâ. In Rabbinic Hebrew also the plural Qard^ewâyîn is used.² Further, in one place Kardû is cited as a variant for Qardû,³ but no importance should be attached to such minute differences of orthography in later Hebrew.

It has now been shown that these diverse forms—Qarda (or Karda), Kardûchi, Gortochi (and Gordi), Kardakes and Cyrtii, Gordyaei and Cordueni, Qardû and Qardâ, Qardawâyê, Qurdâyê, Kartawâyê and Kurdayyâ, *etc.*—in spite of their differences, have a common descent. The weakening both of the palatal and of the dental is a phenomenon common to the Semitic languages in their decay, hastened in this case by the foreign tongues through which the original name has been transmitted, whereas the short vowel following the dental and preceding the termination has been preserved almost without exception and thus establishes beyond a doubt the case for their identity.

But can these forms be identified with the Persian and Arabic Kurd,⁴ which has no final short vowel and which has retained *k* as the initial letter throughout its history? Are the people designated by these names the Kurds of the Persian and Arabic writers? To take the second question first, the answer must be in the affirmative, for several reasons. The Sumerian Qarda on Lake Wân and the Qurî with whom the Assyrians fought in the mountains of Azu—which can hardly be other than the modern Hazzû—occupy precisely the same territory as the Kardûchi, who beset the retreat of

¹ The form Qardûn occurs also in *Midr. Breshîth Rabbâ* and in the *Mandaic Great Book* (i, 380, 21) in reference to the same passage.

² *Yebhâmôth*, 36, 16a.

³ Rabbínowitz on *Bâbâ Bathrá*, 91a.

⁴ The usual plural in Arabic is 'Akrâd, but there once occurs 'Akârîd ('Abdu-'l-Bâsit, *Dâris* in the *Journal Asiatique*, IX, iv, pp. 252-3) as a variant in one MS. for the regular form.

the Ten Thousand, while the territory described as occupied by the Gordyaei or the Cordueni is merely an extension of Kardûchiā, just as modern Kurdistān is but a vastly expanded Gordyaea or Corduene. The habits also of all these peoples are precisely similar; they are a race of mountain-dwellers, "a people hardy, strong, savage, impatient of the yoke, addicted to rapine, and tenacious of the government of their national chiefs."¹ And, lastly, it must not be forgotten that the ancient scholiasts so identified them; something perhaps of the sort was in the mind of the old scholar who connected the Kardakes of Strabo with the Persian *karda*, and such undoubtedly was the intention of the translator of the *Chronographia* of Elias of Nisibis in a passage which speaks of "the Kartawāyê who are called Jacobites", and which he translated into Arabic as "the 'Akrād who are called Jacobites";² while the annotator on the *Life of Mār Yabhalāhā*, as quoted above, is even more explicit; again, the 'Akrād are stated in the *Chronicle* of Barhebraeus to have been the people who were formerly called the Kûrdāyê.³

The philological connexion, on the contrary, can hardly be maintained, in spite of superficial resemblances and certain attractive parallels. Thus it is possible to point to many instances of the Semitic *q* passing over into Persian as *g* or *k*,⁴ especially in foreign words, an argument strengthened in this case by the weakening of the *q* into *k* actually in the Semitic forms and by the confusion to the true letter which the various forms in Armenian and Greek are likely to have caused; and the resemblance between Kurd and Qarda, together with its descendants, is striking indeed. But it is impossible to account for the loss of the essential overhanging short vowel, which seems to be radical in all except the Persian and Arabic

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. lix.

² See Baethgen in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, viii, 3, p. 17.

³ Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, ii, p. 366.

⁴ *E.g.* Assyrian *gardu* or *qardu* = Persian *gurd* or *kurd* (valiant), etc.; similarly the Persian *Kirmān* became *Qarman* in Syriac.

forms. In this point the present writer agrees with Nöldeke,¹ but he is unable to follow him further. For this scholar further objects to the identification on the grounds that the term Qardū only refers to a limited area, whereas the Kurds cover a wide extent of territory; he would therefore derive the name Kurd from the Kyr̄tii, who have been mentioned above and whom he assumes to have been dispersed far and wide over Persia and Media, and, in fact, over the whole country occupied by the modern Kurds. Against this it can be urged that there is no shadow of evidence for this assumed diffusion of the Kyr̄tii, that the overhanging short vowel seems no less essential to the Kyr̄tii than to any other form of the name, and that the territory round Jazīrat-ibn-ʿUmar was precisely the place which would be called the land of the Gortu-kh, for it was the only part of the rich riverlands of the Jazīrah on to which they encroached, while Jazīrat-ibn-ʿUmar itself was the only town in those parts in which they constituted the predominant element in the population; elsewhere they were pressed back by the Arabs into the barren mountains, the cradle if not the birthplace of their race, and thenceforward they spread northwards, eastwards, and towards the south-east, where in the half-inhabited mountains the natural desire of a prolific race for expansion met with no resistance. But in their brief sojourn in the Jazīrah they had made their mark, and they left behind them not only their name but also those of their people who preferred the easy life of the cities to a strenuous existence in the hills.

If, then, the name Kurd is philologically unconnected with that of the Qur̄ṭī, *etc.*, what is its origin? It is not far to seek; we have seen that an ancient scholar connected the Kardakes with the Persian word *karda*. Herein lies the solution of the problem; for what is more natural than that

¹ Nöldeke, *Kardu und Kurden in Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und Geographie: Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, pp. 71-82; see also Hartmann, *Bohtan*, pp. 90 ff.

the Persians, hearing of and perhaps dealing with these Qurtî, should apply to them a Persian word which not only closely resembled their proper name but also admirably described their character? The Persian *gurd* or *kurd*, which seems to have been derived from a common origin with the Babylonian *gardu* or *qardu*, signifies "brave", "valiant", or "warlike", and bravery and the love of fighting are the outstanding traits of the Kurdish character. From the Persians it passed into Arabic, whence it became the common European name of the Kurds.

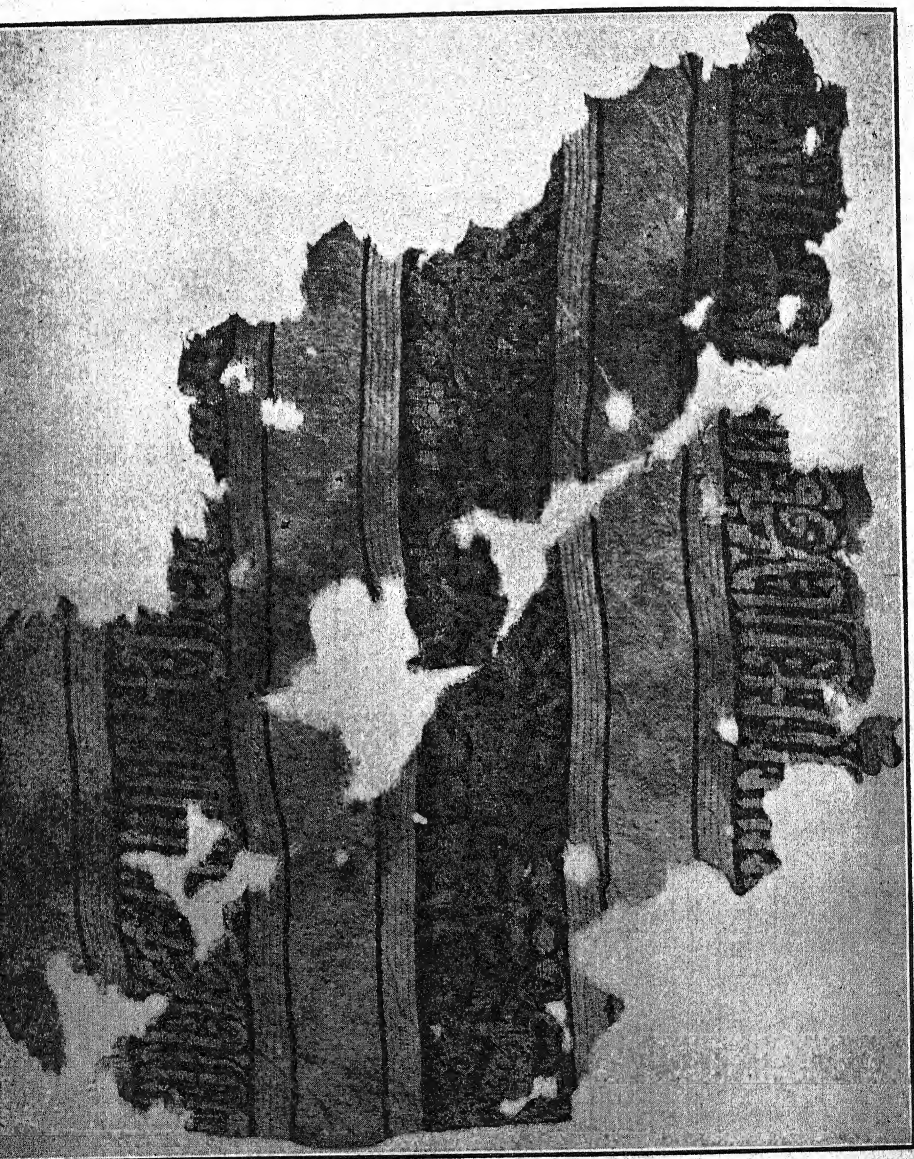
ADDITIONAL NOTE 1

The present writer can see nothing in favour of the view of those scholars who would identify the Guti or Gutu with the Kurds; (see the articles on *Kurdistan* in the *Dictionnaire de la Géographie universelle* and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; cf. Sayce, *ibid.* iii, p. 103).

ADDITIONAL NOTE 2

In Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, i, *Geographica*, fol. i r., Syr., p. 23, there occurs a mention of "the Bardāyê who reach to Lake Thospitis" (i.e. Lake Wân); as these Bardāyê are apparently unknown from any other source, may not the reading be an error for Kurdāyê, the change from ܠܝܕܝܐ to ܠܝܕܝܐ being very slight?

February, 1921.



Further Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles (II)

By A. R. GUEST

(PLATES V AND VI)

A PREVIOUS article on the same subject appeared in the *Journal* for 1918, p. 263. Mr. A. F. Kendrick has kindly supplied a photograph, observations, and a description of the following fabric :—

*Woven silk textile in the Victoria and Albert Museum,
No. T. 122. 1921.*

This stuff is woven in black, pale-blue, and buff-colour. The pattern is in three horizontal stripes. The middle stripe shows the figure of a leopard seizing a gazelle beside a tree. Each of the others has an Arabic inscription. The design on all three stripes is repeated in a continuous band, the length of the repeat being $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The stripes are black, with thin parallel black lines bordering them above and below. The pattern is in buff-colour, the foliage being heightened with pale-blue. The stuff measures $10\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length and $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width. The width of the middle band is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and that of each of the outer bands $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The stuff is probably the end of a long buff-coloured scarf or wrapping. It was given to the Museum in 1921 by Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Gayer-Anderson, C.M.G., D.S.O., who has also given a similar piece to the Arab Museum at Cairo. The burial ground where this stuff was found has not been ascertained.

The inscription consists of—

عز لمولانا السلطان الملك الناصر

Glory to our lord the Sultan en Nâsir.

In the fragment in the South Kensington Museum, which is depicted in Plate V, the word "en Nâsir" is mutilated, but it appears clearly in the fragment at Cairo. The Cairo Museum kindly supplied a photograph of this piece.

The Sultans of Egypt who adopted the title En Nâsir were the famous Şalâh ed Dîn Yusuf (A.D. 1171-93), and the Mamlûks Muḥammad ibn Qalâ'ûn (A.D. 1293-1341), Aḥmad (A.D. 1342), Ḥasan (A.D. 1347-61), Faraj (A.D. 1399-1412), Muḥammad ibn Qâ'it Bâ'i (A.D. 1496-8). From its having been found in Egypt, the stuff is almost certainly attributable to the reign of one of them; but, apart from the possibility of its not being related to an Egyptian monarch, the inscription by itself gives no precise indication of date.

Mr. Kendrick observes that the character of the design is not inconsistent with a date in the reign of Muḥammad ibn Qalâ'ûn, who was the most celebrated Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt and has left his name on numbers of works of art. He is of opinion that it is not likely to be earlier, though it may possibly be later.

He points out that there are two other silk fabrics known with the title En Nâsir woven into them. One of them, a green silk damask in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was described in this *Journal* in 1906 (p. 395). It was found in Egypt near Asyût, and it bears the name of the Sultân Muḥammad ibn Qalâ'ûn. The other is a brocade in St. Mary's Church, Danzig, woven on a black silk ground chiefly in flat strips of gilt leather, with pairs of parrots in large polygons meant for circles, and Chinese dragons filling the intervening spaces (Lessing, *Gewebe Sammlung*, pl. 109). In this piece there occurs the title En Nâsir in a short inscription which is woven into the wings of the birds.

Mr. Kendrick also remarks that all three stuffs are quite different from one another in colour and design, but all show a connexion with China. The Chinese origin of the pattern of the Danzig brocade is unmistakable, and there can hardly be any doubt that the weaver was of Chinese nationality.

Both the green silk damask and the subject of the description in this article show clear traces of Chinese influence in their design, but it is doubtful whether the weaver of the damask was Chinese and unlikely that the weaver was Chinese in the other case.

In a passage to which Professor Karabacek drew attention many years ago, Abû el Fidâ' (iv, 96) relates how he was present himself at Cairo in A.D. 1324 when ambassadors from Abû Sa'îd, the Mongolian Sultan of Persia, brought to Muḥammad ibn Qalâ'ûn among other presents eleven Bactrian camels laden with stuffs manufactured in Abu Sa'îd's dominions with Muḥammad's titles inwoven. The brocade at Danzig may well be one of these.

DATED INSCRIPTION OF THE FATIMID PERIOD

Inscriptions giving the actual year of manufacture are not at all common on Muhammadan textiles. The following occurs on a small piece of silk tapestry which was included in the recent Engel-Gros sale at Paris :—

بسم الله الرحمن . . . 1.

ثمن وأربعين وأربعمائة 2.

A photograph of the stuff is given in Plate VI (*a*). The first line of the inscription consists of part of the bismillâh, the second of the number 448. The number, which comes at the end since the second line is reversed and the bismillâh must have been at the beginning, seems certainly to indicate the date. It corresponds with A.D. 1056. The year falls within the reign of the Fatimid Khalif El Mustanşir, and the character of the inscription is similar to that of others in the South Kensington Museum collection which bear his name.

The Museum possess a fragment identical in ornament, which may possibly be a piece of the same stuff. This fragment is reproduced in Plate VI (*b*). Mr. Kendrick

has kindly supplied the photograph and the following description :—

Museum No. 2117-1900. Saracenic silk from Egypt.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ in. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

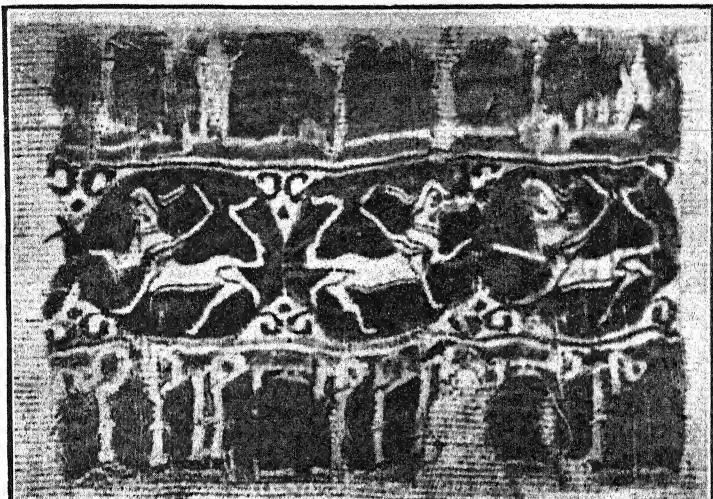
Warp : White silk ; 64 to 1 inch.

Weft : Coloured silk (red, blue, yellow, green, white).

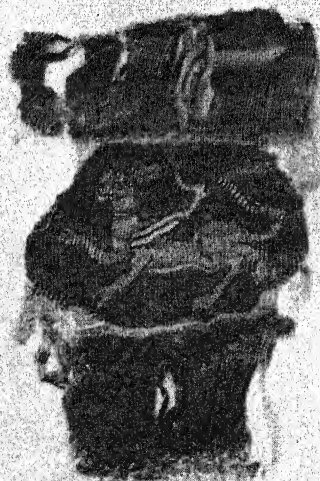
Tapestry-woven : Vertical slits are not sewn up.

From El-Khârga. Given by Robert Taylor, Esq.

December, 1921.

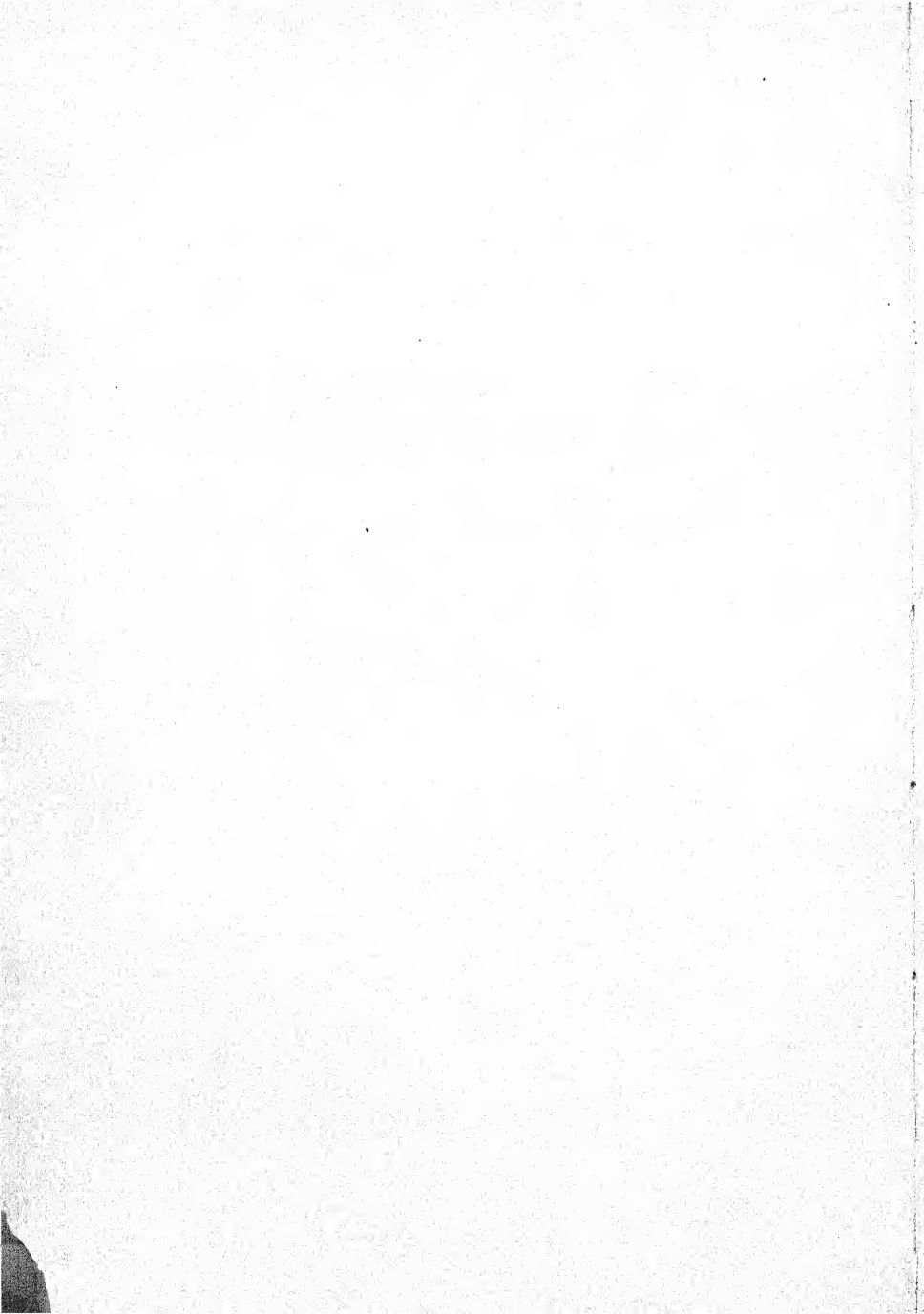


a



b

1 2
INCHES



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE CLASSICAL NAME OF CARCHEMISH

A good deal of ink has been spilled over the question of the name under which the city of Carchemish was known to the classical world. Hitherto it has been assumed that our only authority for it was a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, the reading and interpretation of which have been disputed, though it was clear to everyone who had no particular thesis to defend that according to the Latin historian the name was Ninus Vetus, "the Ancient Ninus," and that the city meant was the Biblical Carchemish.

Last summer I was reading Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana and there came across a passage (*De Vit. Ap. Ty.* xix) which has been strangely overlooked, but which conclusively settles the question. The statement of Ammianus no longer stands alone, but is supported by a Greek writer of the second century who (or his authority) was personally acquainted with the place. The passage in Philostratus is as follows: ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Ἀρχαίαν Νίνον, ἐν ᾗ ἄγαλμα ἱδρυται τρόπον Βάρβαρον. "Ἔστι δὲ ἄρα Ἰὼ ἢ Ἰνάχου καὶ κέρατα τῶν κροτάφων ἔκκρουει μικρὰ καὶ οἶον μέλλουσι. Ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι, καὶ πλείω ξυνιέντι περὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἢ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ προφῆται, προσεφοίτησε Δάμις ὁ Νίνιος, ὃν κατ' ἀρχάς ἔφην ξυναποδημῆσαι οἱ, καὶ ξυνέμπορον γένεσθαι τῆς φιλοσοφίας πάσης, καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός διασώσασθαι. "Ὅς ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ ζηλώσας τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἴωμεν, ἔφη, Ἀπολλῶνιε, σὺ μὲν θεῶ ἐπόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ σοι . . . (xx.) παρίοντας δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν μέσσην τῶν ποταμῶν, ὁ τελώνης ὁ ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεύγματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον ἤγε καὶ ἡρώτα ὃ τι ἀπάγοιεν . . . τὴν δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν μέσσην ὁ Τίγρις ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὁ Ἐυφράτης.

Apollonius had been lecturing at Antioch, and as soon as the course of lectures was finished started for Mesopotamia.

On his way to the passage across the Euphrates at Zeugma, the modern Birejek, "he arrives at the Ancient Ninus, where there was an image in barbarian style, representing Iô, the daughter of Inachus. Small horns protruded from the shoulders, as it were just budding." While he was looking at it and asking questions a certain Damis, the son of Ninis, strolled up to him, whom he had known previously; in fact, they had studied philosophy together.¹ Apollonius proposed that they should continue their journey together, and accordingly they passed on to Zeugma, where the custom-house officer pointed to the tariff and asked if they had anything to declare, to which Philostratus replied: "Yes, the wares, namely, of philosophy." It will be noticed that the ride from the Ancient Ninus to Zeugma seems to have been a matter of a few hours only, and that there was no river to be forded; consequently the Ancient Ninus must have been north of the Sajur.

Dr. Hogarth has pointed out to me that the "image" was that which formed a landmark on the site before the mound of Carchemish was excavated by the British Museum in 1879, and is noticed by Pococke in the seventeenth century and Drummond in the eighteenth century, just as it was by Philostratus. But whereas Philostratus supposed what are really wings to be horns, Drummond imagined them to be the vestments of a "Byzantine ecclesiastic". The monument is now in the British Museum, and represents the goddess of Carchemish, with an inscription on the back relating to the building of certain chapels and the like by a "High Priest of Carchemish" and "King of the Kasians (or Kusians) of the Double-City" (Tyana). The notice of the image is an interesting proof that Philostratus or his authority had visited the spot.

A. H. SAYCE.

¹ Damis was apparently a native of the place, and his father's name was derived from Nina, the eponymous goddess of the city.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF SATYAPUTRA

In spite of the attempts recently made, it is to be regretted that the question of the identification of the Satyaputra kingdom (of Asoka's Rock Edict No. II) still remains unsolved. Perhaps the failure is due to focussing attention on the wrong point. It is a mistake to suppose that etymological interpretations, however ingenious, would throw much light on a question like the present. The highly fanciful character of such interpretations is well illustrated in the recent attempt made by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam (*JRAS.*, January, 1922) to connect Satyaputra with the "Kōśar" of Kongu Dēsa on the ground that they are spoken of in literature as truth-loving people (*satya* = truth). Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's view (*JRAS.*, 1919, p. 581-4) that Satyaputra (= *satī-putra*, or children of women who are *satī* or "peculiarly chaste") refers to the Nairs of Malabar, might *prima facie* appear more plausible; but it would certainly puzzle very much those who are acquainted with the early history of Malabar. One cannot understand why Asoka took the trouble of devising such a fanciful name unknown to history, while in all other cases kingdoms and peoples were mentioned by him in their well-known names!

The legitimate approach to the question seems to be to inquire whether the name "Satya" had been formerly used to denote any locality or region on the West Coast. The ancient literature of that country must enlighten us on the point. Early Tamil works like *Śilappadigāram* and *Pathupāttu* were composed on the West Coast; and subsequently there arose agglomerations of Malabar legends such as *Kēraḷōlpatti* and *Kēraḷa-māhatmyam*.

In at least two places in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* reference is made to a locality or kingdom called *Satya-bhūmi*. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* is a legendary work of uncertain date, and though it professes to give a continuous history of Malabar from Paraśurāma's days, it is replete with anachronisms and inaccuracies, which

tend to discredit its historical value. Nevertheless, there is no harm in relying upon it for topographical details of the kind we search for. The work exists in many versions, which are not all alike. The following page numbers refer to a printed copy (Basel Mission Press, Mangalore), published by, or under the supervision of the late well-known Malayalam scholar, Dr. Gundert.

- p. 33: "Then Vijayan Perumāl erected a fortress at Vijayan Kollam. That place is called Satya-bhūmi, because Arjuna, one of the Pāṇḍavas, performed austerities there for a long time."
- p. 47: "The fortress of Valarbhaṭṭanam (and the country around) is called Satya-bhūmi; to the right of it stands the Chēramān fortress." (*The translation is mine.*)

The territory referred to in the above quotations corresponds to one of the ancient political divisions of the Malabar Coast, viz. *Kūpuka*, which, according to *Kēraḷōlpatti*, extended from Perumpuzha in the north to Pudukatanam in the south (roughly North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara). At some later period this region came to be called (and a part of it is still called) *Kolathunād*—the Nād or Kingdom of the Kōlathiri (or Kōla) dynasty. Kōla is perhaps the most prominent royal line of the Malabar Coast: various *tāvazhis* (or offshoots) of it ruled in former days, principalities extending from Elimala (the northernmost point of Malabar District) to Cape Comorin. Valarpatanam, mentioned above, was one of their principal seats, and a noted holy place of Malabar. The great royal family of Travancore, it may be mentioned, is supposed to be a southern branch of the Kōla line.

We have, however, no evidence to affirm that the Satyaputra of Asoka's edicts was none other than the Kōla dynasty noted above, except the fact that the country which once was called Satya (afterwards Kūpuka and Kolathunād) was ruled in later times by the Kōlathiris. We know also that this

dynasty is an ancient one, that it had a distinct existence as a kingdom, and that in certain literary records Chēra and Kōla are mentioned side by side, suggesting thereby that the dynasty at one time was independent of the Chēramāns, to whom it subsequently became subject. The Chēra dynasty originally ruled only Kērala proper—i.e. the country south of Kūpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kannēti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of *Mūshika* (South Travancore), which was then ruled by the Krishna-worshipping Āy dynasty of Shepherd kings. But at some later date Kūpaka seems to have shifted to the south, for in a later passage in Kēraḷōl-patti we find the name applied to the southern political division. This change perhaps synchronized with the migration of Kōlathiris to the south and the foundation of the Vēnad (Travancore) royal family. The country around Āttungel (south of Quilon), one of the principal seats of this latter dynasty, is usually called Kūpaka in Malayalam poetic works.

Even if Professor Krishnaswami is correct in interpreting Satyaputra as Satī-putra, it certainly is difficult to believe that the name refers to a people or tribe devoid of ruling power. We must rather look to some royal dynasty that followed the law of *Marumakkathāyam*, and such a family is the Kōlathiris. So far as we know, the Chēra royal line was regulated by the ordinary mode of succession through sons, but in the various families of the Kōla line property and title invariably descended in the female line. Kings were more or less like managers of their sisters' estates. The Āttungel family, before it merged in the principal Travancore dynasty, was always ruled by queens. Even now the queen-mother of Travancore princes is known as the Thampuran (ruler) of Āttungel. One would naturally be tempted to connect this dynasty with the "noble kingdom ruled by queens" mentioned by Megasthenes. Thus the above interpretation would very well fit in with the Kōlathiri Dynasty, but this

identification, however ingenious, is rather suspicious, seeing that there is no further evidence of any dynasty or tribe having been called Satīputra either in literature or in inscriptions.

We may therefore provisionally identify Satyaputra with the ruler of Satya Kingdom (probably Kōlathiri), which lay towards the north of Chēramān's kingdom (Kērala proper). Why the ruler is called Putra (son) is not evident. Kerala-putra is apparently the Sanskritized form of the Tamil word Chēramān. In Sanskrit literature Malabar is always Kērala, but the name Kerala-putra is found, apart from Asoka's edicts, only in Græco-Roman accounts of India (Pliny, Ptolemy, and the *Periplus*), and even there in distorted forms like Kerobothros (Ptolemy), Cælobothras (Pliny), Cerobothra (*Periplus*). Satya is not mentioned by these writers. Is it because Satya had in the meantime been swallowed up in the Chēra kingdom? Or because the Satya rulers had migrated to the south and become incorporated in the Āy political division mentioned by Ptolemy (Aioi)? Very likely Satya was a small kingdom, and the importance it assumed in Asoka's eyes may have been due to the spread of Buddhism and Jainism there. We know that both these religions gained a foothold on the coast before Asoka's days, and possibly it was owing to this fact that Satya and Kērala are not mentioned among those to which Piyadasi sent missionaries "for the conquest by the Law of Dharma" (Rock Edict XII), while those are expressly named among the countries for which he made curative arrangements (Rock Edict II).

P. J. THOMA.

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THE ANTHROPOS ALPHABET

In the course of my remarks on Mr. A. R. Brown's *Andaman Islanders* in the issue of April last, I noted that the Anthropos alphabet was not a happy one. I would like to emphasize the point. A tree is known by its fruit, and putting the Anthropos alphabet to that test in a language all Englishmen know, let us see the result for ourselves.

On page 1065 of vol. ii a specimen of "Southern" English is given, written in "Anthropos". I reproduce it here *verbatim et literatim*.

3. Anglais (sud)

727. zə sən sēz:

mai nēm jz sən. ai ɛm veri brait, ai raiz in zə iyst;
ɛn wen ai raiz, it jz déi. ai luk in ɛt yo windou wið mai
brait gouldnɪ ai, ɛn tel yū wen it jz taim tɛ get əp; ɛnd ai
séi, slæɡɛd, get əp; ai dount šain fɛ yū tɛ lai in bed ɛn
sliyp, bɛt ai šain fɛ yū tɛ get əp ɛn wæk ɛn riyd ɛn
wɔk ɛbaut.

If anybody would like to argue that the above reproduces English correctly, I should like to join issue with him. E.g. the specimen begins with "the sun says". Here *the* is rendered by zə. Now, whether the z here is a misprint for ʒ or not, I do not propose to admit, as an Englishman, that *th* in *the* is a z at all. Nor can I admit that the vowel in *says* is long. Why write ē to represent it?

Next, I observe that the "Anthropos" ɛ is made to represent the sound of the vowel in *the*, *am*, *an*, and (written both ɛn and ɛnd), and *at*. It is also made to do duty for *o* in *to* (tɛ), for *u* in *but* (bɛt), and *a* in *about* (ɛbaut). It represents also *or* in *for* (fɛ). As an Englishman I must mention that the true sound of the vowels in *the*, *am*, *an*, *at*, *to*, *but*, and *about* is not by any means the same in all of them, even if spoken quickly so as to approach the neutral vowel.

The Anthropos alphabet gets into further confusion still when it writes fɛ for *for*, and thus fails to appreciate the liquid

r of "Southern" English. This failure to represent (i.e. to hear) the liquid *r* turns up in another form, and we find *your* written *yo* (as the American Negro pronounces it). Lastly this failing is found to produce a grotesque travesty of English by writing *sluggard* as *släged*! Now, whatever "Anthropos" may think, the liquid *r* of English is really audible to aliens, for the Indian languages trill or roll the *r*, and yet I have never seen an Indian, when transliterating or transcribing English into his own script, ignore the English *r*, although in speech he will usually trill it, as does the "Northern" Englishman. This means that the Indian hears it. Therefore it exists.

The horrible form *släged* reminds me that "Anthropos" is hazy as to the English neutral vowel *u*, because, besides *bet* for *but*, it writes *sän* for *sun*, *släg(ed)* for *slug*, and *äp* for *up*, as if the vowels in *sun*, *slug*, *up* differed from that in *but*. A combination of this haziness as to the neutral vowel with the failure to appreciate the trilled *r* produces a true horror—*wäk* for *work*! Again, when the Englishman does trill his *r*, "Anthropos" is so upset that it invents a letter *rʷ* to express it.

The English "lisps" the surd and sonant *th* (*th* as in *thing* and *the* respectively) evidently bother "Anthropos", though they are common in many languages. Thus we find *zə* and *zə* for *the*, but *wið* for *with*. The Englishman's spelling shows that he regards the sounds he writes as *th* as liquid forms of *t*, whereas the European Continental pronunciation and the "Anthropos" spelling show that they are regarded on the Continent as a kind of *s* and *z*. Shall we say as liquid hisses?

I perceive also *nëim* for *name*, *dei* for *day*, *sëi* for *say*, *īyst* for *east*, *sliyp* for *sleep*, *rīyd* for *read*, *wīndou* for *window*, *gouldy* for *golden*, *dount* for *don't*. As an Englishman, I am inclined to assert that the long vowels in *name*, *day*, *say*, *east*, *sleep*, *read*, *window*, *golden*, and *don't* are not diphthongs in the mouth of the man in the street.

I further observe that although "Anthropos" writes *sēz* for *says*, and *raiz* for *rise*, it also writes both *iz* and *is* for

is. Here there comes to the fore the well-known Mid-Continental confusion between surd and sonant, also observable elsewhere in the world.

As regards English, then, the specimen is not only a travesty of the language, but it is also not even true to itself. It indicates an incorrect ear, and therefore shows itself to be an unsafe guide to the student. The question at once arises: what kind of a guide is it to the student in the case of other languages?

Seriously, if this is science, is it not better to continue to be unscientific, and to look upon the words of a language when spelt out on paper by native speakers as idiograms to be learnt, just as one has to learn the sounds that the spelling represents?

R. C. TEMPLE.

"SYRIAQUE ET NABATEEN"¹

This note was written in a different tone and put in an envelope ready to be sent to the Editor of the *Journal*, when my eyes fell on the obituary notices in which the lamented death of M. Clermont-Ganneau, the scholar with whom it deals, was registered. With the words of praise lavished on him by Dr. Cowley I gladly join, and the two unfortunate mistakes—mistakes they are—found in his communication referred to above were doubtless committed by inadvertence and bona fide, because keen as his insight was in the domain of Semitic epigraphy, Syriac was not really a subject in which he specialized. The present communication should be considered in its way as a tribute to his memory, because, following the example of great men, he would have been the first to acknowledge and to correct an error into which he might have fallen: *Errare humanum est*.

1. The Syriac word ܥܡܡܐ or ܥܡܡܐ with the sense of "sepulchral vault, funeral crypt" is well attested. I need only refer the reader to *Thesaurus*, pp. 2330 and 2432 (where

¹ See the last number of *JRAS.* 1923, p. 263.

written with a *wāw* or a *pé*, to Audo's *Simtha* (s.v. where written with a *wāw* or a *pé*), to Manna's *Vocabulaire*, 1900, pp. 439 and 460 (where written with a *wāw* or a *pé*), to Pognon's *Inscriptions Sémitiques*, 1908, pp. 15-16, 18, 43, 104-5 (where written with a *pé*), etc. The use of a *wāw* or a *pé* in this word is quite facultative, since both of them have the same sound (viz. *wāw*) according to the East Syrian way, where *pé* is pronounced like a *wāw*, as stated in my Syriac Grammar No. 3. In a note of my article I drew attention to the fact that some copyists have written the word with a *pé*, in the East Syrian way, but M. C.-G., by oversight, omits to say so, and writes: "l'auteur embarrassé par ce mot . . . propose de corriger graphiquement ܐܠܡܐ." Further, in this part of my article I was dealing with the translation of the word that Mitchell has erroneously rendered into "souls", and not with the orthography of the palimpsest of which I had spoken in an earlier part.

2. The Syriac word ܐܠܡܐ cannot have the meaning of "sepulchral vault", and I repeat here my warning against its registration in this sense by future lexicographers, and remind them that ܐܠܡܐ in the Ephremic text deciphered by Mitchell is *certainly* a misreading of ܐܠܡܐ. The word occurs in two places where Ephrem is speaking of the natural element of some animals (pp. 40 and 73 of vol. i). In the first of them Ephrem says:—

"Because every entity which exists is contented if it is in its own place—because that is the place which belongs to its nature: as fish in water, as moles in earth, as worms in wood, . . ." Obviously we could not change "as moles in earth" (ܐܠܡܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ) into "as moles in the sepulchral vaults", without assuming that more than nine-tenths of the moles of the world are not in their natural element.

The second passage of Ephrem is equally decisive: "If these fishes do not long to go up to dry land and to soil themselves in the mud and the earth (ܐܠܡܐ) of the moles . . ."

Further, I believe that I have read all the known Syriac works in print or in MS. found in the libraries of East and West, except a few insignificant and unpublished ones in the library of Mount Sinai, and I have never come across the word **قبر** with the gratuitous meaning of "sepulchral vaults", and I promise my deep gratitude to any one who will show me this word with such an unnatural meaning.

A. MINGANA.

NOTE ON ARAB PROVERBS

Maulawi Abd-el-Hai Sahib, Professor of Adab at the Osmania University College, Hyderabad, Deccan, has just published a specimen of a larger work on this branch of Arabic literature. The specimen consists of twenty-three paragraphs dealing with idiomatic expressions and proverbial sayings, based on

the theme **بيض** which in its various formations, and combined with other expressions, yield a variety of formulas. His abstracts are drawn from the *Diwāns* of poets, as well as prose works on *adab*, even comprising comparatively modern writings. The pamphlet begins with a note on the phrase

أبيض الوجه, which, the author says, expresses purity of race and nobility of character. In explanation of this he adds that the Arabs, northern as well as southern, were originally white, while their Abyssinian slaves were black. The variety of meanings found in these combinations is really surprising, because the average reader of Arabic texts has only a limited survey of such phrases in his mind. Particularly interesting are those expressions which allow opposite meanings, as e.g.

بيضة البلد is used for praise as well as blame. The author's collection is illustrated by suitable quotations, but the material is not easily exhausted. It is rather strange that he did not quote the passages Qor. iii, 102; xvi, 60; xxxix, 61; and

xliii, 16. When the larger volume appears it will form a useful reading-book for beginners in the study of Arabic literature, especially as the compiler's explanatory notes are very helpful. Needless to say, many of his items are to be found in the dictionaries, yet to have them together on a small compass with comments is of distinct advantage.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Indica

1. GESCHICHTE DER INDISCHEN LITTERATUR. Von Dr. M. WINTERNITZ. Dritter Band. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 696 pp. Leipzig: Altenburg printed, 1922.

The method of Dr. Winternitz is not that of Taine, who presents us with a pathological study of a nation's moral and intellectual life illustrated from its literature, nor that of the arid and inaccurate Brockelmann, who furnishes a skeleton composed of little more than names of writers and their works classified by periods and subjects, but a *via media*, in which the material is divided according to subjects but the skeleton is clothed with live flesh by giving in each section a lucid historical and critical survey of the literature embraced in it, illuminated by copious translations of excerpts and abstracts. Thus his "Geschichte" is not only a work of reference of enormous utility to students, but is itself literature of no mean order. The magnitude of the task which he has accomplished may be judged from the fact that the first volume saw the light in 1904, and the *explicit feliciter*, on which we heartily congratulate him, was penned in October, 1922. The present volume, which deals with the greater part of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit literature—namely poetry, drama, grammar, lexicography, philosophy, law, polity, erotics, medicine, astrology, astronomy, and mathematics—displays the same merits as its predecessors, notably wide knowledge, lucidity of style, orderly method, and above all calm judgment, which is indeed a rare and precious quality in a writer treading a path so beset with the darkness of ignorance and the *ignes fatui* of superstition and prejudice. The verdict that the Kautīliya Artha-śāstra is probably not much earlier than the fourth century A.D. (p. 523) is typical of the author's sane criticism. Perhaps he may be said to have slightly lapsed from his usual

caution in crediting Bhāsa with the authorship of the recently published plays ascribed to him. But even here he accepts the attribution with "a certain reserve" (p. 184 ff.); and he adduces on p. 187 a number of facts which lead him to the just conclusion that "Bhāsa" is not very ancient, and is nearer in date to Kālidāsa than to Aśvaghoṣa. One of these facts, from which he has not drawn all the inferences that it warrants, is that "Bhāsa" in *Pratimā* v mentions a *Nyāya-śāstra* by Mēdhātithi, which almost certainly, in our opinion, is the famous *Manu-bhāṣya*, a work that Dr. Winternitz himself admits to be probably a product of the *ninth* century A.D. (p. 494; cf. Jolly, *Recht u. Sitte*, p. 31). The ascription of the plays to Bhāsa in particular is really based upon the coincidence that one of them is called Svapna-vāsavadatta; but Dr. Winternitz himself shows that a coincidence of this kind proves nothing, as he notices no less than *three* Kumārasambhavas (cf. p. 198, n. 1). We therefore venture to hope that when he revises his book for its next edition he will realize that there is no good reason for attributing the plays to Bhāsa in particular or to any other ancient dramatist, and will therefore treat them simply as anonyma.¹

¹ On the other hand he is perhaps a little too cautious in doubting the identity of Bhartṛhari the poet with Bhartṛhari the logician and grammarian. I-tsing relates that the latter became seven times a Buddhist monk, and as often lapsed. There is in this nothing essentially inconsistent with the experiences of the poet revealed in his verses, except that I-tsing represents him as a Buddhist and ignores his poems. A Chinese pilgrim might easily err in ascribing Buddhism to a non-Buddhist (the seven conversions and lapses are reminiscent of the tale of Cittahattha in *Dhammapada-aṭṭh.*, iii, 6-7), and the somewhat "high-browed" circles with which I-tsing held converse would pay little notice to a scholar's poetical parerga. With these deductions, the story fully harmonizes with the poet's character. Lapses from the religious life were common among *bhaktas*, notably in the case of Mānikka-vāchakar. The combination of parts is common in India: Caitanya gained some reputation as a logician before he became a religious singer and apostle, Śrīhaṛṣa is as famous for his *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* as for his *Naiṣadhīya*, and many respectable Jain divines have composed highly erotic poetry.

We venture to append a few respectful adversaria. p. 40: the sketch of the history of the Guptas needs some qualification since the publication of the Damodarpur plates; and it is perhaps going too far to say that

The only weak point in the book is the painful inadequacy of the treatment accorded to the vernaculars. Apart from a few passing references in footnotes, practically all the notice that they receive is an appendix of less than twenty-seven pages modestly styled "Ein Blick auf die neuindische Litteratur", in which the ancient and modern literature of Tamil is allowed scarcely more than three pages; those of Kanarese, Telugu, and Malayalam are dismissed with the curt statement that they are less important than Tamil; and the Aryan vernaculars are treated with similar superficiality, except Bengali, to which are allotted twelve pages—out of which seven are occupied by Tagore. Great as are the merits of this work, it is not a "Geschichte der indischen Litteratur".

2. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELIGION (mainly Avestan and Vedic). By JAMSHEDJI E. SAKLATWALLA. 9½ × 4, iii + 142 + xvii pp. Bombay, 1922.

This book, which forms No. 3 of the "Dorab J. Saklatwalla Memorial Series", is absolutely the worst and most unintelligent compilation that we have ever seen. None of the entries give adequate bibliographic data; many of them are merely titles of books or articles without statement as to where and when they were published; and in almost every line are to be found the grossest misspellings and misprints. One example will suffice: under the letter P we read "Ptein, A. Sand—buried Cities of Khoton".

Kālidāsa's description of Ujjayinī in his *Megha-dūta* leaves no doubt that it was his home (pp. 42, 44). p. 146: Gumānī's Upadēśa-śataka is not "aus unbekannter Zeit stammend" (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 177). p. 203: the statement regarding King Śūdraka that "his name occurs neither on inscriptions nor on coins" is somewhat misleading; a king named Śūdraka is known from inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.* v, App. Nos. 642, 640), though there is no evidence to connect him with Śūdraka of the *Mṛcchakatika*. p. 213: the name of the play should be spelt *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* or *Śākuntalam*. p. 267: the dictum that "the fable arose in literature itself, and in all probability belonged from the outset to Sanskrit artificial poetry", may be right, but the proof is lacking. p. 442: Ānandatīrtha is quite different from Ānandagiri. p. 449: that "the Sāṅkhya-system originally is not based like that of the Vedānta upon exposition of Scripture, but was attached later to the Veda and adopted into Brahmanism", is quite possible, but it is not "certain", *pace* Dr. W.

3. STUDIES ABOUT THE SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE.
By ANDRZEJ GAWROŃSKI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, i + 80 pp. W
Krakowie, 1919.
4. NOTES SUR LES SOURCES DE QUELQUES DRAMES INDIENS.
By ANDRZEJ GAWROŃSKI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, i + 92 pp. W
Krakowie, 1921.
5. NOTES ON THE SĀUNDARANANDA. By ANDRZEJ
GAWROŃSKI. Critical and explanatory. Second series.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 38 pp. W Krakowie, 1922.

These little books form respectively Nos. 2, 4, and 6 of the "Mémoires de la Commission Orientale de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres". M. Gawroński is a super-polyglot: he draws for illustrations upon the literature of almost every language in Europe and Asia, and the reader is somewhat surprised to find him refraining from quoting Chinese. The first book contains notes on Buddhacarita, a study designed to prove "that at the time of Aśvaghōṣa there existed at least Book II of the Rāmāyaṇa (but most probably the remaining genuine books also) in much the same form as it is known to us to-day", critical notes on the printed text of the Jātakamālā, observations on the relation of the Divyāvadāna to Aśvaghōṣa's poems, and critical notes on the Sāundarananda. These bear testimony to wide and careful reading and considerable ingenuity; but in textual criticism M. Gawroński has something to learn. Several passages that he tries to emend are perfectly sound (e.g. his alteration of *kūrmē yugacchidra ivārṇavasthaḥ* on p. 78 to *kūrmē yugacchit sa* merely shows his ignorance of the common figure); in others his suggestions are often too daring to be probable, and it is only rarely that he convinces us. The second work consists of four essays, which are interesting, though some of the author's views seem to us rather subjective. The first treats generally of linguistic and stylistic influences in Indian literature, and urges that, as is especially shown in its use of synonyms, Sanskrit is a dead language (a proposition which we think requires some qualification), and that therefore

Sanskrit authors proceed rather by imitation than by inspiration. The second discusses the origin of Act iv of the Vikramôrvaśīya ; it points out that the essential features of that play are found in the Sudhanāvadāna of the Divyāvadāna, and argues, not very convincingly to us, that Kālidāsa drew his version of the story from a folk-tale, but at the same time was influenced by the Mystery-plays of the Kṛishṇa cult, as evidenced by the Gīta-gōvinda. An appendix suggests the possibility that the Śākuntala also derived its plot from a popular form of the story. The third examines the influence of the Mēghadūta upon the Mālatī-mādhava, and the fourth proves the plot of the latter to recur in a Turkish folk-tale, which must hence be of Indian origin. As to the third work, it must be admitted that the unsatisfactory state of the text of the Sāundarananda gives considerable scope to the emendatory imagination, and some of the author's conjectures, such as *anṛtād* in vi, 17, and *cittāmbhasaḥ* in xvii, 45, are attractive. Others, however, are less happy, and some are quite needless, such as the alterations of *vivartyamānaḥ* in iv, 44, *viśayēṣu* in xiv, 39, and *vinigrhya* in v, 47. Even the best of Sanskrit poets do not invariably write precisely what exacting critics like Dr. Gawroński would demand from them.

6. GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES. Nos. X-XVIII. Baroda.
6½ × 9½. Bombay printed, 1920-1.

The mere catalogue of these volumes—all of them *editiones principes*—indicates that the treasures of mediaeval Sanskrit literature, far from being exhausted, are only half revealed. No. X contains (1) the *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, an historical drama of considerable merit by a Jain divine, Jayasimha, glorifying the victory of Viradhavala over the Moslem invader Hammīra and his success in dissolving a coalition of hostile kings, through the statesmanship of the famous brothers Vastupāla and Tējaḥpāla and the latter's son Lāvaṇyasimha ; (2) the same poet's *Vastupāla-Tējaḥpāla-praśasti*, seventy-seven verses on the history of the Cālukya dynasty and

the family of Vastupāla and Tējahpāla ; (3) thirteen verses of a panegyric poem or *stuti-kāoyāni* ; and (4) Udayaprabha's *Sukṛta-kīrtti-kallōlinī*, a poem of 179 verses on the same themes as No. 2, but carrying the royal pedigree back to Vanarāja. No. XI contains Sodḍhala's *Udaya-sundarī-kathā*, a *campū* on a Jain legend. In No. XII we have (1) the *Mahā-vidyā-vidambana* by Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra (Mahādēva), a treatise on a form of syllogism with commentaries of Ānandapūrṇa and Bhuvanasundara, (2) Bhuvanasundara's *Laghu-mahā-vidyā-vidambana*, a short tract on the same, (3) Kulārka's *Daśaślōkī-mahā-vidyā-sūtra*, aphorisms on the same, with anonymous commentary and Bhuvanasundara's gloss on the latter. No. XIII is the first part of *Prācīna Gurjara-kāvya-saṅgraha*, a collection of old Gujarati compositions in verse and prose, chiefly on topics of Jain religion and legend, with a few Sanskrit pieces. No. XIV is a bulky work, the *Jīna-dharma-pratibōdha* or *Kumārapāla-pratibōdha* of Sōmaprabha, describing in Prakrit (Māhārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṃśa) and Sanskrit the history of the Cālukya king Kumārapāla (with a sketch of his pedigree) and of the great Jain divine Hēmacandra, the latter's preachings, and the king's conversion to Jainism. No. XV contains Bhā-sarvajña's *Gaṇa-kārikā*, eight verses summarizing the theories of Pāsupata Yōga, with an anonymous commentary and appendices, including *inter alia* the *Kāraṇa-māhātmya*, the sacred legend of Karwan, where was born the famous Yōgī Lakulīśa, the reputed incarnation of Śiva. A lighter vein is touched in No. XVI, the *Sanḡita-makaranda*, a work on music ascribed to the mythical Nārada. No. XVII consists of a catalogue of the library of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī, a learned Dekhani Brahman who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century ; his collection, now unhappily scattered, was remarkably rich and catholic, embracing works on Vedic and other religious literature, law, philosophy, science, and belles-lettres, and seems to have included some very rare and valuable MSS. Last we have in No. XVIII the *Vārāha-grhya-sūtra*, a short code of domestic

rituals, which the editor ascribes to the first and second century A.D. A word of recognition is due for their labours to the editors, Messrs. C. D. Dalal (who has edited Nos. X, XIII, and XV, and unhappily died before completing No. XI), E. Krishnamacharya (part of No. XI), Mangesh Ramakrishna Telang (Nos. XII and XVI), Muniraj Jinavijaya (No. XIV), R. Ananta Krishna Sastry (No. XVII), and R. Sama Sastry (No. XVIII).

7. ŚRĪ-BALLĀLA-VIRACITĪ BHŌJA-PRABANDHAḤ. Adapted to the requirements of students going up for the Matriculation Examination of the Indian Universities. Edited by Pandit UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. 4th edition, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, xxvii+128 pp. Calcutta, 1920.

Ballāla's romance is fairly suitable for use as an elementary Sanskrit text, and the present edition is a handy adaptation for the purpose. The English introduction shows an intelligent attempt to do justice to the pseudo-historical character of the work; and the text, to which are appended notes in English and Sanskrit, is tolerably accurate, except for a few misprints.

8. NOTES OF A STUDY OF THE PRELIMINARY CHAPTERS OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. By V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 10 + 416 + xv pp. Madras, 1922.

This is a very ingenious attempt to disentangle by means of analysis and a comparison of the ancient Telugu version of the Mahābhārata the diverse elements, original and spurious, which a succession of unscrupulous diaskeuasts have woven into the inharmonious whole of the Mahābhārata. Many of the author's conclusions seem to be quite sound. His style is lively and interesting, and he has done well in calling attention to the Telugu version, for, as Nannaya lived in the eleventh century and Tikkana in the thirteenth, their translation throws valuable light on the nature of the text (or texts) upon which it was based. The book is one that will have to

be seriously considered when the herculean task of constituting a critical text of the Mahābhārata is undertaken in earnest.

9. SELECTIONS FROM THE BAUDHĀYANA-GRHYAPARIŚIṢṬA-SŪTRA. Academisch proefschrift ter verkrijging van den Graad van Doctor . . . aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht . . . door P. N. U. HARTING. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, i + i + xxxii + 67 pp. Amersfoot, 1922.

The Pariśiṣṭas or supplements to the Gṛhya-sūtra of the school of Baudhāyana contain a number of rituals which in character are midway between the old Vedic cults and the later or classical Hinduism, thus forming a transitional stage in the development of Indian religion which hitherto has not received adequate attention. Dr. Harting has therefore done well to publish these selections, which he has critically edited with an English translation and introduction. They comprise Praśnas II, xiii-xv, xvii-xix, xxii; III, iii-x; and IV, ii. Though the literary interest of these semi-Vedic and semi-Puranic rituals is slight, Dr. Harting is well justified in the assertion that "they do help us to understand the development of liturgy, and they bring some new facts concerning mythology"; and he has performed his task as editor and translator with much skill and ample though unobtrusive erudition.

10. LA BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. Traduite du sanscrit avec une introduction par EMILE SENART. (Les Classiques de l'Orient.) $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 38 pp. Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1922.

No scholar is better qualified than M. Senart to present the Gītā in a French garb, and it is almost superfluous to say that his translation is worthy of him. The hand of the master is visible throughout the book. Perhaps he would have lightened the task of the student if he had furnished analyses of the often incongruous currents of thought of which the Gītā is composed. In his thoughtful introduction, M. Senart

refuses—quite rightly, as it seems to us—to accept theories like those of Garbe, which dissect the *Gītā* with the scalpel of logic; he regards it not merely as a handbook of the emotional religion of the *Bhāgavatas*, but as “un recueil de strophes et de morceaux que la tradition centrale de la secte a groupés autour de son idée maîtresse”, which is a somewhat disputable proposition. Does he mean that the *Gītā* is made up of a miscellaneous collection of largely anonymous verses expressing heterogeneous points of view on theology and philosophy, which have come together more or less by chance in *Bhāgavata* circles? Granting that the fervour of a new cult is quite strong enough to fuse various incongruous ideas together in its melting-pot, and that the inconsistencies of thought in the *Gītā* are most naturally explained thus, we must still suppose that there was a writer, if not writers, of the *Gītā*, a man or men who cast it into its present shape partly by incorporating old materials and partly also (though M. Senart seems to ignore this function) by paraphrasing anew current ideas. Such a man would not be strictly logical; but he would not be a merely mechanical transcriber, and so one wishes to understand his intellectual position; and this is the one point on which M. Senart does not enlighten us as fully as he might.

This book, like the other volumes of the series to which it belongs, is defaced by deliberately hideous and clumsy woodcuts which have not the least suggestion of Oriental art.

11. BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. By Dr. ST. FR. MICHALSKI-IWIEŃSKI.
Texte sanscrit. 9×6, xii + 48 pp., 2 plates. Paris :
Varsovie, 1922.

In this book, which forms No. 1 of the “Publications de la Société Asiatique de Varsovie”, Dr. Michalski-Iwieński presents in romanized transliteration the text of the *Gītā* from the edition of Schlegel and Lassen, with a few variant readings noted on p. 46. It will be very useful to young students, especially as it is fully punctuated and the combined

long vowels are marked by being printed in italics. He has added to it a preface which perhaps is hardly adequate as a critical estimate of the doctrines of the *Gītā*, but makes amends for any deficiency in this respect by paying to its supposed merits a tribute of ecstatic admiration. After lamenting that it is not yet appreciated in Europe at its true worth, he proceeds: “*L’haleine puissante de l’idéalisme qu’elle exhale, l’envolée de ses idées, la grandeur de ses conceptions, l’ampleur gigantesque de ses rêves et de ses images, la beauté choisie de la langue, les ondes lumineuses de ses strophes, la simplicité avec laquelle elle résout les énigmes éternelles de l’univers, la sagesse, profonde et claire de son enseignement—tout cela fait que dans la littérature européenne on trouvera à peine une oeuvre qu’on pourrait mettre à côté de Bhagavadgītā.*” Well, we must confess to some doubts.

12. THE NYĀYA-SŪTRAS OF GAUṬAMA, with the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana and the Vārtika of Uddyotakara. Translated into English with notes from Vāchaspaṭi Mishra’s [*sic*!] “Nyāya-Vārtika-Tātparya”, Udayana’s “Parishuddhi” (and Bodhasiddhi, Vardhamāna’s Anvikṣānayaṭattva-bodha), and Raghūttama’s Bhāṣyachandra. By Mahamahopādhyāya GAṄGĀNĀTHA JHĀ, M.A., D.Litt. Indian Thought Series. Vols. ii–iv. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. Allahabad, 1917–19.

A melancholy interest attaches to these volumes. “Indian Thought” made its first appearance in 1907 under the able editorship of George Thibaut and Ganganatha Jha, and seemed to have before it the prospect of a long and prosperous career. The translations of philosophical works issued in it were uniformly good, and the only point on which cavil could fasten was the detestable system of transliteration forced upon the series by some misguided and inconsistent enthusiasts for phonetic innovation, an example of which is furnished by the title of the present work above, in which the disagreeable-

ness of the system is alleviated only by the inconsistency with which it is applied. And now Thibaut is dead, and "Indian Thought", after bravely living through eleven volumes, has also expired. The loss to scholarship is great. But the work achieved by the series is one of lasting merit; and of it *pars magna fuit* the work of Ganganatha Jha. The stout volumes now before us are as good as anything that he has produced, and that is saying a great deal. Probably no European can approach him in the mastery which he wields over the rugged realms of Indian philosophy; and in the mazes of the logic and epistemology of the Nyāya-sūtra and their commentaries he has had full scope for his skill. We congratulate him on the conclusion of his labour of love.

13. THE PADYACŪDĀMAṆI OF BUDDHAGHŌṢĀCĀRYA. Edited by (the late) M. RANGA ACHARYA, M.A., Rao Bahadur, and by S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A. . . . with a commentary by . . . K. VENKATESVARA SASTRI and D. S. SATAKOPA ACHARYA. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ ×6, 5+2+6+ii+276+xiii pp. Madras: Government Press, 1921.

This work—a Sanskrit poem in ten *sargas* on the legendary history of the Buddha, on the same lines as Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddha-carita*, and proceeding as far as the conquest of Māra—was first brought to notice in the *Bauddha-grantha-mālā*, No. 2 (Colombo, 1908), which printed the text down to ix, 16. The present volume contains the whole text, as far as it is known, together with a *ṭīkā* by two modern pandits which has the merit (somewhat rare in modern commentaries) of explaining clearly and briefly what needs explanation, without useless parade of erudition. The ascription of the poem to Buddhaghōṣa is evidently fictitious; the style and vocabulary (which even includes *nāsīra*, from the Arabic *naṣīr*) prove that even Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri's assignment of it to the fifth-seventh centuries is too generous, and suggest a considerably later date. It is, however, free from the worst affectations of later poets; though frequently inclined to

prolixity and tedious variations on commonplace themes, the author generally avoids excessive obscurity, and sometimes succeeds in striking a pleasing and graceful note. Taken all in all, the poem is a meritorious contribution to Sanskrit literature.

14. DIE SUPARNASAGE. Untersuchungen zur altindischen Literatur- und Sagen-geschichte. Von JARL CHARPENTIER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 399 pp. Uppsala, 1921.

In this work Professor Charpentier presents a critical text of the Suparnâdhyâya with translation and exposition, preceded by a study of the literary character of the poem, which he assigns to the epic genus, and followed by an examination of the mythical elements contained in it. First he considers the Ākhyāna-theory applied to the Rg-vêda and Suparnâdhyâya, and then the Drama-theory; neither of these, in his judgment, can be applied except to a very limited degree to the Rg-vêda. He next analyses the legend of the Suparnâdhyâya in detail, gives the text and translation of the poem, considers its relations to the other versions of the legend, and lastly studies its two main *motifs*, that of Kadrû-Vinatâ and that of the churning of the Ocean, in the light of comparative mythology. The work is scholarly and stimulating, and it will be read with interest even by those who do not share all the author's opinions.

15. MANDUKI SIKSA, or The phonetical treatise of the Atharva Veda. Edited . . . with an introduction, appendices, and an index [in Hindi] by BHAGAVAD DATTA. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xviii + 25, vi, vii. Lahore, 1921.
16. BRIHAT SARVANUKRAMNIKA [*sic*!] OF THE ATHARVA VEDA. Edited . . . with an introduction and an index [in Hindi] by . . . RAMGOPALA SHASTRI. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xlii + i + 204 + xxii pp. Lahore, 1922.
17. THE RĠ-VEDAPRĀTISĀKHYA WITH THE COMMENTARY OF UVĀṬA. Edited . . . with introduction, critical, and additional notes, English translation of the text, and

several appendices by MANGAL DEVA SHASTRI, M.A.,
D.Phil. Part of the introduction. 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$, 33 pp.
Oxford: University Press, 1922.

The Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā is not a novelty, having been previously printed in Yugalakiśōra Vyāsa's *Śikṣā-saṅgraha* (Benares, 1893), and the value of the present edition lies in the variant readings from three MSS. which it furnishes. The editor in his preface deals with some interesting points connected with this Śikṣā, e.g. its relation to the R̥gvēda-prātisākhya and Yāska, the age of the existing Śikṣās, and the references found in Vedic literature to Māṇḍūkā, the putative author of the Māṇḍūkī. On the first problem his conclusion is that the basis of the Prātisākhya is earlier than Yāska, and its final recension later than his time, so that it quotes him (993) and is in turn quoted by him (105).¹ He justly admits that the amount of original material in the Māṇḍūkī is extremely meagre, the major part of its teachings being derived from other Śikṣās; and he believes that the verse xvi, 7, which coincides with Manu ii, 218, was borrowed by it from Manu, but his view as to the antiquity of Manu is by no means in harmony with our western prejudices. Of greater importance is the Bṛhat-sarvānukramanikā of the Atharva, which performs for the Fourth Vēda the same function as is rendered to the First by Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramanī. It is not altogether strange to students, thanks to the full notice in Weber's Berlin Catalogue, Bd. II, Abt. i, p. 79 (No. 1487); but the present edition is ampler than the MS. described by Weber, containing eleven *paṭalas*. The editor has given us in a long Hindi preface his views on the antiquity of the Vēdas, and of the Atharva in particular (it is interesting and certainly new to us to learn that the Atharva had an influence on the religion of early Egypt, etc.), and on the canonicity of the Atharva, as to which he maintains that the term *chandāṃsi*, commonly

¹ The evidence for the Rpr. quoting Yāska is not very convincing, being only the use of the definition *saṃhitā pada-prakṛtiḥ* (105) = *pada-prakṛtiḥ saṃhitā* in Nir. i, 17.

understood to mean the R̥gvēda, denotes the Atharva likewise. The introduction to the Prātisākhya is a welcome promise, the sample of Mr. Mangal Deva Shastri's critical theory auguring well for his practice, and we look forward with pleasure to the publication of the rest of the book. There is ample room for a new edition of this ancient manual of Vedic phonetics, and the one thus harbingered seems likely to mark a distinct advance.

18. **BUDDHIST LEGENDS.** Translated from the original Pāli text of the Dhammapada Commentary by EUGENE WATSON BURLINGAME. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. xxviii-xxx. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$, 3 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1921.
19. **BUDDHIST PARABLES.** Translated from the original Pāli by EUGENE WATSON BURLINGAME. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxix + 348 pp., 1 plate. New Haven, 1922.
20. **ANUBUDDHA BUDDHAGHOSA THERA'S PARAMATTHAJOTIKA,** or the commentary to the Khuddakapātha. . . . Edited by . . . WELIPITIYÉ DÉWĀNANDA THÉRA . . . revised by . . . MAHAGODA SIRI ÑĀNISSARA THÉRA. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, i + vi + 176 pp., 1 plate. Colombo, 1922.
21. **BHADANTACHARIYA BUDDHADATTA MAHA THERA'S MADHURATTHAVILĀSINI,** or the commentary to the Buddhawansa of the Khuddaka Nikāya. . . . Edited by . . . YAGIRALA PAÑÑĀNANDA THÉRA . . . revised by . . . MAHAGODA SIRI ÑĀNISSARA THÉRA. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, viii + 268 pp., 1 plate. Colombo, 1922.

Mr. Burlingame's sumptuous volumes are of first-class value as revealing the utmost "inwardness" of Buddhism, for in these legends, fables, and parables we see the very heart of the religion, not as a group of somewhat elusive and imperfectly comprehended philosophemes but as a live force in the souls of men, firing their imagination with its ideals and winning their hearts with its message of love and charity. They show us Buddhism on its moral side, for better and for

worse—often childlike, sometimes childish and wrong-headed, but sometimes also profoundly sweet and noble, as in the stories of Vakkali and the Sick Monk told in the “Parables”. The “Legends” are prefaced by an abstract of the legend of the Buddha, a summary of Buddhist doctrine, an account of the Dhammapada, the place of the latter in the Canon, its Aṭṭhakathā and its nature and structure, etc., followed by the captions of all the stories. The “Parables” (a slightly misleading title, for the book contains besides parables proper a number of simple legends, narratives, and edifying stories, and fables from hagiology and folk-lore) are drawn from the Vinaya, Jātaka, and other books of the Suttapiṭaka, the Aṭṭhakathās of the Aṅguttara, Thēri-gathā, Dhammapada, the Milindapañhā, Chavannes’ “Cinq Cents Contes”, the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Sūtrālaṃkāra, and Divyāvadāna, with some mediaeval European derivatives from Buddhist sources. The other two volumes, which form respectively vols. xi and xii of the now well-known Simon Hewavitane Bequest, are also welcome additions to the library of the student of Buddhism, being full of valuable matter and excellently printed.

22. ĀKHYĀNA-SAMHITĀ, or Legends of Ind. Illustrating samples of ancient arts and science of India in her palmyest days. By UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, viii+169 pp. Calcutta, 1920.

This is a collection of stories in simple prose and verse from the epics and other narratives, with English and Sanskrit glosses. It will be a useful reading-book for junior classes; but we cannot agree with the Pandit in his opinion that his selections prove the ancient Hindus to have been “thoroughly conversant” with aeroplanes, cannons, dynamite, and scientific chemistry. The illustrations are rather feeble, and we have noted a few misprints.

23. THE BEGINNER’S SANSKRIT GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION. Introductory and supplementary to the Elements of

Sanskrit Grammar. Published by the Calcutta University.
 . . . By UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. 4th edition.
 $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, xi+336 pp. Calcutta, 1915.

The author's method here, as in most of his other educational works, is practical and effective, though the book is not without a few slips. The rules of grammar are given mainly in Bengali, and exercises in English.

24. A MANUAL OF HIGHER SANSKRIT GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION. By UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. Pts. I, II. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Calcutta: 1919, 1921.

The object of this work is to teach grammar and composition by means of select aphorisms of Pāṇini explained in Sanskrit and English, with illustrations from standard authors and appendices on the art of poetry and prosody; and in carrying out this design the author shows considerable skill and much learning. The student who will have mastered this book will be thoroughly equipped for the study of Sanskrit belles-lettres on the lines of traditional pandit-craft. We must confess to an heretical belief that the orthodox native method of teaching grammar, especially that of the school of Pāṇini, is exceedingly cumbrous and antiquated, and that the same results could be attained with half the labour if a really scientific mode of exposition were followed. But so long as Hindus prefer the more laborious way, they cannot have a better guide than our author.

25. SAMSKṚTA-PĀṬHA-MĀLĀ. Sanskrit Reader. By Pandit UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. Pts. I, II. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. Calcutta, 1922.

Pt. i of this useful little work has reached the seventh edition, pt. ii the fifth, and it merits its success, for it marks a decided move in the right direction. The author teaches the elements of Sanskrit in a simple, practical manner, similar to that of Buehler's *Leitfaden*, and uses for illustration passages from standard narratives, recast into simple form.

26. SARALA-PAÑCATANTRAM, or Panchatantra for Beginners. By UPENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHANA. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, iv + 112 pp., 7th edition. Calcutta, 1921.

A handy edition of the popular fable-book, simplified as to vocabulary and *sandhi*-forms, with suitable English foot-notes.

27. HELMUTH V. GLASENAPP, DER HINDUISMUS : Religion und Gesellschaft im heutigen Indien. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xvi + 505 pp., 43 plates. München : Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1921.

The attempt of Dr. v. Glasenapp to present a survey of the religious and social conditions which together compose the heterogeneous complex called for a lack of a better term "Hinduism" has been remarkably successful. His knowledge of modern conditions is extensive, and he fully realizes their organic relation to those of the past ; hence his book may be described as a general outline of Hindu religion, philosophy, and social life from the earliest times to the present day. After discussing India and the Indians and the nature and development of Hinduism, he treats of the subjects of religious thought (inanimate and animate beings, spirits and gods, etc.), religious literature, natural philosophy, moral conceptions, the philosophical systems, social life and worship, sects, and finally western influences. On the last-named topic, which includes the religious, philosophical, and political movements of modern times, his survey is notably instructive. It shows no trace of political animus, and on the whole estimates the facts under review fairly and sensibly. Altogether the book is a good and useful one, and sound without being obtrusively erudite. Some of the paintings reproduced in the plates are excellent of their kind.

28. THE SOMA PLANT. By S_j. BRAJA LAL MUKHERJEE, M.A., M.R.A.S. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, 9 pp. Calcutta, 1922.

The object of this little essay is to demonstrate that the Sōma plant of Vedic ritual is not, as is commonly supposed,

the *Asclepias acida*, but the *Cannabis sativa* or Indian hemp. The negative side of its argument seems to us rather more effective than the positive, and the author's treatment of the literary sources is not always convincing; but on the whole he makes out a case for hemp which deserves serious consideration.

29. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR . . . 1920-2. By Rao Bahadur R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S. 3 vols. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, Bangalore, 1921-2.

Untoward and most regrettable circumstances have delayed the publication of our notices of the first two of these reports upon the well-nigh inexhaustible artistic and historical treasures of Mysore, and our review of them now must be briefer than they deserve. The Report for 1920 gives an account of several buildings surveyed or re-surveyed, notably the temples of Mysore, Koramangala, and Harihar, with some valuable observations on the caves of Karle, Elephanta, Nasik, Ellora, and other places of interest in the Bombay Presidency. Several important records are published for the first time with facsimiles, in particular two Gaṅga grants from Narasimharajapura purporting to be from the reigns of Śrīpuruṣa and Śivamāra, which appear to be genuine, though they do not throw much new light on the obscurities of Gaṅga history. As regards manuscripts, it is somewhat exciting news that the traditions recorded in Gaṅga documents to the effect that Mādhava I composed a commentary on the Dattaka-sūtra, and that Durvinīta expounded Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya XV, are to some extent borne out by the two discoveries recently made in the Madras Oriental MSS. Library, scil. of a commentary on two chapters of the Dattaka-sūtra and of an Avantisundarī-kathā-sāra, which in its preface states that Bhāravi stayed at the court of Durvinīta and was contemporary with Viṣṇuvardhana (apparently the Eastern Cālukya) and the Pallava Siṃhaviṣṇu. The latter tradition,

though not necessarily of first-hand authority, well deserves consideration. The next Report is chiefly remarkable for its illustrations of some beautiful architecture at Belur and Halebid and for the publication of two Gaṅga grants, of which the first (purporting to be of Harivarman, in Śaka 188) is a clumsy forgery, but the second (of Mārasimha, in Śaka 884) has every sign of genuineness, and is of prime importance as a document of Gaṅga history, besides being a noteworthy specimen of Sanskrit composition. The Report for 1922, which is more slender, has a melancholy interest, for it is the last that will appear from the pen of Mr. Narasimhachar, who has now retired from the office of Director of Archæological Researches after a service of sixteen years. His record is one upon which he and his native State may well look with pride. He tells us that "the number of new records deciphered and dealt with during this period was about 5,000, the number of Hindu, Jaina, and Muhammadan buildings visited and described more than 1,000, the number of coins dealt with about 4,100, and the number of palm-leaf manuscripts examined nearly 1,800", besides a vast amount of subsidiary work; and how well the work has been done, with what massive and exact scholarship the Rao Bahadur has laid the foundations for the history of Mysore, is known to all students. We bid him in his official capacity a sorrowful farewell, with the earnest hope that his leisure may be as fruitful in scholarly achievement as his previous career.

30. BHĀRAT-KĒ PRĀCHĪN RĀJAVAMŚ (Ancient Dynasties of India). By VIŚVEŚVARNĀTH REU. Vols. I, II. 7×5. Bombay, 1920-1.

One of the most promising features in the development of modern India is the growth of a spirit of historical research. This *purātattvānusandhitsu*, though it is still limited to a comparatively small band of scholars, and sometimes (as in Europe) is not quite as severely objective as stern criticism demands, is full of vitality, and has already produced fruits

of high merit, which deserve sympathetic recognition by western students. Its literature, however, is nearly all in English, and hence the author of the present work has done wisely in writing in his native Hindi, for thereby he is sure to attract a larger number of his fellow-countrymen into the circle of his researches than if he had used English as his vehicle. The object of his book is to present in summary a history of the chief dynasties of ancient India as far as it can be determined, from inscriptions, charters, coins, and literary sources; and so far as the present volume goes, he has been thoroughly successful. He gives us in it accounts of the Western Kṣātrapas, the Haihayas or Kalachuris with their branch in Southern Kōsala and the later Kalachuryas of Kalyani, the Paramāras with their branches in Kiradu, Danta, Jalor, Malwa, Vagar, etc., the Pālas, the Sēnas, and the Chauhānas with their offshoots at Ranthambhor, Chhota Udaipur and Bariya, Nadol, Jalor, Deora, Dhaulpur, and Bharoch. He also gives lithographic plates of ancient alphabets, which, though rather lacking in finish, are fairly accurate; and a preface is contributed by Pandit Dēvīprasāda of Jodhpur. The second volume contains chapters on the Kali-yuga, the Mahābhārata and its date, and the early dynasties from the Śīsunāgas down to the seventh century of the Vikrama era, including separate studies of the Buddha, Mahāvīra, Śaśāṅka, Vikramāditya, and the Vikrama era, Kālidāsa, the antiquity of Indian writing (wherein the author champions the "patriotic" view, which does not convince us), and Indian historiography. Some of the English references might be more carefully printed: it needs a little effort of divination to recognize "Briggs's Ferishta" in "Brgg's Faritets" (i, p. 298). The phonetic transliteration of European names into Indian characters is likewise not very successful, Megasthenes appearing as *Maigesthaniḥ*, Menander as *Minainḍar*, and Eudemus as *Iyūḍīmas*.

31. KṢĀTRIYA CLANS IN BUDDHIST INDIA. By BIMALA CHARAN LAW, M.A., B.L. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, ii+viii+218 pp., 1 map, 2 plates. Calcutta and Simla : Thacker, Spink & Co., 1922.

The Kṣatriya clans described by Mr. Law are the Licchavis, Vidēhas, Mallas, Śākyas, Bulis, Kōliyas, Mōriyas, Bhaggas, and Kālāmas ; and among these the Licchavis, as befits their aristocratic eminence, occupy out of a total of 218 pages 138 pages, which deal with their name and origin, their capital Vaiśālī, their manners and customs, religion, philosophical views, government, and political history, mainly from the references to them preserved in Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese literature. The other clans are treated similarly, in so far as the scantier materials permit. The book is useful as a painstaking collection of references, though from the standpoint of criticism it leaves something to be desired.

32. SĀRNĀTH-KĀ ITIHĀS. By BRINDĀVAN BHATṬĀCHĀRYA. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, xii+177+xi pp. ; 6 plates. Benares, 1922.

The author of this work has undertaken the task of narrating in High Hindi the history of the famous Buddhist sanctuary of Sarnath—the Isipatana-Migadāya of the Pali scriptures—from the earliest recorded times down to the present day, and he has accomplished it, on the whole, very well. Beginning with the Pali sources (in dealing with which he is not excessively critical), he proceeds to trace the fortunes of Sarnath through the centuries as indicated by the monuments and inscriptions found there, which attest the rule of Asōka, the Śuṅgas, Śakas, Kuṣanas, Guptas, and later monarchs. He then gives a sketch of the excavations made at Sarnath, which, beginning from the casual vandalism of Jagat Singh nearly 130 years ago, have gradually brought to light the ancient glories of the place ; and this is followed by an account of its monuments and inscriptions and of its present condition. The plates are of rather mediocre quality, and on the one

depicting Asōka's inscription the letters are almost invisible ; but in most other respects the little book is good and useful.

33. VEDIC ANTIQUITIES. By G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL.
 $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, 29 pp. Pondicherry, 1922.

This is a short account of the author's examination of some ancient rock-hewn graves in Malabar district, which appear to have preserved the characteristics of the Aryan tomb of the Vedic period, a hemispherical vault with a central pillar supporting it, which would seem to be also the fundamental design of the Buddhist *stūpa* ; he connects this further with the Vedic house, and finds in the caves of Malabar even a survival of the Vedic *agnidhrīya*. Whatever the ultimate solution may be, Professor Dubreuil deserves our thanks for the vigour with which he has carried out his researches and the suggestive answers that he gives to these problems.

34. VIJAYA DHARMA SŪRI : His life and work. By A. J. SUNAVALA, B.A., LL.B. With a prefatory note by F. W. Thomas. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 85 pp. Cambridge.

This is a biography and appreciation of a remarkable man. Vijayadharma Sūri, by his combination of religious earnestness, force of personality, and learning, stands at the head of modern Jain teachers, and has done much to revive the spiritual and intellectual energies of his community. Not the least of his fine qualities is the broadminded scholarly spirit which enabled him to sympathize and collaborate with Western students in their researches in Jainism and its literature. Mr. Sunavala does full justice to his *nāyaka*.

35. BRITISH BHĀRAT-KĀ ĀRTHIK ITIHĀS. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, xxii + 216 pp. Benares, 1922.

This book is an abridged Hindi translation, by Mr. Kesavadeo Sahariya, of the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *Economic History of British India*, and forms No. 16 of the *Jñāna-maṇḍala* series. The much-discussed question as to the merits of the latter work need not be reopened here ;

suffice it to say that the present volume furnishes a handy Hindi summary of about half the bulk of the original.

36. THE HISTORY OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE. By BIJAYCHANDRA MAZUMDAR. Published by the University of Calcutta. $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xviii+298 pp. Calcutta, 1920.

Mr. Mazumdar's work on account of its learning, vigorous style, and bold deviation from currently accepted doctrine deserves a fuller notice than can be accorded to it here. Opening with a stout denial of Sir. G. Grierson's theory of the origin of the Aryan vernaculars, he maintains their derivation from the Vedic language, and explains their variations as due to the influence of non-Aryan speech, mainly Dravidian; in particular, Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese are in his opinion all primarily evolved from one and the same Eastern Māgadhi Prakrit, and the first two have been influenced in a secondary degree by Dravidian speech. We must, however, confess that the philological method pursued by him is not always wholly satisfactory; undoubtedly many correct identifications are suggested, but on the whole his method of comparison is hardly adequate, many of the Dravidian words being wrongly spelt, and insufficient care being taken to trace modern words to their oldest forms. To us the most attractive chapters are ii-iv, on the names *Vaṅga* and *Bāṅglā*, the geography of ancient Bāṅglā with the connected regions, Gauda, Rādhā, and Vaṅga (though here, also, many assertions are made that need proof), vi, on Bengali phonology, and vii-ix, a fine study of accent in Sanskrit and Bengali and of the Bengali metrical system, which is of especial value as the author himself has won high distinction as a poet in his native language. On the whole it may be said that the book is most stimulating and suggestive, and that it presents a remarkable mass of interesting facts relating to modern Bengali. The author has for several years suffered from total blindness; that he should have struggled so valiantly against his affliction and produced a work of so much merit must enlist for him the sympathy of his readers and to some extent disarm criticism.

37. A GRAMMAR OF THE CHHATTISGARHI DIALECT OF EASTERN HINDI. Originally written in Hindi by HIRA LAL KAVYOPADHYAYA . . . and translated by SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON. . . . Revised and enlarged by Pandit Lochan Prasad Kavya-vinod under the supervision of Rai Bahadur Hira Lal. 9×6, ix + 225 pp. Calcutta, 1921.

Although the literature of Chhattisgarhi is of no great age and contains nothing comparable to the great works found in some other kinds of Hindi speech, the dialect itself well deserves study. It is the chief tongue of a wide area, comprising the districts of Raipur, Bilaspur, and Surgur, together with the fourteen feudatory States in the Chhattisgarhi district of the Central Provinces, and is a vigorous and interesting speech. The author of this grammar, being himself a native and a contributor to Chhattisgarhi literature, has been able to give a very clear sketch of the grammar of the language and also of its idioms, illustrating them by lively dialogues, proverbs, riddles, verses, and the stories of Rāma, Dhola, and Chandā. Except for a certain number of unimportant misprints and inexactitudes in transliteration, the book is well produced.

L. D. BARNETT.

Recent Works on Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula

INLEIDING TOT DE HINDOE-JAVAANSCH KUNST. Door Dr. N. J. KROM. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7. Vol. I: xiv + 414 pp., 42 plates, 1 map. Vol. II: xi + 338 pp., 58 plates. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920.

The late head of the Archæological Department of the Dutch East Indies is to be heartily congratulated on the issue of this fine work, the outward appearance of which, with its admirable printing and beautiful illustrations, fitly matches

sculpture), an art which, while undoubtedly originating from Indian inspiration, nevertheless evolved on lines of its own, into forms of great beauty, unsurpassed and perhaps unequalled in India proper, especially as regards the tasteful treatment of its decorative features.

The bulk of Dr. Krom's work consists of accurate and critical accounts of the individual monuments (mainly temples) in their general chronological order. But these are preceded by chapters on the history of archæological research in Java, the history of Java in its Hindu-Buddhist period, the religions illustrated by the monuments (i.e. mainly Sivaism and Mahayana Buddhism), the origin and technique of Javanese art, and other introductory matters, while the concluding chapters deal with the spread of this art eastward and westward, into Bali, Sumatra, etc., and with the minor department of metal work. Needless to say, the treatment of the historical part is up to date, and is remote *toto caelo* from the idle tissue of legends which passed for history in the time of Raffles, a century or more ago, and which still influences some English writers who have read Raffles but will not trouble to read Dutch. In chapter iii I note some very useful descriptions of the iconographical details of posture, emblems, etc., characteristic of the several Hindu divinities, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, etc. Bibliographical lists appended to most of the chapters facilitate the student's access to the large scattered literature that has accumulated on the subject of the Javanese monuments.

The author's general conclusions are summed up in asserting (1) the essential unity of Javanese art, and (2) its relative freedom, within certain wide limits, of development according to the desires of the individual artists.

PERAK MALAY. (Papers on Malay Subjects : Second Series.)

By C. C. BROWN. 10½×7, xv+106 pp. Calcutta : published for the Committee for Malay Studies, Federated Malay States, and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1921.

Texts as materials for the study of the local Malay dialects of the Malay Peninsula have long been a *desideratum*, and here we have an excellent beginning, consisting of twenty-nine dialogues in Perak Malay, racy of the soil, with Standard Malay and English versions added by Mr. Brown, who is also responsible for nine of the originals. The rest were written for him by local Malays, including amongst others the Sultan of the State, so there can be no doubt as to their representative character. Mr. Brown's introduction explaining the peculiarities of the Perak dialect is also very valuable, but suffers from ambiguity in some of its phonetic statements. For example, we are left in doubt whether the *r* in such dialectic pronunciations as *děngor*, *dangor* (p. xii), and *pikior* (p. xiii) is really an *r* at all, or (if so) what kind of *r*. To say that the final syllables of these words rhyme with "for" (or "yore") does not settle the point: is the reference to Southern English, or some other, pronunciation? If the former (which has no final *r* sound), how is that to be reconciled with an alleged similar pronunciation of *kěděngoran* (where, surely, there is a real *r*)? And if a pronunciation with a genuine final *r* really is intended, does such sound actually occur in *dangor* (= Standard *dangau*)? It seems improbable. In the representation of dialects, phonetic precision is a primary essential.

KATALOG DES ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN REICHSMUSEUMS.
 Band xvi. Celebes. I. Süd-Celebes. Erster Teil. Von
 Dr. H. H. JUYNBOLL. 10½×7½, xvi+145 pp., 10 plates.
 Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1922.

This volume continues the admirable catalogue of the riches of the Dutch Ethnographical Museum and illustrates the material culture, arts and crafts, etc., of the Bugis and Macassar peoples of Southern Celebes.

WIR MENSCHEN DER INDONESISCHEN ERDE. II. Der Sinn
 für das Wahre, Gute und Schöne in der indonesischen

Volksseele. Von RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$,
27 pp. Luzern: E. Haag, 1922.

In this second part of the above-named monograph Dr. Brandstetter pursues, with his usual acumen and scholarship, the study of the psychological attitude of the primitive Indonesians towards ethical and aesthetic concepts, so far as it can be inferred from an investigation of their languages and literatures. It is unnecessary to emphasize the amount of learning and research involved in the making of this little work: the examples are drawn from a large number of Indonesian languages, and the analogies with parallel phenomena in the Indo-European family are of great interest.

VERSPREIDE GESCHRIFTEN. By H. KERN. 9 vols., $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$,
pp. x+319, viii+320, viii+323, viii+344, viii+323,
viii+319 (with three folding tabular forms and four
epigraphic facsimiles), viii+320 (with 1 map, 2 plates,
1 folding and 24 other epigraphic facsimiles), viii+324
(with 1 folding facsimile of MS.), viii+316. 's-Graven-
hage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913-20.

It is impossible for any one person to do justice to the multifarious contents of these fine volumes: the late Professor Kern's versatility altogether precludes any such attempt as that, for he was familiar with an enormous number of different subjects. To speak first of languages, Sanskrit, Pali, ancient and modern Javanese, Malay, and a large number of the languages of Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia were at his fingers' ends, and he wrote about them with apparently equal facility and almost equal precision and elegance in Dutch, French, English, and German. His translations from Russian and his citations from ancient Irish and from Hungarian (to mention only these) testify to his wide acquaintance with the languages of Europe as well. But his work was by no means exclusively linguistic. The ancient Indian literatures,

philosophies, and religions, especially Buddhism, were favourite subjects for his handling, the science and art of epigraphy was a tool that he wielded with uncommon skill, and his intimate acquaintance with Indian prosody stood him in good stead in the critical editing of metrical texts.

In several of these departments of research he was a pioneer, and it may be doubted whether anyone else, even in such a long lifetime as he enjoyed, could have done so much original work on so many different lines as he was able to accomplish. It is quite out of the question that I should even attempt to appraise all these various achievements : it would require the joint efforts of a fairly large committee of specialists to do anything of the kind at all adequately. For the most part I must confine myself to a bare mention of some of the more important contents of these volumes, particularly in so far as they lie outside the limited sphere of my own studies. Such, for example, in vols. i and ii are the translations of the *Yogayātrā* and *Brhat-Samhitā* of Varāhamihira, two works of a more or less astrological character (with a preface to the second one in vol. iv), besides a number of essays and miscellaneous papers on Indian subjects ; in vol. iii certain Sanskrit inscriptions of Camboja which Kern was the first to identify as such and to decipher, thereby opening out a path for the French scholars who so ably followed him ; and in vols. vi and vii a number of Sanskrit inscriptions of Java, Sumatra, and Borneo.

Of his great work in contributing to the foundations of Indonesian comparative philology I have already had occasion to speak in this *Journal* (Jan., 1918, pp. 183-4), and to avoid repetition I merely refer to those pages, though they do not profess to give anything like an exhaustive statement of the results achieved by Kern in this important line of research. He supplemented the dissertations there alluded to by a number of other articles and papers, and in copious notes on various texts and inscriptions he continually contributed fresh material towards the building up of the comparative philology of the Austronesian family of languages. With this great

work his name will always remain associated as a pioneer and co-founder. I can only mention here his valuable *De Fidjitaal vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesië en Polynesië* (in vols. iv and v), *Taalvergelijkende verhandeling over het Aneityumsch. Met een Aanhangsel over het klankstelsel van het Eromanga* (vol. v), *Over de verhouding van het Nufoorsch tot de Maleisch-Polynesische talen, Klankwisseling in de Maleisch-Polynesische talen, Taalkundige gegevens ter bepaling van het stamland der Maleisch-Polynesische volken, Sawuneesche Bijdragen*, and *Over de taal der Jotifja's aan de Humboldt-baai* (vol. vi). These and his shorter contributions constitute an ordered mass of materials in support of the conclusions which he drew from them with an acuteness and sobriety of judgment that was all his own.

Kern's epigraphic work includes a number of inscriptions in Old Javanese (vols. vi and vii) and also a non-Javanese inscription of the seventh century, being nearly the oldest dated record in any Indonesian tongue. It is in a language closely akin to Malay, but contains many peculiar forms and a good deal that even its learned editor could not interpret. Among the Old Javanese texts (other than inscriptions) with translations and notes contained in these volumes, special mention must be made of the *Wytta-Saṅcaya* (vol. ix), a treatise on prosody in the form of a poem embodying a romantic story. It was originally published as long ago as 1875 with the text in the Javanese character, but appears here in a Romanized version. The work is of interest both as a specimen of Old Javanese and as illustrating many metres, of which some have apparently not been found in Indian literature. Kern's grammatical notes on Old Javanese (in vols. viii and ix) were unfortunately never completed. They remain as a sure foundation for further work on that difficult subject, but it will be no easy matter to find a scholar who is fully competent to raise the missing superstructure and finish the plan in its entirety.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting item of this great

collection is the Javanese poem *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (vols. vii and viii) to the translating of which Kern devoted the greater part of the last years of his life. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* dates from A.D. 1365, and its language, while not so archaic as that of the early Javanese inscriptions, presents many difficulties, particularly as there is only one MS. of it, which in a good many places is clearly corrupt. It is, however, a most important historical document. The light which it throws on social, political, and religious conditions in the Java of the fourteenth century makes it an invaluable record. We see portrayed before us a social structure organized as a feudalized monarchy, permeated with the Indian system of caste, and under the all-pervading influence of two great Indian religions, Hinduism and Mahayanist Buddhism. The syncretism and mutual tolerance of the two creeds went so far that several of the Javanese kings lived and died as avowed adherents of both religions. The country was full of the shrines and monasteries of the two faiths, all being equally in the enjoyment of State protection and patronage. Some of the Buddhist sites were in the possession of the regular monks (*kawinayan*), others were held by a kind of secular clergy of the Tantric school (*kabajradharan*). The Hindu sacred places included the seats of Brahman ascetics (*karēsyan*) and of Vaishnava and Śaiva votaries.

There is a curious account of a *śrāddha* ceremony held at the capital in 1362, which seems to have partaken of some of the characteristics of a spiritualistic séance; and a highly conventionalized description of a royal hunting expedition, wherein the beasts are pictured as meeting in council under the chairmanship of their king (*mrgendra*, here, no doubt, the tiger) in order to decide what tactics they are to adopt.

As is generally known, the poem contains a long list of countries overseas which the Javanese monarch claimed as his vassals, besides others with which he had friendly relations, and there are notices of traders and ecclesiastics coming to Java from various parts of India and Indo-China :

“Jambudwīpa Kamboja Cina Yawana len Cēmpa Karnnātakādi Goḍa mwanḡ Syangka.” We have also many topographical details relating to the capital, Majapahit, and to Eastern Java in general, the latter being mainly in connexion with several tours made by the king in various years. There is a good deal of information about the several members of the royal family; and the history of the country from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century is illustrated by many particulars amending, confirming, or amplifying the information derivable from the later prose chronicle known as the Pararaton.

The author, whose name (or title) Prapañca harmonizes well with the prolixity of his style, was a Mahayanist Buddhist holding a high position in the hierarchy and was apparently also a kind of poet laureate. His poem illustrates a wealth of Indian metres and overflows with words of Sanskrit origin. Artificial as the work is, it betokens a refined and elaborate literary culture and is a striking example of the way in which Indian models were imitated by the mediaeval Javanese. In view of its importance, the labour devoted to its elucidation by its learned translator must be regarded as well spent.

I pass over many minor articles, merely adding that the collection has been brought up to date by the addition of new footnotes from the hand of the author, and since his lamented death to some extent by annotations made by the editor, and that the volumes are admirably printed and got up. The only thing I regret is that there are not more epigraphic facsimiles and that those which are given do not always reproduce the whole text of the record which is dealt with.

VERSPREIDE GESCHRIFTEN. Tiende Deel. By H. KERN.
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, vii + 324 pp., 1 MS. facsimile plate.
 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1922.

The contents of this volume of Professor Kern's writings consist of various studies on Old and Modern Javanese

literature and on the languages and scripts of the Philippines. The most valuable, perhaps, are *De legende van Kuñjarakarna*, the Dutch translation of Cantos I-VI of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Eene Indische sage in Javaansch gewaad*. But the lists of Sanskrit loanwords in the Tagala and Bisaya languages should also be of interest to the Indianist as evidence of the eastward spread of Indian civilization.

MUTTERRECHT UND KOPFJAGD IM WESTLICHEN HINTERINDIEN.

Von Dr. ROBERT HEINE-GELDERN. (Sonderabdruck aus Band LI der Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.) $11 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, 36 pp., 1 map (in the text). Wien: Im Selbstverlage der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1921.

The author discusses, and disposes of, the supposed intimate relation between matriarchy and headhunting in the Assam-Burma region, and utters a salutary warning against the too readily made assumption that aggregates of cultural elements necessarily form a genuine unitary complex of a coherent and consistent kind. As he points out, it may well be that their several elements represent importations brought in at different periods (and, it may be added, from different quarters), and having no essential connexion with one another. This (amongst others) is a question that lies at the root of anthropological method, and the mere layman may venture to doubt whether the new school of cultural anthropology has yet discovered a sure and certain foundation of first principles.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

BUDDHA IN DER ABENDLÄNDISCHEN LEGENDE. By HEINRICH GÜNTHER. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, 306 pp. Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1922.

The author of this interesting work, well known by his researches on the Christian legends of the Middle Ages, is himself no indologist; but he is remarkably well read in the literature dealing with Buddhist lore, and has, moreover, had

the assistance of two most distinguished scholars, Professors Garbe and Hertel. The scope of the work is a wide one : the author has carefully sifted the Apocryphal Gospels, the Physiologus, the whole of the mediaeval legends and lives of the saints, etc., as regards possible influences from the Far East. The results are nearly wholly negative, as to him Barlaam and Joasaph remains the one undeniable example of Buddhist tradition in Western garb.¹ They are, unfortunately, far too negative, and there seems to be little reason to look upon them as in any way conclusive.

ST. THOMAS, THE APOSTLE, IN INDIA. By F. A. D'CRUZ.

8½ × 5½, 70 pp., 24 plates. Madras : Hoe & Co., 1922.

This is a vigorous attempt to uphold the tradition according to which St. Thomas was martyred at Mailāpur in South India. Unfortunately anything like proofs of the authenticity of this time-honoured tradition are not forthcoming, and the whole problem remains a matter of faith rather than one of scientific research. All that can be said is that if there were to be any hope of progress the investigation would have to follow lines wholly different from those adopted by the author of this little book.

THE MADHYAMA VYĀYOGA. A drama composed by the Poet BHĀSA ; translated from the original Sanskrit with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. ERNEST PAXTON JANVIER. 9½ × 6¾, 44 pp. Mysore : Wesleyan Mission Press, 1921.

A notice of this pamphlet will chiefly be of interest as a contribution to the rapidly increasing Bhāsa bibliography. By itself the work is rather insignificant ; the introduction offers little of interest, and there are several slips in the translation and notes.

¹ The author apparently has not noticed the recent theory of M. Alfarié on Barlaam having reached the West by Manichæan transmission.

TALES OF OLD SIND. By C. A. KINCAID. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, 140 pp., 8 plates. Oxford: University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1922.

This nicely printed and well-illustrated volume gives a translation of fourteen tales, only one of which seems to have been formerly made known to English readers. As the author himself points out, they are of different origin, some of them belonging to the Panjāb and Rājputāna rather than to Sind. The student would, perhaps, have welcomed a somewhat more detailed information concerning the sources of these tales; but, quite apart from this, it is only fair to admit that Mr. Kincaid has here given us a pleasant and by no means unimportant contribution to Hindu folk-lore.

DES VIŚVANĀTHA PAÑCĀNANA BHATṬĀCĀRYA KĀRIKĀVALĪ
MIT DES VERFASSERS EIGENEM KOMMENTAR
SIDDHĀNTAMUKTĀVALĪ AUS DEM SANSKRIT ÜBERSETZT.
Von OTTO STRAUSS. 9×6, xi+133 pp. Leipzig:
Brockhaus, 1922. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des
Morgenlandes XVI: 1.)

In his preface Dr. Strauss tells us that in preparing this translation he was at one time able to consult a Calcutta pundit but that, owing to the outbreak of the war, he had to give up his work for an indefinite time. In spite of these difficulties, and though he has unfortunately not been able to get his own extensive notes printed together with the translation, it seems obvious that he has given us a very useful and trustworthy translation of Viśvanātha's Kārikāvalī and its commentary. He has put it as his goal to give a German text which, carefully studied, would give the student a fair idea of the Sanskrit original, and it may at once be admitted that he has succeeded very well in this. It is to be hoped that he may be able to publish his notes on the text later on.

THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY'S PALI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

Edited by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and WILLIAM STEDE.

Pt. I (A); II (Ā-O). $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, 174 pp. Chipstead,

Survey: Published by the Pali Text Society, 1921-2.

The need for a new, up-to-date dictionary of the Pāli language has for years been more and more sorely felt by all students in the field of Buddhism, Indian languages, etc. The work of Childers still remains an admirable one, and some of his achievements are perhaps not to be superseded or have, at any rate, not yet been superseded; but the fact that such a vast amount of Pāli literature, only a diminutive part of which was known to Childers, has during recent times been made accessible to students makes it more or less an impossibility to pursue researches in Pāli with the single aid of that dictionary, be it ever so excellent.

Several efforts in the direction of a new lexicographical survey of the Pāli language seem to have been made by various scholars, efforts that have, for one reason or another, come to nothing. It was therefore with the greatest satisfaction that students greeted the issue during the autumn of 1921 of the first part of *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* under the chief editorship of Professor Rhys Davids, whose fame as one of the main authorities on Pāli lore is too well established to be dwelt upon here even with one word. With laudable speed this fascicle was followed within less than a year by a second one, which brought to an end the Pāli words beginning with vowels.

That all available sources of Pāli lexicography have been thoroughly sifted by Professor Rhys Davids and his assistant, Dr. Stede, there is little reason to doubt, and one may feel well convinced that no objections as to the completeness of the work can reasonably be raised. One might perhaps have hoped that some more light would have been shed on certain dubious passages in the Pāli scriptures, but such a suggestion cannot be taken for a criticism as the present writer is not prepared to state to what extent that would really have been

possible. Anyhow, it seems quite obvious that this dictionary offers to the student a means of safe guidance through the tangled mass of works composed by the Ceylonese Buddhists.

There is, however, one objection to this dictionary that ought to be strongly emphasized, and that concerns the etymological part of the work. We learn from the preface (p. viii) that this belongs to the domain of Dr. Stede; and considering the works of which, according to the bibliography, he has availed himself in achieving his task, the way in which it has been achieved may perhaps appear to be less astonishing. The books consulted in reference to Sanskrit are Aufrecht's edition of *Halāyudha*, Uhlenbeck's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, which should certainly be used by no critical scholar, and Grassman's *Rig-Veda Dictionary*; together with Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik* and Walde's *Etymological Dictionary of Latin*, which are both admirable works but give little of Sanskrit except the household and partly incorrect store of etymologies; these are the sources from which Dr. Stede has drawn his main information concerning the vastest and etymologically most ill-treated of Indo-European languages. The absence of a Sanskrit grammar and dictionary from the bibliography would mean nothing if well-nigh every page of the work did not witness that they have, incredible as it may sound, apparently not been used.

The result is that the etymological part of a great number of articles is such that it ought not to appear in any scholarly work, leave alone a dictionary of this scope and importance. Lack of space prevents me from going into details; but articles like *abbhūta*, *abhijjhālū*, *amacca*, *ābhassara*, *āhuka*², *ucca*, *ussolhi*, etc., are certainly amazing, to use a very moderate expression. A discussion like that given under *ogamana* (cf. also *otāra* and *ovaraka*) can be of no use whatever, and one feels somewhat bewildered to learn that *āracaṃyāracaṃyā* (if that be the correct reading) is "a gerund or ablative form". To those who feel it somewhat difficult to share the optimistic views of Professor Rhys Davids (p. vii) concerning a second

edition of the work this state of matters seems rather a pitiful one.

The amount of misprints is unproportionally high, and they are sometimes of an art to make them somewhat puzzling even to the advanced student.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT (ZAFAR UL-WÁLÍH BI MUẒAFFAR WA ÁLIH). By 'ABDALLÁH MUḤAMMAD BIN 'OMAR AL-MAKKÍ, AL-ÁṢAFÍ, ULUGHKHÁNÍ. Edited from the unique and autograph copy in the library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Sir E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E. Vol. II. xxxviii + 393-852 pp. Indian Texts Series. London: John Murray, 1921.

This volume is divided into two parts, of which the first contains the history of Gujarāt under its last two Sultans, Aḥmad and Muẓaffar, and the conquest of the country by the Emperor Akbar in the year 980/1572, while the second is a general history of Muḥammadan India from the time of Muḥammad ibn Sām to the accession of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq in the year 721. The second of these two parts is by far the less important. It is based almost entirely on the *Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī* and Baranī's *Ta'rikh i Fīrūzshāhī*, and seems to furnish little, if any, new information. The first part, however, is a contemporary narrative of which nearly every page supplements and elucidates the information previously available. Even if much of this story of warring nobles in the reigns of two boy kings is only relatively important, and if the multitude of *dramatis personæ*, the complexity of their inter-relations, and the unrevised state of the author's manuscript render it by no means easy or attractive reading, the work is nevertheless of considerable interest and well deserves the honour of publication in the Indian Texts Series.

The editor's Introduction is a valuable aid to the study of the work, and, in particular, the six pages devoted to summary

accounts of the chief title-holders are so useful as to justify the expression of a hope that the Index of Personal Names will be compiled on the same lines. These six pages are not indeed entirely free from the fault of conflation which Sir Clive Bayley and Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi frequently committed. Thus Shīr Khān, the boy king Aḥmad's boy wazīr, has been wrongly identified with Wajīh al-Mulk, the wazīr of I'timād Khān, while the reduction of three persons named Jhūjhār Khān to two has rendered the statements concerning Bilāl Jhūjhār Khān, who died in 953, not 966, largely incorrect. It may be added that Ṣafar Salmānī was not called Sa'id Ṣafar Salmānī, that Muḥammad Khayrat Khān seems to have no claim to the title of Sayyid which is ascribed to him on p. xvii, and that by a misprint the death of 'Imād al-Mulk Aṣḥān Rūmī is said on p. xv to have occurred in 969 instead of 966. Here and elsewhere in the Introduction more frequent references to the passages in the Arabic text on which the editor's statements are based would have been desirable.

In preparing his text on the basis of the autograph manuscript the editor has very properly "aimed at reproducing the author's words just as" he "found them". That is to say, he has not altered grammatical irregularities or removed inconsistencies of spelling. It does not, of course, mean that he has refrained from emendation or from inserting diacritic points and occasional short vowels, but until the appearance of the *apparatus criticus*, which will form part of volume iii, there will be no means of discovering precisely to what extent the manuscript text has been altered or emended. Misprints, in spite of the unfavourable circumstances in which, as the editor tells us, the proofs were corrected, do not seem to be very abnormally numerous except in the form of wrong division of words, an error which occurs with surprising frequency. Corrections of some misprints, as well as a few notes and conjectural emendations, are appended :—

Page 392, line 3, وَلَئِنَّ. 394, 1, يَأْمُرُ : 394, 12, يَزَالَا بِهِ : 396, 9, فَرَسٌ : مُرْدٌ يَحْمِلُ, 395, 20, آبَائِهِ, 395, 7, مِنْ دَارٍ نَأْخُذُ. . . 397, 10, وَكَمَنْ, 396, 21, الرَّأْيَ, 396, 12, فَنَفَارِقُ. 401, 3, delete the vāw, 398, 4, وَنَقِيْمَهُ. . . وَنَكُونُ. 401, 4, وَنُصِيفُهُ. 402, 24, لَدَى, 405, 5, لَدَى, 407, 16, الْمُؤَنَذَةِ, 405, 14, حَجْمٌ, 405, 13, وَتَشْمَرُ, 405, 6, نَاهِزٌ. 413, 17, بَدَا, 417, 6, تَسْتَكْمِلُهُ, 418, 21, رَجَالَهُ, 418, 22, طَرَقْتَهُمْ, 419, 4, يَرِيدُ, 425, 10, فَرَسٌ مِنْ, 429, 1, مَضَائِقِهِ, 426, 17, أَكَلَنَ, 426, 12, يَصِلُ. 429, 2, فَتَعَانِقُ, 429, 9, لِلْسَيِّدِ, 430 ult. [أَذًا] فِيمَ, 439, 20, شَانِبًا, 446, 22, حَالٌ, 442, 22, يَنْشَأُ, 440, 21, أَنْهَضُمْ. 449, 20, omit (sic). 450 ult. عَذْرًا, 451, 13, (؟) أَخْرَجَهَا. 451, 22, لِلْجَمَاعَةِ, 456, 18, بَرَقَ يَبْرُقُ, cf. 459, 7, 11. 457, 8, سَلُوكًا, 461, 1, بَرَّتْ, 461, 4, ارْتَفَعَتْ, 461, 12, عَلَى الْأَرْضِ (؟), 464, 10, عَالٍ, 465, 11, a word seems to have dropped out after أَلَا أُنَّ. 467, 7, this verse should properly begin with the words أَهْمُ بِأَمْرِ الْحَزْمِ; cf. Maidānī, *Majma' al-amthāl* (Cairo, 1310), ii, 29. 470, 15, اصْبِرْ, 471, 23, السَّرِجِ, 473, 2, يُقَالُ, 481, 2, اَجْدَعُ; cf. Maidānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, ii, 168. 482, 13, مِنْ ذَاتِ [النَّحِيْمِ], cf. Maidānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, i, 255. 569, 19, [كَانَ ؟] يَشَاءُ. 571, 14, ذُكِرُوا لِلسَّحْيِ; cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1434, 10. 572, 16, these verses will be found in *al-Ist'āb*, 167. 639, 7, (؟) السَّيِّئِينَ. 641, 21, لَمْ تَوْجَدْ, 643, 10, وَاللَّهِ, 645, 4, أَوْلَئِكَ, cf. 655, 1, 3 a.f., 852, 15. 651, 8, زَرْقَاءَ (a blue sky). 670 ult., insert آمَنَّا after رَبَّنَا; cf. *Qur'ān*, iii, 46. 678, 13, مَضْجَعًا, 680, 5, insert [مَعْرَكَةً] before اُتْجِلَتْ. 682, 22, الْمَوَدَّنِ (without tashdīd). 683, 16, وَكَلِمَ أَهْمُ أَكَابِرِ الْبَلَدِ (؟), 709, 1, التَّمَثَّلِ. 692 ult. وَلَا حَرَجَ "and the chief nobles were wounded". This appears to be an

steady progress carried out on sound and careful lines, which is both gratifying and reassuring. The first volume gives an account of operations during a period of three years when war conditions prevailed and funds were limited, but it is clear that a good deal of useful work was done, not merely in such well-known historic centres as Agra, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikri, Delhi, and Lahore, but in other localities, to arrest the deterioration of important buildings and to improve their immediate surroundings. Continuous progress has also been made in the collecting of interesting inscriptions. The excellent photographic plates at the end of the report illustrate very clearly what has been done by way of restoration or conservation in several places, especially at the Shaikhupura tank, the Dhakri-ka-Mahall tomb near Sikandara, and the mausoleum of Baha-uddin at Fatehpur-Sikri.

The belated report from Hyderabad relates only to one year and the actual letterpress barely covers ten pages, though the appendices and plates help to make the fasciculus more bulky. This report contains an interesting description of the Quṭb Shâhî buildings in Hyderabad city and its suburbs. The chief of these are the Châr Minâr, the Châr Kamân, and the Jâmi' Masjid, which is shown by an inscription to have been built by Muhammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh in 1006 A.H. (A.D. 1597). A good deal of money has been spent recently by the Nizam in conserving monuments of the past at Ajanta and Bidar. As the lengthy correspondence published in the first appendix shows, there seems every hope that the famous frescoes in the Ajanta caves will by this time have been subjected to a process of cleaning and preservation at the hands of specially chosen Italian experts and that they will all soon be available in photographic reproductions made by the best three-colour process.

The third of these publications furnishes a very full and interesting account of three astrolabes and a brass celestial sphere, which have recently been acquired by purchase and

added to the Delhi Museum. The sphere bears the name of the maker and the date A.H. 1087 (A.D. 1676-7), but the astrolabes have no details of this kind engraved on them. Mr. Kaye gives detailed and convincing reasons for assigning the two older astrolabes, which are of very delicate and elaborate workmanship, to the years A.D. 1280 and 1495 approximately. The star-catalogues on them are in the Kufic and Naskhi Arabic characters respectively. The first contains a list of twenty-nine stars, all of which but two are clearly identifiable with well-known modern stars. The second originally gave the latitudes of sixteen stars, but the names of two are not now legible. The third astrolabe is inscribed with Devanagari characters, and is much more crudely constructed. Its date cannot be calculated by means of precession, but Mr. Kaye is of opinion on general grounds that it is not earlier than the end of the seventeenth century. The star list on it contains twenty-two stars, but eight of these are not identifiable with any degree of certainty.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Kaye has only given transliterations of the Arabic names of the stars on the first two astrolabes and the longer list containing eighty-one names, which is given in Arabic on the celestial sphere. Such words as 'Unq, Â'zal, Wâq'î, Tâîr, Qâîd (all three with long î), Yamânîh, Shâmîh, show that his transliterations cannot be relied on, and the glossary at the end contains many inconsistencies and errors.

The fourth and last volume is, as its high price indicates, of a much more elaborate and ambitious type. The main bulk of the work consists of a very fine series of coloured plates reproducing specimens of the enamelled tilework found on the wall of the imperial palace at Lahore, where a wall-space of nearly 500 yards in length and 16 yards in height has been covered with tile mosaics. What makes the work of unique interest is the fact that in addition to foliated and geometrical designs a great number of the panels, in defiance of the tenets of Islam, exhibit figures of human beings as well as of animals.

There is an admirable introduction, covering fifty-five pages, in which Indian tilework in general, the history of the Lahore fort, and the question of the date of these tile mosaics are discussed in detail. The conclusion arrived at is that these mosaics belong to the decade 1620–30, i.e. the end of Jahangir's reign and the beginning of that of Shahjahan, and that the pictures described by Finch, who visited Lahore in 1611, were frescoes inside one of the palace buildings. This last fact is clear from Finch's own narrative, which is quoted in full with its quaint perversions of proper names (e.g. Mocrow Bowcan for Muqarrab Khan, and Caun John for Khan Jahan). There has, in fact, been a curious silence about these tile mosaics in the writings of travellers and residents in India. Even in India at the present day they have hitherto attracted very little attention. This sumptuous reproduction of many of the most interesting panels will, no doubt, help to make them more widely known and appreciated.

A LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN BURMA. PART I: THE LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR DATES. Compiled and edited by CHAS. DUROISELLE, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma Circle. Superintendent Government Printing, Rangoon, 1921. Price Rs. 6.

This book of 216 pages is simply a classified list of the inscriptions found in Burma, which have already been published in a corpus of Burmese inscriptions, consisting of six enormous volumes. It is thus merely an ancillary book of reference. Part II of the same work, which will consist of an index of the names of persons, places, and monuments occurring in the six volumes of inscriptions and also in the three volumes of the Mhan-nan Yâzawin, will be published later on. Nearly all the inscriptions are of a dedicatory nature. In Mr. Duroiselle's short introduction stress is laid on the fact that Burma is very rich in lithic inscriptions, and that

epigraphs are found in no less than eight languages, but really there are only three languages which are employed with any frequency. Tamil and Chinese only occur once each, and in the whole of Burma only two Siamese inscriptions have been found. There is no complete inscription in Sanskrit in Burma proper. Most of the Pyu inscriptions are either illegible or mere names inscribed on funeral urns. The Môn inscriptions only number forty-eight, Môn, better known as Talaing, being the language of the people who inhabited Lower Burma when that country was annexed by King Anorata of Pagan in 1057.

The great bulk of the inscriptions, amounting to 1,457, are in Burmese, or Pali, or in these two languages combined. They are described by Mr. Duroiselle as being a rich mine of data concerning Buddhism, history, the growth of national institutions, and the gradual development of the language, but he admits that the method adopted in publishing the inscriptions, which have not only been transcribed in modern Burmese characters, but had their spelling altered and modernized, has deprived them of a good deal of their philological value.

R. P. DEWHURST.

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON. By NORMAN M. PENZER. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, xvi + 351 pp., 24 plates. London: A. M. Philpot, 1923.

This sumptuous volume is worthy of its subject, and that is saying much. It is a bibliography which realizes an ideal seldom, if ever, reached. It is, indeed, more than a bibliography, for it presents us not only with the results of Burton's literary activity, but with the man himself. Nothing is omitted, and the scrupulous accuracy with which the work has been compiled is astonishing. Even those who knew Burton well will realize from it as they never did before the extraordinary extent of his knowledge, the multifariousness of his interests, and the brilliancy of his work.

Like many other geniuses, Burton lived before his time and suffered accordingly. His insight enabled him to reach conclusions which conflicted with the orthodox theories of the day, and consequently were not accepted until their author was forgotten or ignored. Too independent to repeat the words or reflect the ideas of others where they seemed to him to conflict with the truth, and too honest to remain silent where he deemed it his duty to speak, it is not wonderful that there was friction between him and the bureaucrats of red-tapeism, or that the reward of his work was to be sent to some remote and insanitary corner of the earth "to die". But instead of dying he usually managed to discover new facts and make additions to science in his place of exile. Dr. Grenfell Baker says truly, in his preface, that "each of Burton's books was composed with the sole object of recording every single item of necessary information concerning the subject treated, and that, too, without regard to whether by so doing he would or would not please or offend any particular section of his readers".

I was first brought into personal relation with Burton by my review in the *Academy* of his *Etruscan Bologna*, which was the commencement of a friendship that lasted to his death. The book was a good illustration of Burton's versatility and, at the same time, his power of quickly grasping a subject. The subject was new to English readers, and the book was thrown off by its author merely as a sort of appendix to a tour in Italy. But it presented in a clear and readable form the results of excavations which were still in progress, as well as the conclusions which were to be derived from them, and the facts hidden in Italian periodicals were presented to the English reader in an attractive dress.

Mr. Penzer is hard upon Burton's biographers, and their errors and inaccuracies, and in some cases conscious bias, lay them justly open to attack. But it must be remembered in Lady Burton's case that she honestly endeavoured to shield her husband's memory from what she believed to be aspersions

on his character. She had persuaded herself that the many Masses she had caused to be said for his conversion had really ended in fulfilment, even though Burton himself was unconscious of the fact, and that so long as she could convince the world and herself that he was what her spiritual adviser declared he ought to be, minor inaccuracies were of little consequence. He once said to me: "Whenever we settle in a new place my wife asks me for money to pay for Masses for my conversion, and, of course, I let her have it; it pleases her and does not hurt me."

One of the features of Mr. Penzer's bibliography is that he gives the sale-prices of Burton's books from the date of publication up to the present day. In most cases they have changed but little, indicating but little change in their scientific estimation; it is only books like the *Arabian Nights* where there has been a marked rise. As to the relation between Burton's translation of the "Nights" and that of Payne, to which Mr. Penzer refers, Burton told me that he had been in correspondence with Payne—I believe his words were "constant correspondence"—and that a translation adopted by the one or the other was sometimes the result of mutual agreement. He further told me that he considered Payne too much inclined to a "smoothly modern" style.

It goes without saying that Mr. Penzer's work embodies a vast amount of minute and conscientious labour as well as expenditure of time. Its usefulness is much increased by an elaborate index.

A. H. SAYCE.

ARABIA. By D. G. HOGARTH. 7 × 5, 139 pp., map. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

This is a history of Arabia from our earliest knowledge to quite recent times. The subject does not seem to have been treated as a whole in this way in any book that has appeared before.

Mr. Hogarth, who evidently writes with thorough

knowledge, probably had the modern history chiefly in view, but he does justice to the other parts of his topic. He gives a skilfully drawn and well-balanced outline, bringing out the main features of the narrative and suppressing needless details. His book is full of information, and is interesting and readable besides being valuable as a work of reference. The map of Arabia is a good one.

One or two misprints have escaped correction, e.g. Khuhaa (Khuzaa), Ghavri (Ghauri).

THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT, NORTH AFRICA AND SPAIN, KNOWN AS THE FUTŪḤ MIṢR OF IBN 'ABD AL-ḤAKAM. Edited by CHARLES C. TORREY. 9½ × 6½, pp. 369+65. Humphrey Milford; and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922.

Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam was an Egyptian Arab. His work, composed in the middle of the ninth century of our era and now published complete for the first time, is one of the earliest Arab histories that have reached us. The range of the subjects included is wider even than the title indicates, and there may be noticed a considerable section devoted to those of the companions of the Prophet who entered Egypt; with some of their reminiscences of him.

The book is almost entirely a compilation of traditions, the isnāds of which are given. It contains a great deal of valuable historical information, and as regards the conquest of Egypt in particular, it preserves a large proportion of all that is left of the Arab tradition. As a local history it not infrequently gives details about the Arabs that are of considerable general interest, for similar particulars concerning minor matters relating to them at the period are rarely to be found elsewhere, at least on equally good authority. A certain number of the traditions are fabulous, some are weak and wrong. The book leaves an impression of confusion and want of judgment on the part of the compiler, and one feels that he ought to have managed to make up something much

clearer and better out of the materials that must have been available to him. The genuine merits of the history are liable to be obscured by its obvious defects. It is a historical source of importance.

Professor Torrey produces an excellent edition. The text is based on four MSS., one of them a particularly good one. The many difficulties which it presents are dealt with ably and with accurate knowledge, and the more closely it is examined the more evident becomes the amount of care, learning, and research that has been devoted to the readings. The printing is extremely clear and good, and misprints are commendably few. There is a full introduction, and words and expressions of interest, of which a considerable number occur, are explained in a useful glossary.

Very few suggestions on the text can be offered, but the following may be hazarded for what they are worth, if only to show that due attention has been given to the examination of the book:—

Page 72, 11, ^ءالأنزال ; 83, 2, يرى مَنْ وَلِيَهُمْ ; 98, 5, 11, probably اثيناس ; 103, 19, هَدَمَ ; 108, 4, الرَّمِيَّة ; 116, 4, جازوا ; 116, 7 ; 121, 7, 19, جَرًّا , cf. 122, 2, يَجْرُكُ for يُخْرِجُ ; 126, 7, يافع ; 126, 8, مَوْهَبَ ; 152, 17, see Khiṭ. Wiet, 1, 323, for the readings of this important and much discussed passage ; عرفاء can hardly be right ; 176, 5, شَقِيٍّ ; 182, 14, and delete وَتَر from glossary ; 209, 5, غَرَقُوا ; 224, 2, الِوَرَع ; 229, 13, الْفَتْرَةَ.

For the place-names أَخْنَا , قَرِيْط , read أَجْنَا (see

Maspero and Wiet, *Geographie*), and for *بَلْدَة* read *بَلَدَة* (Qāmûs, i, 332), in spite of Yâqût.

THE BOOK OF RELIGION AND EMPIRE BY 'ALĪ ṬABARĪ.

Translated from an apparently unique MS. in the John Rylands Library by A. MINGANA, D.D. 9×6, pp. xxiv+169. Manchester: at the University Press.

Ibn Rabban would have been a more distinctive name for the author of this book. Ibn Rabban was a writer on medicine of some note; two of his works on this subject are still extant. The book is a vindication of Islam, written under the patronage of the Khalif el Mutawakkil, and seems to be by far the earliest specimen of Muhammadan apologetics that has survived. The first chapter as it stands does not answer at all to the description of it given at the end of the book, so that it appears that there must have been some alteration in the text.

Doubtless there are many people who will be interested in following out the somewhat quaint arguments advanced. To make a readable translation of a book of this sort is far from being an easy matter. Dr. Mingana achieves a considerable measure of success. His introduction and notes will give the student the help he requires.

MAQRIZÎ. *EL MAWÂ'IZ WA'L-I'TIBÂR FÎ DHIKR EL-KHITÂṬ WA'EL-ÂTHÂR*. Édité par M. GASTON WIET. Vol. III. 14×11, xiv+379 pp. In *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*. Cairo, 1922.

Monsieur Wiet continues his great edition of Maqrizî's *Khitaṭ*, the earlier portions of which were noticed in this *Journal* for 1912 and 1921. This instalment carries the work up to about one-fifth of the whole book. The volume covers a large part of the section dealing with the towns of Egypt.

All, or very nearly all, the matter in the text is taken by Maqrīzī from other books. Some twenty-five towns are the subjects of notices, but not very much information is given with regard to any of them, except Alexandria and Tinnīs. There is an account of Nubia, particularly good in its way, and it is to be hoped that some day something will be discovered about its author, of whom all that is known at present is his name and date. There is a very detailed topographical account relating to a small part of the Delta, besides various other geographical and historical items. Some ancient history of Egypt which is introduced is for the earliest period pure myth, but the region of fact is entered with lists of kings from the twentieth dynasty, as Monsieur Wiet is able to show. The editor's notes display his great knowledge of his subject and his unsparing pains. The edition continues to preserve the same high standard as before.

A HANDBOOK OF LIBYA. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. 7 × 5, 628 pp., 5 maps. Published by H.M. Stationery Office, no date, probably dates from 1917.

Libya denotes the Italian province, and thus includes Cyrenaica as well as Tripoli. It is a vast arid tract relieved by oases, which are fairly numerous in some parts. Much of it is bare desert. The country has little history, and seems to have small prospect of any great development.

Even up to the present, information about the remoter parts of it is deficient, and most of the rest has not become at all well known until comparatively recently. The handbook seems to be the first complete guide that has appeared, at any rate in English. It contains a full description on the usual lines. Nearly half the volume is taken up with a detailed description of routes. Maps of the tribes are a useful feature. The numerous plans of places and the vocabularies also deserve notice.

HANDBOOK OF ARABIA. VOL. I: GENERAL. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Staff, Admiralty, London. 7 × 5, 708 pp., 4 maps, and 15 plates. Published by H.M. Stationery Office. 10s. net.

A full and comprehensive account of modern Arabia and its people, well arranged and clearly written, based partly on unpublished material, this book constitutes a valuable accession to knowledge, and students of early Islamic history will realize its importance in connexion with their researches. A very useful feature is a detailed enumeration of all the various tribes of the peninsula. The book appears to have been compiled in 1916, too early, therefore, for the results of Mr. Philby's journeys in Southern Najd to be incorporated. The second volume, which is said to be devoted mainly to detailed routes, does not seem to have been published yet.

A. R. GUEST.

BAHDINAN KURMANJI. By Captain R. F. JARDINE. 7 × 5, iii+114 pp. Baghdad: Government Press, 1922.

The Mesopotamian press appears to have collapsed before the production of this small work, which has suffered from haste on the author's part, indifference on that of the proof reader, and the active malice of the compositor. The vocabulary, which has a good and ample selection of English words, is rendered practically useless by the general lack of stops between words and of diacritical marks over long vowels. Not content with this, the compositor has lightly sprinkled a few of both here and there with a most confusing result. There appears to have been no correction of proofs. Examples are (from the vocabulary):—

short kurt, bhost (a span less kem)
voracious gallek khwar, chavb (irsī chāvbirsi)
thrush te ra k. khirzepandin

Even with a knowledge of Kurmanji it is sometimes very difficult to understand what the author intends. Errors due to careless proof correcting are no less serious, though not so

frequent. For instance, "mal" (p. 37) for "hal" is badly misleading.

Of hurried or careless writing there are many examples. On p. 10 "aw min dekushit" is translated as "he will kill", but no translation of "min" is supplied, though the phrase is in illustration of nominative and oblique cases in pronouns. The note at the foot of par. 14, p. 10, is merely incoherent.

As an example of the oblique case-ending in nouns as used with prepositions, the author gives a sentence containing no preposition—"bahārī kūshī pāhizī shūstī"—and has failed to detect the fact that he is giving an example of the use of the case-ending as a pure locative.

On p. 9 two of the sentences used to illustrate the demonstrative pronouns contain none.

On p. 26, having explained that the future tense is formed by prefixing "dē, dā" (as distinct from pres. ind. "da-"), the author gives three examples in "de", one in "dē", and one with no particle.

The arrangement of the grammar is good, and the lists of connected sentences (49) to (56) are excellent. Capt. Jardine knows well the dialect of which he writes, and has certainly added to the published knowledge of the subject. He would, however, have found some study of both Sorān and Hakkārī of very great use to him. A knowledge of one of a group of allied dialects can only be perfect after some familiarity with the others has been acquired.

E. B. SOANE.

PEKING: A SOCIAL SURVEY. Conducted under the auspices of the Princeton University Centre in China and the Peking Young Men's Christian Association. By SIDNEY D. GAMBLE, M.A., assisted by JOHN STEWART BURGESS, M.A.; foreword by G. SHERWOOD EDDY and ROBERT A. WOODS. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xxiii+538 pp., 47 illustrations, and 38 maps and diagrams. Oxford: University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1921.

This volume is "dedicated to the Missionaries whose work has made this study possible", and is epitomized on the wrapper as "A careful study of the life of Peking, social, political, industrial, commercial". Such a description does rather bare justice to the solid merits of this important work. Written in a restrained and dispassionate style, supported by 120 pp. of official and other statistics in appendices, and dealing chiefly with the most modern and post-revolutionary aspect of affairs, there is a welcome absence of the less amiable features of missionary literature. The point of view is concisely put in Mr. Eddy's foreword. "We must know our problems before we solve them. We must know the present reality before we seek to rebuild in the light of an ideal."

It is to be hoped that these most instructive chapters will receive from journals devoted to sociological subjects (such as the *Sociological Review*) a more extended examination than is possible in that of the Royal Asiatic Society, whose particular interests do not coincide with the ground covered by these valuable, candid, and judicious studies of the rapidly changing mentality of the Chinese *intelligentia*, and of the much less suitable characteristics of the proletariat beneath them. Especially interesting are the pages upon the momentous possibilities of the so-called Renaissance Movement, the "New Tide", as it is termed by the young Chinese themselves; the account of the guild system, as the victorious foe of competition; and the unblinking chapter on the social evil.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SINGAPORE. General Editors :
WALTER MAKEPEACE, F.J.I., Editor of the Singapore
Free Press ; Dr. GILBERT E. BROOKE, M.A., Port Health
Officer at Singapore ; ROLAND ST. J. BRADDELL, B.A.,
Advocate and Solicitor of the Supreme Court, Straits
Settlements. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. Vol. i, 592 pp. ; vol. ii, 668 pp.
London : John Murray, 1921.

Except for perhaps a hundred residents, present or past, of the Straits Settlements, two bulky volumes comprising

1,260 pages are in the times we live in too great a tax on even an omnivorous reader for the subject here treated. It would have been easy to compress all that is of real interest and importance—and of this there is plenty—between the covers of a single volume, including 21 pages of “Chronology”, the excellent Index, and some of the numerous illustrations.

Another point that might be made concerns the title. This hardly does justice to the material, for the reader will find that he is rather embarked upon a century of the Straits Settlements at large than confined to the island of Singapore. This will force itself on his attention especially in the second, third, and fourth chapters of vol. i, “Stamford Raffles, the Man,” “The Government,” and “Law and Crime”, but particularly in the introductory first chapter by Mr. Blagden, completed by Mr. Braddell.

Many readers will probably find the Rev. William Cross' account of Sir Stamford Raffles, sympathetic though not altogether satisfying as it is, the most interesting in the book. Certainly it was a life of ceaseless endeavour, of struggles crowned in the main with success, but ending in a tragic and premature collapse, for death seized him, a man already worn out, on the very eve of his 45th birthday. And the narrative leaves us with a feeling that Raffles, like Chinese Gordon after him, may have been a difficult and in some ways unsatisfactory subordinate for his official superiors, notably in the matter of his accounts. Not in that particular, but in a general fierce energy and driving power, he seems to have resembled the late Sir Harry Parkes.

The long chapter on “Law and Crime”, perhaps the most valuable in the two volumes, by Mr. Braddell, is not only instructive in a marked degree, but most interesting. The singular administrative difficulties and embarrassments are described and commented on by a very competent pen, which in the last section on “Piracy” is handed over to Dr. Gilbert Brooke.

L. C. HOPKINS.

GIPSY LANGUAGES. By STEN KONOW. Being vol. xi of the Linguistic Survey of India, edited by Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., D.Litt. 14×10½, viii+213 pp. Calcutta: Government Press, 1922.

The Linguistic Survey of India is now complete. Sir George Grierson is writing an introductory volume, in order that all the information may be laid under contribution and that scholars may reap the results of a quarter of a century's study. Most of the work has been done by the editor himself, but two complete volumes and the greater part of a third are from the pen of the well-known Norwegian philologist, Dr. Sten Konow.

Of the fifteen or twenty "Gipsy" dialects spoken in the sub-continent a dozen have already been described, as they are closely connected with Bhili or with Dravidian languages. There remain six, which are dealt with here. The word "Gipsy" is perhaps the best that could be employed in the title—it is difficult to think of a better—but there is a danger that the unwary may regard the use of the term as indicating a connexion with the Romani race of Europe and Asia Minor. This the author expressly disclaims, explaining that the word merely draws attention to the wandering lives which the speakers of these dialects lead. He does, indeed, believe that ultimately not only will these migratory tribes be shown to have a common origin, but, more remarkable still, the Romani chals of the west will prove to be derived from the same stock.

Dr. Konow has been well-advised to confine himself almost entirely to the elucidation and proof of the former proposition. The few lines in which he outlines his views on the European connexion contain little that is tangible, and what is tangible strikes me as rash. But his masterly summing up of the situation of the Indian nomads is an illuminating contribution towards the solution of a difficult problem, and goes far to demonstrate the essential oneness of these now diverse units. Ethnologically it appears that they are Dravidians.

The linguistic arguments are illustrated by a wealth of detail derived from the specimens with which the book is furnished. These facts show that Dravidian elements in the vocabulary add weight to the ethnological conclusion, but that the dialects as they stand are mostly Aryan of a Rajasthani type with a strong admixture of Gujrati and Marathi. All this points to the Vindhya Hills as their earliest habitat. Who or what were these people, in those far-off days? What were their occupation and religion, their relation to other tribes? Why did they wander? Are the Boswells and Lees and Hearn's their descendants no less than the Gāṅgūs and Saiddās and Maṅtās who were one's friends in India? One can only hope that Professor Konow's work will inspire someone adequately equipped to take up and endeavour to solve these and other questions of language and history.

The most important of the dialects described is that of the Sāsīs. Kolhāṭī is so like it that the two may be regarded as one, and in point of fact the two tribes call themselves by the same name. Sāsī including Kolhāṭī is the only form of speech in the volume which has a clearly defined ordinary dialect as well as a secret argot based upon it. Some have dialects without argots, and others have mere argots based upon a language spoken by neighbours, altered by deliberate consonantal changes and by the substitution of a few secret words.

As a student of secret dialects from the lips of many dusky speakers I offer Dr. Konow hearty congratulation on this deeply interesting book.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY. Third Series;
Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3. Edited by E. O. WINSTEDT,
181 Iffley Road, Oxford.

Members of the R.A.S. may be interested in two further instalments of Dr. Sampson's Welsh Gypsy Tales and in Miss Dora Yates's Rumanian Gypsy Songs. In No. 2

Dr. Sampson explains his system of transcription, but we are left in doubt about the Rumanian songs.

The remaining articles in these two numbers will be read by those who are students of Romani ethnology. They are conversational descriptions of Gypsies, their family names and their singing.

I understand that an article by Professor Woolner will appear in an early number. This will be eagerly looked out for.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY. Third Series ;
Vol. I, No. 4.

This number contains a very useful article on the language of St. Petersburg [*sic*] Gypsy Singers by Bernard Gilliat-Smith (no explanation of the signs employed), another Welsh Gypsy story by Dr. Sampson, and a popular, but learned, contribution entitled "Notes on the Gypsies of Turkey" by Professor W. R. Halliday.

T. G. B.

PISTIS SOPHIA. Englished, with an Introduction and annotated Bibliography. By G. R. S. MEAD. New and completely revised edition. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, lxix + 325 pp. London : Watkins, 1921.

In the short space at my disposal for this belated notice little more can be done than to indicate wherein the second edition of Mr. Mead's book chiefly differs from the first. The main difference is due to the utilization of Professor Carl Schmidt's German translation (1905), which became available since Mr. Mead's earlier edition appeared. Schmidt's work put the study of the *Pistis* upon a new plane, and it goes without saying that the present version owes and owns a large debt to it. The other feature wherein Mr. Mead has reaped a benefit from time is in his Bibliography : the first edition enumerated some twenty works dealing with the subject, the second can record sixty ; and, besides recording them, Mr. Mead has added a valuable analytical note to each one.

The only omission I have observed is that of the controversy as to the character of the dialect in the *Pistis* between Professor Schmidt and Professor Leipoldt (see *Theol. Lit. Z.*, 1905, 514, and *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1905, 139). I am myself inclined to see, both in the idiom and in the type of script, evidence that the MS. was written in *Middle Egypt*, in the district Oxyrhynchus-Hermopolis-Lycopolis, where the Sa'idic was at its purest. This greatly increased bibliography and the very fact of his own new edition may show, as Mr. Mead maintains, that interest in these forms of mysticism is increasing; though it would be strange if such dreary stuff, as these Gnostic books must seem to all but the fewest specialists, ever attained much popularity (cf. what is thought of them by an exceptionally competent scholar, E. De Faye). The absence of an Index is perhaps, in such a book, hardly ground for complaint: the full analytical table of contents will to some extent take its place.

Meanwhile, Mr. Mead's book has suggested to Professor Burkitt a number of interesting reflections upon the character and origin of the *Pistis* (*Journ. Theol. Stud.*, 1922, 271), among them a reconsideration of the problem of its original language. Professor Burkitt is less inclined than Coptic scholars have so far been to accept the Coptic text as a translation from the Greek, and Mr. Mead (p. xxvii) names others also whose views tend in the same direction.

All scholars will look forward to the new edition of the text of the *Pistis* which is shortly to be printed by Professor Schmidt in the Rask-Oersted Foundation's series of *Coptica*.

W. E. CRUM.

RIGVEDA BRAHMANAS. The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt. 10 × 6½, xii + 555 pp. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1920.

JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS. Vol. V. Nine Essays by various Writers. 9½ × 6½, 404 pp. Calcutta: University Press, 1921.

Professor Keith's massive volume will enhance his reputation for recondite Indian learning. His name is a guarantee for the translation of the two Brāhmaṇas from the original Sanskrit, and the translation is enriched throughout with scholarly footnotes. But, in addition, there is an Introduction of over 100 pages, dealing, in a masterly fashion, with the contents, relations, composition, and dates of the two Brāhmaṇas. Questions of ritual, language, style, and metre are also discussed. The work is beyond praise, and rather calls for gratitude. The labour involved must have been prodigious, as those who have done laborious authorship work will best appreciate.

The Calcutta University *Journal of the Department of Letters*, vol. v, contains nine Essays, mostly on Indo-Aryan subjects. Eight of the Essays are in English, and they are all interesting and ably written. There is one on "Indo-Aryan Polity during the period of the Rig-Veda"; four are devoted to "Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age"; a lengthy one deals with the "Anthropology of Asia". The ninth Essay is unfortunately not accessible to English readers, being in Bengali. Its inclusion is none the less desirable on that account, although in an English dress the scope of its usefulness would have been greatly widened.

INDIAN LOGIC AND ATOMISM. An Exposition of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika Systems. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 291 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

THE KARMA-MĪMĀṂSĀ. By the same Author. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$, 112 pp. London: Oxford University Press; Calcutta: Association Press, 1921.

DIE WEISHEIT DER UPANISCHADEN. By JOHANNES HERTEL. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, viii + 181. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1921.

JIVATMAN IN THE BRAHMA-SUTRAS. A Comparative Study. By A. GUHA, M.A., Ph.D. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, ix + 230.

In the works by Professor Keith, an excellent service has been rendered, which, it is to be hoped, will be duly appreciated here and in India, which owes an incalculable debt to authoritative British scholars. Professor Keith embodies, in fine conjunction, the two qualifications for successful work of this kind, viz. a fine expository power or faculty, and a critical instinct which never fails of what is required. This is equally true of both books, though the subjects are so different. They are deserving of the warmest commendation.

Professor Hertel's little book may also be warmly commended. Its renderings from the Upanishads are very clear and interesting, and equally so are the abundant notes and introductions. But it is disappointing to find neither the *JRAS.* nor any living British authority included in Dr. Hertel's list of sources or authorities. This is to be needlessly self-impooverished, since it is to go without the criticism and correction which some of the authorities quoted have received. It means some loss in scientific value.

Dr. Guha's work is, in many respects, an interesting and creditable performance. But surely the difference of the Vedānta philosophy, in spirit and method, from that of Hegel is much too obvious to need to be so laboured. Also, the author is too completely within the system he expounds to be able to criticize it. He does not even see that the Vedānta philosophy, equally with Hegel's, suppresses the reality of the individual in the absolute. His faith that the Vedānta is destined to become "the faith of the world" is just a shade too pathetic.

BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES. By B. C. BHATTACHARYYA. 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$, 7 pp., 11 plates.

These notes are of much iconographical interest, and relate to ancient images and statues found by the author in the southern part of the city of Benares. Eleven excellent plates of gods and goddesses are given, and the author

succinctly describes each image. The most striking of these sculptures is that which consists of a standing four-armed image of Viṣṇu. The image is intact, except damage to the four hands. As the author remarks, "it is boldly and spiritedly designed and carved," and "the whole piece of sculpture" constitutes "a real triumph of the Indian artist". It is certainly a very arresting piece of work.

Some of the images assume a very realistic form, that, for example, of Kubera, god of wealth, with its characteristic embellishments. The author has done his work well, and his notes are a *multum in parvo*.

HYMNS OF THE TAMIL SĀIVITE SAINTS. By F. KINGSBURY, B.A., and G. E. PHILLIPS, M.A. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vi + 132, 5 plates. Calcutta: Association Press, 1921.

The authors of this work have rendered an important service in making these hymns of the Tamil saints known to the English-speaking world. For Tamil is the mother-tongue of more than eighteen millions of people, and the hymns here presented form an interesting study in religious values. Tamil scholars will pronounce on the merits of their translations, but the authors have, with commendable courage, printed the Tamil version on the opposite pages of the English translations. The English form of these early productions of the religious and poetic spirit carries in it, in very many instances, a degree of fervour, rhythm, and glow, which is highly praiseworthy, when it is remembered that the compositions mostly belong to between A.D. 600 and A.D. 800. The explanatory paragraphs interspersed among the hymns are marked by good sense and judgment, and will be very useful.

The work is in four chapters, dealing respectively with the hymns of (1) Sambandar, (2) Apparswāmi, (3) Sundaramūrti, (4) Māṇikka Vāsahar. These are followed by two appendices and a good Index. The five plates are excellent.

JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS. Vol. IV.
University of Calcutta. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$, pp. 353. Eleven
Essays. By various writers. Calcutta: University
Press, 1921.

This volume does much credit to the University of Calcutta. The papers are, of course, not all of equal value and interest, although each contributes its share in making the volume what it is. I can only remark on some points likely to be of interest to Western readers. The opening paper on "Indo-Aryan Ethnic Origins" is an interesting one, albeit rather controversial in tone. The writer of the paper is Mr. H. Bruce Hannah, who, later in the volume, contributes an essay on "Aryanism and the Rig-Vedic Age". In this latter paper, he attempts to explain, or explain away, the differences between the Oriental and the Occidental mind in a way that is to me very far from convincing. He allows this to lead him into a divagation that is not very relevant to the subject of his paper. When he does come back to the "grand old Āryan aristocrats", with their "profoundly and sublimely esoteric doctrine of the *Ātman*", we have only a burst of enthusiasm over their "splendid secrets", but no word of the appraisement which this now very familiar doctrine has received at the hands of the best modern philosophical criticism. The net result of the paper is rather disappointing for one who writes so ably. In contrast with the confident dogmatism of these papers, Mr. B. Mazumdar, in treating of "The Aryans of India", rejects every theory hitherto promulgated as to "the origin of the so-called Aryans".

The most rewarding paper in the volume is, in some respects, that by R. Kimura on "What is Buddhism?" Only, its value is expository rather than critical. There are papers on "Four Ancient Yakṣa Statues", with seven plates, by R. Chanda; on "Vātsyāyana", by H. Chakladar; on a "Bihāri Ceremonial Worship of Totemistic Origin", by S. Mitra; on the "Revenue Policy of Shivaji", by S. Sen; on the "Karmā Dharmā Festival of North Bihār", by S. Mitra; and on

"Water Transport in Mediaeval India", by B. Sarkar. The last essay, on "Advaitavād", by K. Sastri, is in Bengali, and not accessible to English readers.

The enterprise of the University of Calcutta in publishing such volumes is to be commended.

JAMES LINDSAY.

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORY. VOL. I:
HISTORY OF JAHANGIR. By BENI PRASAD, M.A. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$,
xx + 501 pp. London, Oxford University Press, 1922.

This is a valuable addition to recent works on Indian history. The author is an assistant Professor at Allahabad University, and his book appears under a preface by the well-known Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D.

The author has used all, or nearly all, the available sources, and he has used his material with judgment and acumen. The only omission that he seems to have made is that he has said nothing about the romance of Jahangir's youth, that is, the mystery of Anarkali, the dancing girl of Lahore—the Balaustion or pomegranate flower of Jahangir when he was Prince Selim. What was her fate? Did Akbar really bury her alive on account of jealousy? If so, Jahangir was almost excused for making war upon him.

Now that Mr. Beni Prasad has in a manner exhausted the subject of Jahangir, it does not seem likely or necessary that there should be another book about the Emperor. We can say that the world has now learnt all that it need know about him. He was a poor creature, and owes his celebrity only to his position. Indeed, he was worse than a poor creature, for he was a murderer of the brilliant Abul Fazl, to whom the world is so much indebted for a knowledge of India in the sixteenth century, and he also slew the gallant Sher-afgan, the tiger-thrower, who was Nūr Jahan's husband.

Jahangir, however, was not wanting in ability and he had a genuine love of nature, and he inherited from his father an active and inquiring mind. There was an almost uncanny

resemblance between him and James the First and Sixth, his contemporary. But James was the better man, especially when we consider the distressing circumstances under which he came into being.

It is to Jahangir's credit that he is still revered in India for his love of justice. He was also an encourager of Art, and a new instance of this has recently been made known to the world in the discovery at Ajmere of a sculpture of a "Seated Elephant". Probably this is the stone elephant mentioned in Jahangir's *Memoirs*, i, 103-4, and the Prov. Hist. Society, London, 1922, but if so, it is either a replica or Jahangir has given a wrong date and site for it.

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEORIES OF THE HINDUS.

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. Large 8vo, 242 pp. Leipzig : Markert & Petters, 1922.

This book is a study in comparative Hindu political constitutions and concepts, the outcome of lectures delivered in American Universities during 1916 to 1918. The author says he has based his views as regards India exclusively on inscriptions, coins, and contemporary reports and has eschewed Sanskrit and Prakrit treatises (which he estimates aright), but from the copious Bibliography and references it seems he has drawn largely from the writings of others, with little original research. He deals with the whole subject in two parts, the first sketching the private, municipal, religious, and governmental laws and institutions that obtained, and the second expounding political literature and the theories of the constitution of States. He seeks to give a readable account, and this he has done with frequent allusions and much elegant writing, yet in substance like other treatises which regard the past conditions of India as nearly homogeneous.

What is necessary to a right understanding of all these matters is to distinguish between the conditions of North

(Aryan) India and those of the Dravidian Dekhan, and to investigate those conditions separately as they existed in the earliest times, during the Buddhist influence and under the finally established Brahman ascendancy, and all this with strict heed to historical sequence and regional variations. He rightly notices the paucity of the original data, yet the paucity itself is a fact to be accounted for, and it may not be slurred over with data belonging to other regions and times. A close scrutiny of the political and religious conditions wherein the paucity occurs will lead to wholesome and profitable revision of theories.

THE SINHALESE ARYANS. By C. A. WIJESINHE. 8vo, 110 pp.
Colombo: W. E. Bastian & Co., 1921.

This small book is a refutation of a lecture delivered three years before on *The Origin of the Sinhalese Language*, which asserted that Sinhalese is a Dravidian language; and it also attacks various views published by the author of that lecture in his book *The Aryan Question in relation to India*. The method of refutation adopted is to adduce on each point opinions and views published by other authors who have touched on it, and they are cited freely whatever be the weight of their opinions.

SHAH ABDUL LATIF. By M. M. GIDVANI. 8vo, 48 pp.
London: The India Society, 1922.

Shah Abdul Latif is described as a poetical teacher of Sufism who lived in Sindh two centuries ago, and this book gives brief notices of his life, poetry, and some of the tales he utilized. His poetry appealed to Hindus as well as Mohammedans, and some selections from it are translated. The construction is of the slightest, though the book is very handsomely printed.

F. E. P.

MIR'ĀT AL-JANĀN BY ABŪ MUHAMMAD 'AD ALLĀH IBN AS'AD AL-YĀFI'. 4 vols., large 8vo, 464 + 52, 454 + 54, 500 + 92, 366 + 115 pp. Haiderābād, A.H. 1337-9.

The author belonged to the large South Arabian tribe Yāfi, which to this day inhabits a large extent of country to the north-east of Aden. He grew up in Aden and settled in A.H. 718 in Mecca, making later journeys to Syria and Egypt, and spent the rest of his life in the two holy cities, dying in Mecca on the 20th of Jumada, A.H. 768.

His history is based upon the large work of Dahabi and the biographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikān, but he has made use of quite a number of other historical works, which he mentions in the course of the work, some of which, like the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* of Ibn Qutaiba, are accessible to us, but others, as e.g. the book on poets by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, the *Dumyat al-Qasr*, are only at present existing in manuscript copies. The arrangement is, like the *Duwal* of Dahabi, in order of the Muhammadan years, and the substance varies considerably in merit. He forgets to mention the dates of succession of some of the early caliphs, and has only a few words for the majestic grandeur of the caliph 'Omar, but has a long account of Uwais al-Qarani, a personality which I feel I can safely assert never existed at all. It is pathetic how you have to dig out the real name of some insignificant Sufi sheikhs among the crowd of laudatory epithets. The history contains, nevertheless, much valuable material, and I cannot endorse the judgment of Rawlinson entirely, written in his copy of this work now in the British Museum: "It is certainly not deserving of much attention." F. K.

ZOROASTRIAN CIVILIZATION. By MANECKJI NUSSERVANJI DHALLA. 9×6, xxviii + 395 pp. Oxford University Press. London: Milford.

Among the signs of the times is the increased interest taken by Orientals in the study of their own literature, and this remark applies with special force to the small but

progressive body of the Parsis of Bombay, who still retain the religion founded by Zoroaster.

The author of the present book has studied, and studied deeply, the wonderful literature contained in the Avesta, and reading his work we note how each subject is dealt with under its appropriate heading, so that the reader can readily ascertain the laws of Zoroaster on, for example, the administration of justice. In some cases the punishments were cruel and even fantastic, the life of a dog being held as sacred as that of man, while the murder of a "water-dog" was punished with ten thousand stripes, the highest penalty awarded. The author does not inform us what a "water-dog" is, but it is generally believed to be an otter. To take another subject, sanitation and public health, Zoroastrians were instructed to be extremely clean, to avoid every sort of defilement, and to destroy noxious insects, the fly being rightly execrated as the most evil "source of contagion and death".

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that dealing with Pahlavi literature. It is not known when Pahlavi script was first written, and the general opinion is that it dates, at any rate, from the period subsequent to the Achæmenian dynasty. It is, however, at least possible that the language may prove to be considerably older than we now believe it to be. From this literature we have the metaphor that the sky encircles the earth as an egg does a bird. Again, the planets are compared to brigands, who rob the caravans of its goods, depriving the good of gifts and bestowing them on the unworthy. This is rather a dark saying.

Yet again, in view of the love of cattle-breeding, good men are referred to as cattle and bad men as wolves; and, finally, an old friend is likened to old wine which improves with age.

In conclusion, this book has the merit of presenting Zoroastrian civilization through well-selected references and quotations, but the writer has somewhat lessened its value by neglecting to use his critical faculties, and has thereby failed to differentiate between legends with some historical basis and historical facts.

P. M. S.

ROYAL FREDERIK UNIVERSITY, CHRISTIANIA. PUBLICATIONS OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE. I, 1. THE ARYAN GODS OF THE MITANI PEOPLE. By STEN KONOW. $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, 39 pp. 1921.

Dr. Sten Konow is a well-known and honoured member of our Society, but this is, as far as we are aware, the first publication which his university has produced on an Oriental subject; it gives us therefore the greatest pleasure to welcome a new collaborator in this ever-fruitful field, the more so since the new collaborator reintroduces us to an old friend.

Dr. Konow's text is the reference in the treaty between the Hittite King Shubbiluliuma and the Mitanian King Mattiuaza, to the Mitanian gods, *ilāni Mitraššil ilāni vruuna- (or Aruna-) ššil ilu Indar (or Indara) ilāni Našattianna*.

These names were soon identified as being identical with the Vedic deities, Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsatyas, but the question immediately arises whether these gods appearing in a document dating from the early decades of the fourteenth century B.C. are the original Aryan deities or specifically Vedic or Indian deities possessing the characteristics which they assumed after the Aryan tribes had reached and settled down in India and remodelled their religious and cosmogonic ideas in accordance with the conditions which they found there. Most scholars have adopted the former theory; Dr. Konow prefers to follow Professor Jacobi in adopting the latter, and states his case very clearly and strongly.

This is, however, a somewhat retrograde step, for if these gods had by this time, so to speak, definitely put on their Indian clothes and travelled half-way across Asia, then the parting of the Indo-Aryan from the original Aryan tribes and the conquest of India by the former must be put back some centuries before 1400 B.C., the conventional date of the Rig-Veda according to Western views. The general tendency of recent years, on the contrary, has been to bring down the earlier dates in ancient history. The dates now assigned to the earliest periods of Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, and

Cretan history (to mention only a few examples) are hundreds, and even thousands, of years later than those assigned to the same periods a generation ago.

Moreover, to get from India to Syria they must almost necessarily have passed through Mesopotamia, and, if they did, it is curious that they should have left there no traces of their passage.

Prima facie, therefore, the theory is an improbable one, especially as it is based on one single passage, and it is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. Konow will examine the other passages bearing on the question in the Boghaz Keni tablets (for instance, the numerical series commencing *ekavartana*, etc.) and publish another paper on this extraordinarily interesting subject.

L'ARABIE ANTEISLAMIQUE. By IGN. GUIDI. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, 89 pp.
Paris : Geuthner, 1921.

This little book is a reprint of the text of four lectures, delivered to the Egyptian University of Cairo in 1909, entitled "The Kingdoms of Southern and Central Arabia before Mahomed", "The intellectual progress of the Arabs", "The material progress", and "The Arabs of the South and Abyssinia". The subject-matter is treated in a pleasant style, but the whole is very slight; it might be described as a kind of prolegomenon to the study of the poetry of the Jāhiliyah.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

JOURNAL OF BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

The issue dated August, 1921, and received a year later, includes an entertaining legend of the foundation of the kingdom of Arakan, told by San Shwe Bu. Again it is necessary to point out that in a scientific journal the sources of the legend should be given. If it is a memory of the writer's childhood, that fact itself is worth recording.

Saya Shan's *History of Lower Burma* is not history, and does not relate to Lower Burma but to the upper province. It is a collection of well-known legends of the Tagaung and Pagan dynasties, treated uncritically and without any reference to authorities. Mr. L. F. Taylor gives us a foretaste of his work on the coming Linguistic Survey of Burma in a sketch of Burmese dialects, of which little is as yet known. Doubtless he will take pains to equip himself for the task, the first requisite of which is a knowledge of the nature of spoken sounds; and it is to be hoped that he will not repeat the statement that "the killed consonants are not really pronounced but constitute only modifications of the preceding vowel. The consonants referred to (which are final *k* and *t* pronounced without explosion) *are* really pronounced, and cannot be omitted without gross error; and they in no way constitute modifications of the preceding vowel, though unexploded *k* cannot be used after certain vowels or unexploded *t* after certain others. They are well known to phoneticians, and symbols are provided for them in the handbook of the International Phonetic Association.

The number for December, 1921, contains a most amusing Arakanese folk-tale related by San Shwe Bu, and an interesting account of Bandula, the famous Burmese general, by Major Enriquez.

R. G. B.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Colonel Rivett-Carnac

Colonel Rivett-Carnac always clung to the first part of his name, which was, in fact, his real name, his grandfather having added the name of Carnac on his marriage. The family were, in fact, Rivetts, of an old Suffolk stock, and it certainly seems rather hard that he should be denied what gave him so much pleasure in order that the modern and unfamiliar "Carnac" should be fastened on. Let it be agreed, therefore, that he was a Rivett, and that the latter half of the name was a mere excrescence. Let him have the happiness of feeling that he remains Harry Rivett-Carnac, who successfully resisted to the last the merging of his real name.

In other respects, too, he was known apart from his official rank. He was a member of an old Indian family, and might have been expected to rise on that account to the highest position in the old service, but no one will pretend that his actual rise was due to his descent, or was even in correspondence with his undoubted talent. To the end of his work in India he held a second-rate appointment—the opium commissionership at Ghazipore, but he held it with complete detachment, and was distinguished for things other than his official work. He was throughout his life the most generous and open-handed of men. He would pick up a broken loafer, and nurse him through untold breakdowns, until he left him in the end an established character. That was what made him so lovable. With a certain amount of brusquerie he never gave up the attempt to help other men.

It was the same with everything. At a time when volunteering was rather looked down upon, he took up the cause and stuck to it through much ridicule and abuse until he became A.D.C. to the Queen and Commander of the

Volunteer Brigade at Delhi. I shall never forget his coming to see me in Madir, and having an audience of the Queen Regent in his Volunteer uniform, which he informed Her Majesty bore a striking resemblance to that of the 10th Hussars. He saw nothing incongruous in the comparison. The Volunteer uniform was a serious thing in his eyes. The uniform of a body of Light Horse which was raised to serve the Queen.

In his archæological pursuits he was equally bold and fearless. He took up amongst other things the subject of cup markings on rocks, and made himself known by his researches.

The fact was that apart from his work he was original in all things, but above all original in his generosity. That was the essence of his character, and by that he will live in the hearts of many men whom he befriended.

H. M. D.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(May-July, 1923)

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Rt. Hon. Lord Chalmers presided at the Anniversary Meeting held on 8th May. The Secretary read the Report of Council as follows :—

Ten Honorary Members have been elected during the Session, namely :—

Prof. Breasted.	Prof. S. d'Oldenburg.
Prof. Finot.	Prof. P. Pelliot.
Prof. Williams Jackson.	Prof. Rhodokanakis.
Prof. von Le Coq.	Prof. J. Sarkar.
Prof. C. A. Nallino.	Père V. Scheil, O.P.

(These include four Supernumerary Honorary Members who were elected in order to mark the Centenary.)

The Society has lost by death two Honorary Members :—

Dr. Clermont-Ganneau, of Paris, and Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of Berlin.

Mr. Legge and Mr. Rylands, Members of Council, have passed away, together with the following twelve Members :—

Rev. Drew Bate.	Sir C. H. Kesteven.
Prof. P. Deussen.	Dr. J. Lindsay.
Mr. Diósy.	Mr. Lipschitz.
Mr. R. E. Graves.	Mr. Mulling.
Dr. Buchanan Gray.	Rev. J. Nies.
Dr. Hitchcock.	Major E. B. Soane.

One hundred and one Members have resigned or have otherwise ceased under the Rules to be Members of the Society.

During the past Session seventeen Resident Members have been elected, namely :—

Mr. H. F. V. Battle.	Mr. H. A. R. Gibb.
Mr. B. P. Denham.	Mme. G. de Hainaut-Amand.
Mr. L. C. French.	Lieut.-Col. G. V. Holmes.

Mr. J. I. P. Jayasuriya.
 Miss H. E. Karnerup.
 Mr. W. J. E. Lupton, O.B.E.
 Miss Meadowcroft.
 Rev. W. S. Page.
 Miss E. C. Ridding.

Mr. H. A. Rosskeen.
 Dr. G. Elliot Smith, M.A.,
 LL.B., etc.
 Mr. E. Templer Tickell.
 Mr. H. Valvanne.
 Mrs. Winckworth.

The following ninety-one Non-Resident Members have joined the Society :—

Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A.
 Mr. P. V. K. Aiyer.
 Mr. A. F. A. Ali.
 Syed A. Ali, M.A.
 Mr. L. H. Raj Anand.
 Mr. M. M. Ansari, B.A.
 Maulvi Syed N. Ashraf.
 Mr. A. Aziz, Mir Munshi.
 Babu C. Aurora, M.A., LL.B.
 Mr. M. M. H. Beg.
 Prof. R. Behari.
 Pandit Shri D. Bhargava.
 Mr. V. Bijoor, B.Sc.
 Mr. F. W. Buckler, M.A.
 Dr. C. P. Burger.
 Mr. D. Chand.
 Mr. T. Chand, B.A., LL.D.
 Dr. H. Chatley.
 Mr. S. K. R. Chaudhuri, M.A.
 Mr. C. C. Clarke.
 Mr. T. J. Coomeraswami.
 Squadron-Leader A. R. C.
 Cooper.
 Mrs. Longworth Dames.
 Mr. B. K. Datta, B.Sc.
 Sir P. Dukes.
 Mr. D. C. Dutt.
 Mr. S. V. Fitzgerald, I.C.S.
 Surgeon-Commander J. A.
 Forrest, R.N.

Rev. Canon W. H. T.
 Gairdner, M.A.
 Mr. U. N. Gaur.
 Miss M. S. Gladstone.
 Rev. H. H. Gowen, D.D.,
 F.R.G.S.
 Mr. R. S. Gupta.
 Mr. M. L. Sen Gupta, B.A.
 Syed F. H. Hashmi.
 Mr. A. T. Holme, I.C.S.
 Captain H. N. Hunt.
 Mr. C. Z. Husein.
 Mr. C. Z. Md. Ismail.
 Mr. C. Jain.
 Mr. M. Jinavijaya.
 Mr. N. W. Kathalay, B.A.
 Mr. M. Z. U. Khan.
 Rao Bahadur Sirdar M. V.
 Kibe, M.A.
 Babu K. Kinkar.
 Mr. E. Kirkby.
 Mr. J. Leveen.
 Mr. S. E. Lucas.
 Sheikh N. Khwaja Sahib
 Mahaldar.
 Mr. C. Majumdar.
 Mrs. C. L'E. Malone.
 Mr. S. G. Mawson.
 Dr. St. Michalski-Turienski.
 Mrs. H. Mirza.

Pandit R. G. Misra.	Lord Scone.
Pandit S. N. Misra, B.A.	Major Erik Seidenfoden.
Mr. A. R. Mohammad.	Mr. C. G. Seligman, M.D.,
Mr. C. F. Mohammad, M.A.	F.R.S.
Mr. M. G. Muhammad.	Mr. E. A. Shah.
Rev. W. Munn.	Pandit R. P. Sharma.
Pandit D. Nath Shastri, B.A.	Pandit R. C. Sharma, B.A.,
Rai Bahadur P. E. Nayuda,	LL.B.
M.L.C.	Prof. B. D. Sharman, B.A.
Mr. E. O'Brien-Butler.	Raja N. Singha Deo Bahadur.
Mr. M. K. Pillay.	Mr. K. A. Taher.
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D.	Mr. M. A. Talwar, B.A.
Babu B. Nath Prosad, B.A.	Prof. S. Varma.
Mr. I. Saw Hla Pru.	Mr. M. L. Varshanai.
Maulvi Md. Rahim Shah.	Babu B. Bahadur Verma.
Rai Sahib S. B. Ram.	Mr. H. L. Vratil, B.A.
Mr. T. H. Robinson, M.A., D.D.	Rev. J. Webster.
Mr. S. C. Roy.	Mr. L. H. Williams.
Babu A. C. Sanyal, M.A., B.L.	Lieut.-Col. Sir A. T. Wilson.
Babu H. S. Saxena.	Maulvi M. Md. Yaqub Khan.

The total number of new members now stands at 109, but the members lost to the Society by death, resignation, and removal amount to 125. The total of the Society as a whole is 955 (last year 971). The new rates of subscription came into force in January, 1923.

Library Subscriptions

Three Libraries have ceased to subscribe, but their places have been filled by nine new ones.

Finance

Letting of Offices.—During the Session all the offices on the second floor, save one, have been let.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report shows for 1922 an income of £3,136 16s. 9d. and an expenditure of £3,124 0s. 7d., as compared with the income £3,198 10s. 10d. and expenditure £3,219 6s. 3d. during 1921.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Hon. Solicitor,

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	296	2	0			
Non-Resident Members	928	10	0			
3 Non-Resident Compounders	39	0	0			
1 Resident Compounder	25	4	0			
					1,288	16 0
RENTS RECEIVED					662	10 0
GRANTS—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
„ Hong-Kong	25	0	0			
„ Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
„ Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
					400	0 0
SUNDRY GRANTS					59	1 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	428	5	4			
Additional Copies sold	86	0	6			
Sales of Pamphlets	40	4	9			
„ Indexes	3	6	6			
					557	17 1
DIVIDENDS					33	0 2
INCOME TAX RETURNED					5	5 0
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT	3	8	2			
„ POST OFFICE SAVINGS DEPOSIT ACCOUNT	5	9	5			
					8	17 7
CENTENARY VOLUME (Subscriptions in advance)					14	19 0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS					8	16 5
BALANCE IN HAND 1ST JANUARY, 1922					266	9 8

£3,305 11 11

FUNDS.

£454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
£125 National War Bonds, 1929 (4th Series).

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1922

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent, Income Tax, and House Duty	625	15	11			
Rates, less contributions by Tenants	40	7	3			
Gas and Electric Light, do.	20	17	10			
Coals and Coke, do.	29	18	4			
Telephone	10	15	0			
Cleaning Windows and Carpets	7	17	6			
Insurance	33	19	7			
House Painting and Repairs	133	4	5			
Other Expenditure	21	9	6			
				924	5	4
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				20	5	6
SALARIES AND WAGES				652	0	0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				119	17	2
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	821	1	5			
Postage	51	5	2			
				872	6	7
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE	273	8	11			
Less receipts from Sale of Books	72	14	6			
				200	14	5
LOAN REPAID TO ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.				100	0	0
AUDITORS' FEE				5	5	0
BANK CHARGES				1	10	0
POSTAGES				61	17	4
SUNDRY PAYMENTS—						
Teas	20	10	11			
Parcels and fares	1	14	3			
"S.B.A." and "R.A.S." Journals	15	17	0			
Lantern Operator	12	5	0			
Reporters' Fees	2	2	0			
Centenary Volume Typing	18		9			
Sundries	14	16	10			
				68	4	9
BALANCES IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1922—						
Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Deposit Account	50	0	0			
Savings Bank	117	19	1			
	£	s.	d.			
Lloyds Bank, Ltd. Current Account—						
General Fund	123	3	5			
Less—Library Fund overspent	14	4	2			
				108	19	3
Cash in hand, Postage Account	2	7	6			
				279	5	10
				£3,305	11	11

H. B. MORSE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS,
For the Council.
E. S. M. PEROWNE,
For the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE,
Professional Auditor.

SPECIAL FUNDS

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

[illegible]

MONOGRAPH FUND

Jan. 1.	BALANCE	.	.	47	17	9
	SALES AND SUNDRY RECEIPTS	.	.	50	3	5
				<hr/>		
				50	3	5
				<hr/>		
				£98	1	2

THRESHOLD REDEMPTION FUND

Feb. 18.	WAR LOAN 5 PER CENT 1929-47		20	5	6
	PURCHASED . . .				
Dec. 31.	DIVIDENDS RECEIVED AND RE-INVESTED . . .		1	1	0
			<u>21</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
Dec. 31.	BALANCE— Represented by £21 l.s. 7d. 5 per cent War Loan .				21 6 6
					<u>£21 6 6</u>

DINNER AND HOSPITALITY FUND

[illegible]

TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	224 0 8	PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. VI	143 10 1
SALES AND SUNDRY RECEIPTS	27 7 11	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	200 18 6
SUBVENTION FROM INDIA OFFICE	75 0 0		
DIVIDENDS	18 0 0		
	<u>120 7 11</u>		
	£344 8 7		£344 8 7

GOLD MEDAL FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	71 18 1	GOLD MEDAL.	28 0 0
DIVIDENDS	9 15 0	TEA FOR RECEPTION	8 2 3
		REPORT OF MEETING	2 17 6
			<u>38 19 9</u>
		Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	42 13 4
	<u>£81 13 1</u>		£81 13 1

PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL

Jan. 1. BALANCE	45 19 9	GOLD MEDALS (2 competitions)	14 1 6
DIVIDENDS	20 1 4	PRIZE BOOKS.	8 8 0
		TEA, PRINTING, AND POSTAGE	6 11 0
		REPORT OF MEETING	2 12 6
		PURCHASE £40 CONVERSION	
		3½ per cent at 77½	31 12 6
			<u>63 5 6</u>
		Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	2 15 7
	<u>£66 1 1</u>		£66 1 1

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	843 4 9	CASH AT BANKERS—	
MONOGRAPH FUND	22 7 9	On Current Account.	165 12 6
		On Deposit Account.	700 0 0
	<u>£865 12 6</u>		£865 12 6

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	200	18	6				
MEDAL FUND	42	13	4	CASH AT BANKERS—	246	7	5
PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND	2	15	7	On Current Account			
					<u>£246</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>

TRUST FUNDS

- £600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
- £325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Medal Fund).
- £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal).
- £40 Conversion 3½ per cent (Public Schools' Gold Medal).

H. B. MORSE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby } L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.
 certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for } E. S. M. PEROWNE, for the Society.
 Stock Investments and Bank Balances. } N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

April, 1923.

Mr. A. H. Wilson, the Hon. Auditors, Mr. L. C. Hopkins and Mr. Perowne, and the official auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co.

Funds of the Society

James Forlong Fund.—This Fund is allotted under the following heads: Lectures, Bursaries, Research, and Publications.

During the last Session, Council approved that a grant be given to publish *Primitive Culture of India*, by Colonel Hodson, and the fund has been expended as follows:—

Bursaries, £40; Research, £160; Publications, £50.

Oriental Translation Fund.—*The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* (translation). Edited from the Paris MS. by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., F.B.A., has been published.

In the Press.—*El Asatir*, or The Samaritan Apocalypse of Moses, by Dr. Gaster, and *Tarikh en-Nubah*, A History of the Fungs of Sennar, by Mr. Weld-Blundell.

Prize Publications Fund.—In the press: *Vasubandhu on the Fundamental Principles of the Sarvastivadin School of Buddhism*, by Professor Stcherbatsky.

Lectures

The following well-attended lectures have been delivered during the past Session, most of them illustrated by slides:—

“The Achæmenian Dynasty,” by Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes.

“Some Indian Nuns and others,” by Lord Chalmers.

“A Persian Library,” by Professor E. G. Browne.

“The Malay Peninsula,” by Mr. C. Otto Blagden.

“Chinese Idealism in Temple and Bridge,” by Miss G. E. Kemp.

“Arabian Alchemy and Chemistry,” by Mr. Holmyard.

“Ancient Egyptian Literature,” by Dr. Blackman.

“The God Indra and Religious Contests in Ancient India,” by Mr. F. E. Pargiter.

Gifts Presented to the Society

Mr. Faulds gave a book of Japanese Pictures of Buddhist images and a collection of Japanese drawings, and Mr. Battle photos. Mr. Beveridge presented the copies of the *Journal* from 1904-21, a large number of the publications of the Bengal Society, and many books on Indian Archaeology.

Miss R. Whinfield has given a number of unbound copies of the *Lawa'ih of Jami*, translated by her uncle, the late Mr. E. H. Whinfield; and Dr. Andréas Nell has helped to complete the Society's defective set of the Ceylon Branch *Journal*, while *Gems of Chinese Literature* has been presented by Professor H. A. Giles (Gold Medallist). Madame Gordon has sent rubbings of the Nestorian Monument at Si Au Fu in Shensi, China, and Wayaku Jōdo Sombukyō. Also the three books of the Jōdo sect translated from Chinese into Japanese, 3rd issue, 1922.

Eight delegates attended the double Centenary of the Société Asiatique de Paris, 10th-13th July, 1922. They were as follows:—

Mr. Weld-Blundell, Dr. Cowley, Dr. Hall, Professor Langdon, Dr. Pinches, Professor Rapson, Sir Denison Ross, and Dr. Thomas.

Two delegates attended the Fifth International Congress of Historical Studies at Brussels, 8th-15th April, 1923.

They were Professor Raymond Beazley and Mr. Foster.

Triennial Gold Medal Presentation

On 4th July the Triennial Gold Medal of the Society was awarded by the President to Professor H. A. Giles, Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge. Mr. I. C. Hopkins, Sir Charles Addis, Sir John Jordan, and Mr. Choa-Hsin Chu (Chinese Chargé d'Affaires) spoke on this occasion.

Presentation of the Public Schools' Gold Medal

On 5th December the President awarded the Society's Gold Medal for the best essay "on some Indian or other

Oriental Subject" to Mr. S. de Lotbinière, of Eton, and the book prize to Mr. S. K. Noakes, of Merchant Taylor's School. The subject of the essay was "Tipu Sultan". Sir Denison Ross and the Rev. Dr. J. A. Nairn, Head Master of Merchant Taylor's, spoke on the occasion.

The Journal

Owing to the cost of printing, the *Journal* is limited in size, but it has been decided to increase it to 168 pages during 1923. During the Session several valuable articles have been printed, many short miscellaneous contributions have been included, and a number of books reviewed. So many important papers are sent to the *Journal* that the lack of space is much to be regretted.

Special General Meetings

Special General Meetings were called on 4th July, 1922, to amend Rules 102-5, and on 14th March, 1923, to suspend temporarily Rule 9.

Centenary

This year is the Centenary of the Society, and its celebration will be combined with a Meeting of the Entente, the dates fixed being 17th-20th July. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Vice-Patron of the Society, has graciously consented to preside at the opening Reception, and there will be a banquet and other entertainments.

A Centenary Volume, giving a succinct history of the Society from 1823-1923, with a list of all the articles and miscellaneous notes published in the *Journal* and an alphabetical List of Authors, will be brought out on this occasion.

Recommendations of the Council

Under Rule 31, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dr. H. B. Morse, and Mr. A. G. Ellis retire from the offices of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian. The Council recommend the re-election of Dr. Thomas and Mr. Ellis, but regret that Dr. Morse feels obliged to resign his post on the ground

of health. They therefore recommend the election of Mr. Perowne, who has been so good as to express his willingness to undertake the duties of Treasurer.

Last November, Dr. Blackman and Dr. Nicholson were co-opted on the Council in the place of Mr. Grant Brown and the late Mr. Rylands.

Under Rule 32, Mr. Foster, Professor Margoliouth, Mr. Perowne and Mr. Campbell Thompson retire from the Council, who recommend Mr. Enthoven, Mr. Hopkins, Dr. Morse, and Professor Rapson to fill their places.

The Council recommend as Hon. Auditors Mrs. Fraser and Mr. Hopkins, and as Auditors Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co.

THE PRESIDENT, in moving the adoption of the report, said he hoped it would commend itself to the members. Dr. Morse, whose retirement from the Hon. Treasurership they greatly regretted, would place before them a pleasant picture of the financial position of the Society. They all felt how much the Society owed to Dr. Morse for his assiduous attention to the financial side of their operations.

DR. MORSE, in seconding the report, gave an interesting survey of the position of the various trust and prize funds, and also of the general fund. The outstanding feature of the latter in recent years had been the inevitable heavy cost of moving to the present premises, which cost altogether close upon £3,000 and exhausted their accumulated funds. But when they compared the present position with that of the last pre-war year they would have no cause for discouragement. In 1913 there were 88 resident and 526 non-resident members. Last year they had 98 resident members, 203 others in the British Isles, and 628 abroad, making an increase from a total of 614 to a total of 929. The subscriptions from members had risen from £877 to £1,289, but the ratio this item bore to total receipts had fallen from 48.2 to 41.1 per cent. On the expenditure side, house rent and maintenance now absorbed 29.1 per cent, as compared with 38.1 in 1913. Salaries and wages were now 25.9 per cent, as against 20 per

cent. The library had advanced from 2·8 to 4·5 per cent, but they had now provided an assistant librarian who was at the disposal of students for finding books in the library. The *Journal* account now absorbed 27·9 per cent, while in 1913 it accounted for 33·2 per cent. On the revenue side, mention should be made of the generosity of the India Office in increasing the annual grant from 200 guineas to 300 guineas. They also received from the Government of Hong Kong £28, from the Straits Settlements £20, and from the Federated Malay States £40, making altogether a total of £400, or 12·8 per cent of their receipts. The receipts from the sale of the *Journal*, amounting to 17·8 per cent, were not susceptible probably to much expansion, as the libraries which needed the *Journal* were for the most part already subscribers. The *Journal* was the chief attraction for members, and it was most important that they should go back to the utmost extent circumstances permitted to the quantitative standard of pre-war times. In 1913 the *Journal* comprised 1,118 pages. The most restricted period was in 1919, when the total was 580 pages. Last year they advanced to 664 pages. They must not only maintain, but go beyond this increase. During last year the cost per page was reduced by 6 or 7 per cent, and it was decided to increase the size of the *Journal* by a similar percentage.

SIR EDWARD GAIT expressed the general regret of members at the retirement from the Hon. Treasureship of Dr. Morse, to whose efforts the satisfactory financial position was largely due. Those members who had spent many years in India were gratified to notice the election to honorary membership of Professor Jadunath Sarkar, who was a recognized authority on Mogul history. The honour would be greatly appreciated not only by Mr. Sarker, but by other Indian research workers. A gratifying feature of the increased membership since the war was the growing proportion of Indian members. A number of provincial and other research societies had been founded in the last few years, and it might have been thought

that the effect would be to draw away members from the R.A.S. But experience had shown an exactly reverse effect. The explanation was that the local societies had stimulated interest among many Indians in Oriental research and had made the work of the Society far better known in India. A good deal of encouragement would be given to these young societies if a review of their activities was given periodically in the pages of the *Journal*. It would also be helpful if members of the R.A.S. contributed occasionally, as Sir George Grierson and the late Dr. Vincent Smith had done, to the journals of the societies. This friendly help would stimulate research and tend to increase their membership.

DR. PINCHES said that the more members they had the more they would be able to increase the size of the *Journal*, and that must be their constant aim. Amid hearty laughter, he humorously compared the advantages of membership of the Society with "listening-in", remarking that the latter entertainment had been described as the most unsociable form of relaxation. Many people might think that they could not afford to devote a subscription to anything so unnecessary as Oriental research, but there were other things just as unnecessary, and among these he classed "listening-in".

The report was unanimously adopted, and on the motion of Lady Holmwood and Colonel Phillott the recommendations of the Council as to the election of honorary officers and members of Council were adopted.

THE PRESIDENT said that the year under review at that meeting closed the first century of the Society's life, but a survey of the achievements of the past hundred years would more fittingly come at the Centenary celebrations in July ; so he would restrict himself to indicating in outline some aspects of their activities in the octave covering the war and the scarcely less devastating years of peace which had followed. The Society had not only weathered the storm, but might congratulate itself on having made fruitful progress in enlarging the bounds of Oriental knowledge, and he wished par-

ticularly to indicate in this connexion the work of their officers and members of the Council. The luminous survey of the field which followed began with reference to the contributions made to Sinology of late by their Gold Medallist, Professor Giles, and by Professor Parker, Dr. Morse, Mr. Perceval Yetts, and Mr. Hopkins. Their Vice-President, Sir Henry Howorth (happily recovered from a serious illness in the past winter), was preparing a new and much amplified edition of his great *History of the Mongols*, long since out of print.

After remarking that they hailed with enthusiasm the ever-growing work being carried on by Sir Denison Ross at the School of Oriental Studies, the President congratulated Sir George Grierson on the completion of the 11th volume of his great *Linguistic Survey of India*. They looked forward wistfully to the arrival of the second of the six volumes of the *Cambridge History of India*, which was under the editorship of a member of their Council, Professor Rapson, who had among his contributors Dr. Thomas and Dr. Barnett.

Mr. Pargiter had brought out his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, in which he sought to establish synchronism in the legendary history of India. The particular thanks of the Society were due to Mr. Pargiter for the great pains he had taken in compiling their Centenary volume. The works of Professor Macdonell, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Sir Charles Eliot, and Sir Aurel Stein were briefly noted, together with those of Mr. Dames and Professor Keith.

In Semitic studies it was reassuring to find the Encyclopædia of Islam resuming after the war its march to completion. The work of the late Sir Charles Lyall, Mr. Macartney, Professor Browne, and Dr. Nicholson in Arabic and Persian fields was mentioned. Dr. Gaster was congratulated on his Hebraic researches, and reference was made to the work of Mr. and Mrs. Beveridge and to the appearance of Professor Margoliouth's translation of *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*. In Egypt, in addition to the great discovery of King Tutankh-amen's tomb, good work had been done by

Dr. Flinders Petrie, and Messrs. Gardiner, Weigall and Blackman. Dr. Hall, Professor Langdon, and Mr. Campbell Thompson had contributed to the first volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

While great difficulties had been imposed on the Society's activities by the war, there was a silver lining to the cloud, for the new political conditions in Mesopotamia and Palestine were now markedly favourable to archaeological undertakings on a large and comprehensive scale. A great scheme, framed by the foremost archaeologists of the country, was afoot to establish in Jerusalem an archaeological school which, as time went on would, it was hoped, extend its operations to the Tigris Valley. Meantime, important excavations were going on in Mesopotamia and furnished evidence of the great migration westward in pre-historic ages. At first, archaeology of the Near East was rudely disturbed, for many archaeologists volunteered for active service. Fortunately, however, many of these volunteers were able to use their special knowledge to good effect. They might well hope that a bright future lay before workers in the Near Eastern field, and that their fruitful labours with spade and pen, whether on the site of Babylon or of Ur of the Chaldees or in Egypt, might enrich their knowledge by rediscovering forgotten civilizations and by illuminating the dim origins of European civilization which derives from them.

From this breathless scamper over many fields, it would seem that in the domain of Oriental Science, in spite of the war, there had been progress—unequal it was true, but everywhere progress. They were amply justified in looking forward with confident hope to further progress in the years immediately ahead as they entered on the second century of the life and work of the Society. Success must continue to rest on sound scholarship and on that helpful spirit of goodwill and co-operation which united their officers, Council, and staff.

The Secretary will be obliged if any member could supply the addresses of the following :—

NON-RESIDENT COMPOUNDERS

Mr. J. Fargues.

Lieut.-Col. Dempster Heming.

Mr. C. H. Lepper.

Mr. Purshotam Vishram Mawjee.

Pandit Mohanlal Visnual.

Mr. H. E. Phya Rajanattayanuhar.

Mr. Iyengar B. Ramasvami.

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Mr. K. N. Sitaram, B.A.

Mrs. K. Sathianadhan, M.A.

Mr. V. V. Vadnerkar.

The following were elected at the General Meeting in June:—

Babu D. C. Dutta, M.A.

Shams-ul-'Ulama Dr. M. H. Hosain, Ph.D.

Mr. Wasiullah Khan.

Mr. J. H. M. Moorhead.

Mr. Brij Mohan Sharma, B.Sc., M.A.

On 12th June Major Owen Rutter read a paper on British North Borneo, of which this is the summary :—

Forty-five years ago North Borneo, then a tropical wilderness inhabited by pirates and headhunters, was acquired from the native Sultans by a handful of pioneers, at the suggestion of a Scots engineer from Glasgow. Since that day, under the administration of the British North Borneo

Chartered Company, the country has been transformed. The natives live peaceful lives as fishermen or farmers ; the Company safeguards their interests and respects their customs, the most interesting of the latter being the worship of sacred jars, which are tended by aged priestesses with elaborate ceremonial. The hill country has been opened up by means of bridle paths ; rubber, tobacco, and coconut estates have been made ; there are over 100 miles of railway, and although the country has suffered in the past from the lack of roads, these are in the making now. The climate is healthy, and living not expensive, yet only one per cent of the territory, the size of Ireland, has so far been developed.

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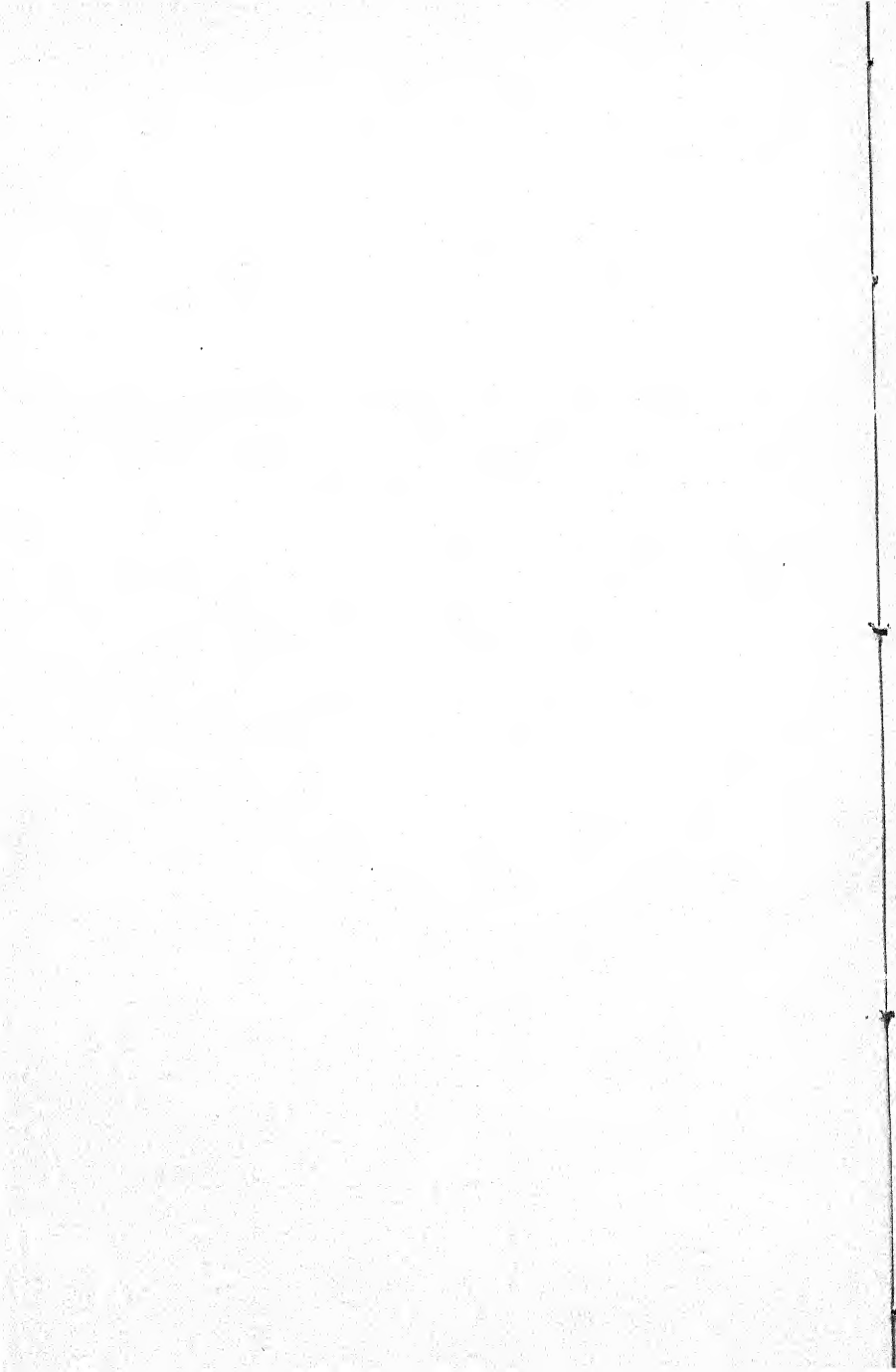
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The following Report of the Committee on Transliteration, appointed by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society on 17th January, 1922, was adopted by the Council at its meeting held on 8th May, 1923, and is published for general information.

As sanctioned by the Council, the Committee's recommendation that its report should be circulated for criticisms to selected Oriental scholars in this country, has been carried out. Replies have been received from Mr. W. Doderet, Mr. R. Guest, The Rev. Professor A. Guillaume, Colonel D. C. Phillott, Professor E. J. Rapson, Mr. C. A. Storey, and Professor R. L. Turner.

A meeting of the Committee was held on the 20th February, 1923. There were present:—

Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., in the Chair.

Dr. F. W. Thomas.

Mr. A. G. Ellis.

Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.

All those gentlemen who had offered criticisms on the preliminary report had been invited to attend, and of these there were also present:—

Mr. W. Doderet,

Colonel D. C. Phillott, and

Professor R. L. Turner.

The Committee carefully considered the criticisms received, and accepted several of the suggestions made in them. On the other hand, it was unable to adopt certain other suggestions, as these referred to the Geneva system of transliteration which the Committee had no authority to alter.

The Committee now agrees unanimously in submitting the following revised and final report:—

This Committee was formed in consequence of a letter received from a member of the Society pointing out certain discrepancies in the system of transliteration published in the Society's *Journal*.

We observe that this system is not laid down as to be used compulsorily in all articles published in the *Journal*, and we recognize the fact that, in minor particulars, many writers in the *Journal* habitually depart from it. By the Resolution of Council dated October, 1896, the Council does not do more than "earnestly recommend its adoption (so far as is possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, 'that the very great benefit of a uniform system' may be gradually obtained".

This system is almost identical with that approved of by the INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CONGRESS held at Geneva in 1894. Where the system of the Royal Asiatic Society has departed from the Geneva system it has been either in very insignificant alterations in diacritical marks, or in the addition of characters which may be optionally substituted for those approved of at Geneva. In the latter case the Geneva forms were also retained, so that in certain cases there were two or more alternative methods of representing an Oriental character in Roman letters.

We are of opinion that in any revised system the same principle should be followed,—namely, that, for the sake of uniformity with the systems employed in other countries, the Geneva system should be retained in its entirety; but that, as in some cases particular Geneva characters are not in general use in this country or in India, optional forms should also, as hitherto in certain cases, be admitted, so as to adapt the Society's system more nearly to the requirements of Indian and English scholars. The necessity for the admission of these optional characters to our system will be apparent when it is

recognized that types for some of the Geneva characters are found in only one or two presses in this country and not at all in India. Furthermore, in the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars certain signs in the Roman alphabet have long been established, are found in most good presses, and can hardly be changed without causing considerable expense, great inconvenience, and great opposition. Having arisen independently, these last-named characters occasionally clash with those fixed at Geneva for Sanskrit and Arabic, and to avoid this it has been found necessary to add a few optional characters to the Geneva list.

While allowing most of the optional signs in the existing list to stand, we have found ourselves unable to recommend that all of them should be retained. Some of these have fallen into almost complete disuse, and one or two are signs to the use of which, for one reason or another, we are unable to assent. On the other hand, we have provided some new optional signs which will, we hope, be found acceptable to scholars and which will not give rise to difficulties in printing. In the suggestion of these new signs we have borne in mind the recommendation made to the Geneva Congress by our Society¹ that we should prefer characters of such a kind that, when the diacritical marks are either necessarily or inadvertently omitted, "*la prononciation n'en soit pas trop défigurée pour des oreilles européennes.*"

In the following tables we give in each case two columns of transliteration. The first of these gives the transliteration as approved of at the Geneva Congress. These, as before, in the interests of uniformity we recommend for adoption as a whole. In the second column are shown those optional signs which we recommend for adoption by those scholars who for any reason are unable to employ the signs recommended at Geneva.

¹ See page 12 of the Congress Report.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

	Genera Transliteration.	Signs recommended as optional substitutes.
अ	<i>a</i>	
आ	<i>ā</i>	
इ	<i>i</i>	
ई	<i>ī</i>	
उ	<i>u</i>	
ऊ	<i>ū</i>	
ऋ	<i>ṛ</i>	<i>ṝ</i>
ॠ	<i>ṝ</i>	<i>ṝ̄</i>
ऌ	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>ḹ</i>
ॡ	<i>ḹ</i>	<i>ḹ̄</i>
ए	<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>
ऐ	<i>ai</i>	
ओ	<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
औ	<i>au</i>	
क	<i>ka</i>	
ख	<i>kha</i>	
ग	<i>ga</i>	
घ	<i>gha</i>	
ङ	<i>ṅa</i>	
च	<i>ca</i>	<i><u>cha</u></i> ¹
छ	<i>cha</i>	<i><u>chha</u></i> ¹
ज	<i>ja</i>	
झ	<i>jha</i>	
ञ	<i>ṇa</i>	
ट	<i>ṭa</i>	
ठ	<i>ṭha</i>	
ड	<i>ḍa</i>	
ढ	<i>ḍha</i>	
ण	<i>ṇa</i>	
त	<i>ta</i>	
थ	<i>tha</i>	

¹ In modern Indian languages only.

	Geneva.	Options.
द	da	
ध	dha	
न	na	
प	pa	
फ	pha	
ब	ba	
भ	bha	
म	ma	
य	ya	
र	ra	
ल	la	
व	va	
श	śa	
ष	ṣa	
स	sa	
ह	ha	
ळ	ḷa	ḷa
• (Anusvāra)	m̐	~
◌ (Anunāsika)	m̐	
: (visarga)	h	
× (jihvāmūliya)	ḥ	
ॐ (upadhmanīya)	ḥ	
ऽ (avagraha)	,	
Udātta	ˊ	
Svarita	ˆ	
Anudātta	ˋ	

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड	—	ṛa
ढ	—	ṛha

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī कर्ता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

As usual, in the above, the fact that a vowel is long is indicated by a macron, as in *āsīt*. We have carried this further even than in the Geneva system, in which the vowel *ॠ* is indicated by *ī*. To this we have added *ī̇* as an optional substitute. We also note that, when a long vowel is the result of crasis, some scholars (e.g. Professor Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary) prefer to indicate the length by a circumflex, as in *uktvāpagacchati*. We recommend that this also be allowed as an optional method of indicating length under such circumstances. It is true that this will clash with the same mark when used to indicate the *svarita* accent, but we think that the class of scholars who would use the circumflex as suggested would be competent to prevent confusion ensuing from the double use of the sign.

For the *r*- and *l*-vowels we suggest a circle, instead of a dot, below the letter as an optional diacritical mark. This device has long been used by some scholars (e.g. by Professor Brugmann in his comparative grammar), and is necessary in dealing with the modern Indian vernaculars, in which *r* with a dot has an altogether different value as a very common consonant. For instance, if we transliterate the Hindī दृढ़ according to the Geneva system, we should have to write *ḍṛṛḥ*, in which the first *r* represents the *r*-vowel, and the second *r* (aspirated) represents the commonly occurring cerebral consonant. To avoid this confusion, we suggest the optional substitution of a circle for the dot in order to indicate the vowel sounds, so that it would be possible to transliterate दृढ़ by *ḍṛṛḥ*.

In Prakrit and in the modern Indian languages *e* and *o* may each be either long or short, and in some cases provision is made for this in the modern alphabets,

while the Sanskrit convention is that they are always long. The Geneva system suggests the pairs \check{e} , e ; \check{o} , o for Sanskrit and Prakrit to indicate the short and the long forms respectively of these vowels, but for the modern vernaculars it suggests that \bar{e} and \bar{o} should be employed for the long vowels. We suggest a uniform optional system, in which the short vowels, as in other cases, would have no mark, and the long vowels would be marked with a macron. Such would, for example, be necessary for Sanskrit in a work comparing Sanskrit with the modern vernaculars. In dealing with languages in which there can be no doubt as to the quantities of these vowels the option, of course, need not be exercised, and, if the occurrence of short e or short o is altogether exceptional, there can be no objection in that case to indicating them by \check{e} and \check{o} respectively. As examples of these vowels in the modern vernaculars, we may quote the Hindi *betiyā* or *bētī*, a daughter, and *ghoriyā* or *ghōrī*, a mare.

As we have given \bar{l} as an optional transliteration of the l -vowel, we are able to give \bar{l} as an optional transliteration of the cerebral \overline{l} , which is, on the face of it, more appropriate than the Geneva \bar{l} (or, in Pāli, \bar{l}). In other words, we have made the Pāli sign optional for all languages.

The sign \sim , a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars. Thus $\check{a} \sim$, $\check{ā} \sim$, and so on. We see no reason why what is now an almost universal practice should not be permitted as an optional use.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Geneva
Transliteration.

Signs recommended as
optional substitutes.

ا at beginning of word omit ;
hamza elsewhere'

Hamza *ʾ* or *o*

ب	<i>b</i>
ت	<i>t</i>
ث	<i>t̤</i> : permissible <i>th</i>
ج	<i>j</i> : permissible <i>dj</i> ¹
ح	<i>h</i>
خ	<i>ḥ</i> : permissible <i>kh</i>
د	<i>d</i>
ذ	<i>ḍ</i> : permissible <i>dh</i>
ر	<i>r</i>
ز	<i>z</i>
س	<i>s</i>
ش	<i>ʃ</i> : permissible <i>sh</i>
ص	<i>s̥</i>
ض	<i>ḍ</i>
ط	<i>t̤</i> or <i>t̤</i> ¹
ظ	<i>ẓ</i> or <i>z̤</i> ¹
ع	<i>ʿ</i>
غ	<i>g</i> : permissible <i>gh</i>
ف	<i>f</i>
ق	<i>q</i>
ك	<i>k</i>

¹ Although allowed by the Geneva system, we do not recommend the use of *dj* for ج in England or India; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *t̤* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

Geneva.	Options.
ل l	
م m	
ن n	
و w	v
ه h	
[ة —	t or h]
ي y	
vowels a, i, u	
lengthened ā, ī, ū	
[—	Alif-i-maḡṣūra may be represented by ā]
diphthongs ay and aw	ai and au
e and o may be used in place of ī and ū	
also ē and ō in Indian dialects, ü and ö in Turkish.—ل of article ال to be always l	
Also in India will be recognized ṣ for ث, ṣ̣ for ذ, and ṣ̣̣ for ض.	The same are also optionally allowed for Persian

[We recommend that, in the last paragraph, after the words "in India" there should be added between square brackets the words "and in transliterating Indian dialects". This is probably what was intended, but, as it stands, the wording is not clear.]

[waṣṭa —]

A final silent h need not be transliterated,—thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Geneva.

Options.

Persian, Hindī, [Urdū], and Paṣhtō.

پ	<i>p</i>	
ق	<i>q</i> : permissible <i>ch</i>	<i>c</i>
ز	<i>z</i> : permissible <i>zh</i>	
گ	<i>g</i>	

Turkish letters.

ک	when pronounced as <i>y</i> , <i>k</i> is permitted
ک	<i>ñ</i>

Hindī, [Urdū], and Paṣhtō.

ٹ or پ	<i>t</i>	
ڈ or د	<i>d</i>	
ڑ or ر	<i>r</i>	
[ن (nūn-i-ghunna)]	—	~ as in the case of the Nāgarī <i>anunāsika</i> .]

Paṣhtō letters.

څ	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i>
ږ	<i>g</i>	<i>zh</i> (according to dialect)
ښ	<i>n</i>	
ښ	<i>ksh</i>	<i>sh</i> or <i>kh</i> (according to dialect)
[ځ or څ]	—	<i>dz</i> or <i>dz</i>]

We have added one new sign which is required for Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō, but which is not mentioned in the Geneva list. Also, for Paṣhtō alone, we have added optional signs, viz. *ts* and *dz*, for the two sounds of the

letter خ . It should be noted that this letter has two distinct sounds, one resembling *ts* and the other resembling *dz*, and in dictionaries is given twice over—once before ح and once before ج , as if the sign represented two different letters. When it has the *dz*-sound, it sometimes appears in manuscripts as ح , and is thus distinguished from the character with the *ts*-sound. We have accepted these facts, and have put the character twice in our list, each time with a different transliteration.

The Paṣhtō letter پ has two sounds. In the south-west dialect it has a sound something like that of ش , and in the north-east its sound is more like that of خ . The Geneva list attempts to show both these sounds by the compound letter *ksh*. We think that it is more simple to acknowledge the dialectic difference and to give a double transliteration, one form to be employed for one dialect and the other for the other. This is the method employed in the Linguistic Survey of India. Exactly similar remarks apply to the south-western pronunciation (زھ) and the north-eastern pronunciation (ڄ) of the letter ز . Here the Geneva list indicates only the pronunciation as *g*. We have therefore added زھ as an optional form. This also is the sign adopted in the Linguistic Survey.

In other respects we accept the Geneva transliteration of the Arabic alphabet. We remark, however, that the numerous letters with a subscribed ـ (*t*, *h*, *q*, *s*, *g*, *c*, and *z*) do not appear to have been widely adopted, and in this country and in India they would certainly give rise to difficulties in printing. We have therefore in each case been careful to see that an optional form is available. For *t*, *h*, *q*, and *g* some scholars employ the Greek letters θ , χ , δ , and γ respectively, and for *s*, *c*, and *z* the signs ξ , ϵ , and ζ respectively. Our only reason for not recommending them is that they too will cause difficulties in printing.

Finally, whatever scheme is adopted, we recommend that great care be taken to see that it is accurately printed in our *Journal*. Our present scheme, as published in the *Journal*, contains several unfortunate misprints.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

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A. G. ELLIS.

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PART IV.—OCTOBER

The Agni-Purana and Bhoja

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THE school of opinion, represented in Poetics by the *alamkāra*-portion of the *Agni-purāṇa* apparently follows a tradition which departs in many respects from the orthodox systems, and which is further developed in later literature by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

We need not discuss here the date of the apocryphal and ambitiously cyclopædic *Agni-purāṇa*; but it is necessary for our purpose to settle approximately, if we can, the date of the *alamkāra*-chapters of this work, with which we are directly concerned. That this part of the *purāṇa* is chiefly a compilation, in a somewhat eclectic fashion, by a writer who was himself no theorist but who wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular orthodox school, but gathering its materials from all sources, is apparent not only from its independent but somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, and probably from other unknown old writers.¹ Bharata is cited by name in

¹ Thus the verse *abhidheyena sambandhāt* (*Agni*. 344, 11, ed. Bibl. Ind.), which is also cited anonymously by Mammata (*Śabda-vyākṛāṇa-paricaya*, p. 8) and in the *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana, iv, 3, 8, is attributed to one Bhartṛmītra by Mukula (*Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātrkā*, p. 17).

Agni. 339, 6 ; and a large part of the *Agni-purāṇa*'s treatment of *nāṭya*, *nṛtya*, and *abhinaya* follows Bharata's exposition, even to literal copying and paraphrase of some of the latter's well-known verses. Thus *Agni*. 338, 12 = *Nāṭya-śāstra*, ed. Grosset, vi, 36 ; *Agni*. 338, 7-8 = *Nāṭya-śāstra*, vi, 39, etc. The definitions of poetry (*Agni*. 336, 6) and of poetic figure (*Agni*. 341, 17) are copied literally from Daṇḍin, i, 10, and ii, 1, respectively. Cf. also *Agni*. 336, 13 = Daṇḍin, i, 29 ; *Agni*. 336, 23, 25, 26 = Daṇḍin, i, 12, 15, 17, etc. It is needless to cite any more instances, for this will be enough to indicate that these chapters of the *Purāṇa* were in all probability later than Daṇḍin, and therefore enable us to fix one terminus of its date at the first half of the eighth century A.D.¹ The other terminus is given by the citation of *Agni*. 338, 10-11, by Ānandavardhana (p. 222), who flourished in the middle of the ninth century. We cannot draw any definite conclusion from the *Agni-purāṇa*'s omission of all references to Vāmana or his theory, although Rudraṭa's idea of *vakrōkti* (ii, 14-16), of which there is no trace in Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, or Vāmana, is apparently accepted with a slight modification (341, 33). On the other hand, the *Agni-purāṇa* is not cited as an authority in the sphere of Poetics (if we except Bhoja's anonymous appropriation) until we come to the time of Viśvanātha. But what is said above will justify us, in the absence of other evidences, in placing the *alaṃkāra*-portion of the *Agni-purāṇa* roughly in the beginning of the ninth century.

The date of Bhoja, the reputed author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana* is much easier to settle. Bhoja is often cited in later literature as Bhojarāja, and not infrequently with the simple designation of *rājan*, which seems to mark him out *par excellence*, just as the term *muni* in later authors

¹ On the date of Daṇḍin, see my *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (1923), vol. i, pp. 59-70. The reader will also find there a detailed discussion of the dates of the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja at pp. 102-4, 144-47.

invariably refers to Bharata. This has led to his usual identification with the Paramāra king Bhoja of Dhārā ; and there are indications in the text itself which would make our author contemporaneous with this king and thus justify the identification. The earliest writer on Poetics who quotes Bhoja as an authority appears to be Hemacandra (p. 295 Comm.), who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century ; while Vardhamāna, who, however, did not write till A.D. 1140, mentions Bhoja in the second verse of his *Gaṇa-ratna-mahôdadhi*, the *vytti* of which explains that this Bhoja was the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. That Bhoja was already a widely recognized writer in the middle of the thirteenth century is clear from the fact that Jalhana, who lived in the time of Kṛṣṇa of Devagiri (about A.D. 1247-60), gives profuse quotations from Bhoja in his anthology. Bhoja himself quotes pretty extensively but anonymously from earlier writers on Poetics, including Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, and the *Dhvanyāloka*. The latest writer he quotes seems to be Rājasekhara¹ whose date is the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. There is also a reference in one verse (ed. Borooah, 1884, p. 22) to Muñja, apparently Muñja Vākpati-rāja, his uncle and one of his predecessors on the throne of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava. Col. Jacob is inaccurate and misleading in putting down the name of Nami-sādhū, who did not write his commentary on Rudraṭa till A.D. 1069, in the list of authors quoted by Bhoja ; for the verses in question, though found in Nami's commentary, are not Nami's own, but quoted by him from previous authors. For instance, the verse *ayaṁ padmāsanaśina* (p. 15), given as one of the cases where Bhoja quotes Nami, is found no doubt in Nami on xi, 24, but it is really a quotation, along with several other verses in the same context, by Nami himself from Bhāmaha, ii, 55.

¹ See Jacob, in *JRAS.* 1897, pp. 304 ff., and Sten Konow's edition of the *Karpūra-mañjarī*, pp. 198 ff., for all the quotations by Bhoja from Rājasekhara.

Similarly the two verses *sa marutākampitā* and *sa pūtavāsāḥ*, quoted by Bhāmaha himself (ii, 41 and 58) from some previous authors (one of whose names is given as Rāmaśarman), occur in Bhoja, pp. 43 and 44, but they are also quoted by Nami in the same context. There is no reason to suppose that Bhoja took these verses from Nami's commentary instead of going directly to Bhāmaha; on the other hand, Bhoja elsewhere quotes Bhāmaha directly several times (e.g. *ākrośannāhvayan*, p. 144=Bhāmaha, ii, 94; *kiṃśuka-vyapadeśena*, p. 226-7=Bhāmaha, ii, 92=*Subhāṣitāvalī*, No. 1645, attributed to Bhāmaha). The limits, therefore, given by Bhoja's quotations from Rājaśekhara on the one hand, and Hemacandra's citation of Bhoja himself on the other, would place our author approximately in the period between the beginning of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century; and as this date fits in quite easily with the date of the Paramāra Bhoja of Dhārā, who is assigned to the first half of the eleventh century, it may not be wrong to identify the two Bhojarājas.

Taking the *alamkāra*-section of the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa* side by side, one is struck at once by some fundamental characteristics which are common to both. The most peculiar feature of the *Agni-purāṇa* theory is the absence of the doctrine of *dhvani*, although the concept of *dhvani* is included casually, after the manner of ancient authors, in the figure *ākṣepa* (*sa ākṣepo dhvaniḥ syāc ca dhvaninā vyajyate yataḥ*, 344, 14). The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse (336, 1=Bhoja i, 1), which says generally that speech consists of *dhvani*, *varṇa*, *pada*, and *vākya* (*dhvanir varṇāḥ padam vakyam ityetaḍ vānmayam matam*); but apparently this alludes to the grammatical word which reveals the *sphoṭa*, and which is indicated by the same term in the *Vākya-padīya*. The work, however, recognizes *abhidhā* and *lakṣanā*, the ideas of which were already elaborated by philosophers and philosophical grammarians. At the same time, apart from obvious borrowings or copyings from

Bharata, Bhāmaha, and Daṇḍin, this work cannot be taken as substantially following the views of any one of the schools represented by these names.

There is no doubt that in one verse, which is conveniently cited by Viśvanātha in support of his own extreme view, the *Agni-purāṇa* speaks of *rasa* as the "soul" of poesy in contrast with mere verbal ingenuity (*vāg-vaidagdhya-pradhāne 'pi rasa evātra jīvitam*, 336, 33), and devotes somewhat lengthy chapters to the description, after Bharata, of the *rasas* and *bhāvas*; yet there is nowhere any central theory of *rasa* or any elaboration of a system of Poetics on its basis. As to the origin of *rasa*, it propounds a peculiar view that from infinite bliss (*ānanda*) proceeds self-consciousness (*alanṁkāra*), from self-consciousness proceeds conceit (*abhimāna*), from conceit pleasure (*rati*), of which *śṛṅgāra* (love), *hāsyā* (laughter), and other *rasas* are modifications (338, 2-4). It admits with Bharata four fundamental *rasas*, from which are derived five others. Although partiality is thus shown to *rasa* in poetry and drama, the *Agni-purāṇa* cannot be relegated entirely to the Rasa School; for it does not make any attempts to correlate with this central principle the other factors of poetry, viz. *rīti*, *guṇa*, and *alanṁkāra*, which are also recognized as of great, if not of equal, importance. One fact, however, worth noticing in connexion is that although the *Agni-purāṇa* recognizes nine *rasas*, adding *śānta* to the orthodox eight, it extols and gives prominence to *śṛṅgāra*, a trait which is unique and which is further developed by Bhoja, who, as we shall see presently, accepts no other *rasa* than *śṛṅgāra* in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and gives almost exclusive attention to this important *rasa* in his *Sarasvatī-kanthābharana*.

On the other hand, although treatment is accorded to *rīti* (ch. 339) and *guṇa* (ch. 345), the *Agni-purāṇa* does not follow the tenets of the Rīti School, as represented by Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Daṇḍin classifies *rīti*, which he calls *mārga*, into two extreme types, Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī, to which

Vāmana adds Pāñcālī as an intermediate type; but the classification, according to both, depends upon the presence or absence of certain fixed excellences of diction, known as *guṇas*. To this enumeration Rudraṭa adds Lāṭī, but by *rīti* he means a definite arrangement of sentences with reference to the use of compound words of variable length. The *Agni-purāṇa* accepts this four-fold classification, but the distinction is supposed to lie not only in the length or shortness of compound words, but also in the qualities of softness or smoothness, as well as in the prominence or otherwise of metaphorical expression (*upacāra*). The *guṇas*, again, are regarded as fundamental characteristics both by Daṇḍin (i, 42) and Vāmana (i, 2, 6-8), who take them as forming the essence of *rīti*, and distinguish them carefully from *alaṃkāras*, which, in Vāmana's opinion, are merely accidental characteristics enhancing the charm of poetry already brought out by the *guṇas*.¹ The *Agni-purāṇa*, however, defines the *guṇas*, which are nowhere connected directly with *rīti*, simply as those characteristics which reflect great beauty on poetry (*yaḥ kāvyē mahatīm chāyām anugṛhṇātyasaṃ guṇaḥ*, 345, 3), a definition which hardly distinguishes them from *alaṃkāras*, the definition of which is here almost the same, *kāvya-śobhākarāṇ dharmāṇ alaṃkāraṇ pracakṣate* (341, 17), and is, strangely enough, merely copied uncritically from Daṇḍin, ii, 1. The classification of *guṇas* themselves, again, in this work is peculiar to itself. Ordinarily, the *guṇas* are classified as either *śabda-guṇas* or *artha-guṇas*, and this procedure is sanctioned by Vāmana. The *Agni-*

¹ Vāmana III, 1, 1-2, although in I, 1, 2 he uses the term *alaṃkāra* in the broad sense of "beauty" in a composition. Strictly speaking, Daṇḍin does not appear to make a fundamental theoretic distinction between *guṇa* and *alaṃkāra* as such, to which the term *alaṃkāra* or *alaṃkariyā* is indiscriminately applied. He implies, however, in ii, 3 (with commentary thereon) that a poetic figure (or *alaṃkāra* properly so-called by other writers) is an *alaṃkāra* or embellishment common to both the Vaidarbha and Gauḍa *mārgas*; but a *guṇa* is an *alaṃkāra* belonging exclusively to the Vaidarbha. But Daṇḍin defines and treats them separately in a manner which foreshadows the rigid theoretic differentiation implied by Vāmana.

purāṇa brings in finer distinctions (345, 3 ff.). The *guṇas* are here said to be of two kinds, specific (*vaiśeṣika*) and general (*sāmānya*), the former apparently confining itself to any specific part or feature of a composition, the latter existing as common to its several component parts. The *sāmānya guṇa*, again, in its turn is classified into three subdivisions, according as it appertains to *śabda*, *artha*, or both; the *Agni-purāṇa* admitting for the first time, so far as we know, this three-fold classification. An altogether different scheme of enumeration of these *guṇas* then follows. Vāmana mentions in all ten *guṇas*, viz. *ojas*, *prasāda*, *śleṣa*, *saṃatā*, *saṃādhi*, *mādhurya*, *saukumārya*, *udārātā*, *artha-vyakti*, and *kānti*, making each of these a *śabda-guṇa* as well as an *artha-guṇa*. The *śabda-guṇas*, according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, are seven in number, viz. *śleṣa*, *lālitya*, *gāmbhīrya*, *saukumārya*, *udārātā*, *satyā*, and *yaugikī*; the *artha-guṇas* are six, viz. *mādhurya*, *saṃvidhāna*, *komalatva*, *udārātā* (?), *prauḍhī*, and *sāmayikatā*; the *śabdārtha-guṇas* are again, six, viz. *prasāda*, *saubhāgya*, *yathā-saṃkhyā*, *prasūstatā*, *pāka*, and *rāga*. The characteristics of some of these *guṇas* are not very clearly marked, and in *guṇas* like *saṃvidhāna* and *yathāsaṃkhyā* are included ideas which are credited by other writers to the *alaṃkāras*. It is curious, also, that although not enumerated as such, Daṇḍin's *ojas* is reproduced (345, 10=Daṇḍin i, 80) in the course of the definition of individual *śabda-guṇas*.

In the same way, it can be easily shown that the influence of the *Alaṃkāra* School, as represented by Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, is not very marked in this work. The *śabdālaṃkāras* are, with some modification, developed, no doubt, on the general lines of Daṇḍin's treatment, but the *arthālaṃkāras* do not strictly conform to the orthodox classification or definition. The *Agni-purāṇa* gives eight varieties of the latter, viz. *svarūpa* (or *svabhāva*), *sādrśya*, *utprekṣā*, *atiśaya*, *vibhāvanā*, *virodha*, *hetu*, and *sama* (343, 2-3), the figures *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *sahokti*, and *arthāntara-nyāsa* being included

separately under *sādrśya* (343, 5), and the eighteen kinds of *upamā* embracing most of Daṇḍin's numerous sub-varieties of that figure (343, 9 ff.). The *Agni-purāṇa* is also one of the earliest known works which add a separate chapter on the *ubhayālamkāras* (not recognized by earlier writers), including six varieties, viz. *praśasti*, *kānti*, *aucitya*, *saṁkṣepa*, *yāvad-arthatā* and *abhivyakti* (344, 2), some of which would come under *guṇas* of other writers.¹ Indeed, the classification and definition of the *guṇas* and *alamkāras*, which are not differentiated very clearly, would appear crude and unsystematic, when compared to the elaborate critical treatment of the Rīti and the Alamkāra Schools.

From this brief outline, it will be clear enough that the *Agni-purāṇa* follows, in its general standpoint, none of the orthodox schools of poetics, so far as they are known to us, although with regard to its material, it attempts to cull, in its encyclopædic spirit, notions, expressions, and even whole verses from the authors of the different schools, without, however, connecting them with a central theory. It borrows, for instance, Daṇḍin's definition of the *kāvya-śarīra* (*iṣṭārtha-vyavacchinnā padāvalī*), but the attempt to supplement it by adding *kāvyaṁ sphuṭad-alamkāraṁ guṇavad doṣa-varjitam* (336, 6-7), is merely eclectic and hardly constitutes an improvement. The same remarks apply to its definitions of fundamental notions like *guṇa* or *alamkāra*, which are merely copied or paraphrased uncritically from earlier writers. At the same time mere eclecticism is not enough to explain certain features of this work, the peculiar treatment and arrangement, for instance, of the *guṇas* and *alamkāras* which depart very strikingly from the orthodox views of the matter. In order to explain this novelty, we should, having regard to the essentially derivative nature of the work itself, admit the probable existence of an altogether

¹ It is noteworthy in this connexion that Daṇḍin's *samādhi-guṇa* is treated here under the context of *lakṣaṇā* with the hint apparently of identifying them.

different line of speculation, of which, unfortunately, no other early traces are preserved.

This tradition of opinion is followed and further developed by Bhoja. The prominence given to *rasa* and the absence of the *dhvani*-theory in Bhoja, therefore, need not surprise us; nor should the peculiar arrangement of the *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras* appear unintelligible. The same reverence to Bharata and Daṇḍin is shown throughout; and, in fact, Daṇḍin is estimated to have supplied Bhoja with more than two hundred unacknowledged quotations. At the same time, Bhoja very freely incorporates definitive verses and illustrative stanzas from most of his well-known predecessors, especially from Bhāmaha, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, and Dhanika. He even appropriates *kārikās* from the *Dhvanyāloka*, although he does not accept its theory. His huge compilation, like its prototype the *Agni-purāṇa*, is more or less cyclopædic in scope and eclectic in spirit, and represents apparently one of the several forms of arranging the teachings (with the exception of ignoring the *dhvani*-theory) of earlier schools in the light of a different tradition, of which another form is perhaps preserved, to a certain extent, in the two Jaina Vāgbhaṭas. But in some of the main points, his indebtedness to the *Agni-purāṇa* is obvious, and here the teachings of the orthodox schools are of no avail. The verbal borrowings are numerous. Thus *Agni*. 341, 18 ff., has much in common with *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana*, ii, some verses of the former being literally adopted by the latter. The *Agni*. 341, 18-19, says:—

*Ye vyutpattyādinā śabdāṁ alaṅkartum iha kṣamāḥ
Śabdālaṅkāraṁ āhuḥ tān kāvya-mīmāṃsa-kovidāḥ.*¹

This definition of a *śabdālaṅkāra* is adopted by Bhoja, with the only verbal change of the last line into *śabdālaṅkāra-samjñās te jñeyā jātyādayo budhaiḥ* (ii, 2). Such instances can be easily multiplied, and we may cite for comparison *Agni*.

¹ Instead of *kāvya-mīmāṃsakā vidadḥ* in the text.

341, 21, and Bhoja, ii, 39; *Agni*. 342, 10, and Bhoja, ii, 79; *Agni*. 338, 11, and Bhoja, v, 3, etc. Apart from this fact of literal borrowing, which being a common trait in Bhoja is not conclusive, there is a striking coincidence, as we shall see presently, of treatment as well as agreement of views on fundamental points which is more than merely accidental. It is not suggested that Bhoja is directly copying from the *Agni-purāṇa*; it is quite possible that they exploit in common an unknown source. But there is hardly any doubt that they follow a common tradition which is different in many respects from that of the Kashmirian writers, although Bhoja is more open to the influence of the latter.

Bhoja develops the definition of poetry given by the *Agni-purāṇa* by adding expressly *rasa* among its essential characteristics, which, as the commentator Ratneśvara points out, indicates the influence of the "Kāśmīrakas":—

Nirdoṣaṁ guṇavat kāvyaṁ alaṁkārair alaṁkṛtam
Rasānviṭam. . . (i, 2).

In conformity to this definition, which mentions rather uncritically all the requisite elements, Bhoja deals in the first chapter with the *doṣas* and *guṇas* and devotes the next three chapters respectively to the consideration of poetic figures (*alaṁkāras*) of *śabda*, of *artha*, and of both *śabda* and *artha*. In the last chapter is given a detailed treatment of *rasa*, for Bhoja thinks that *rasōkti* is essential in poetry (v, 8). But like the author of the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja is not explicit with regard to the question of correlating this æsthetic element with other elements of poetry, and his conception of *rasa* bears resemblance to that of the *utpattivādins*, whose causal theory, as Abhinavagupta points out, is accepted by earlier authors like Daṇḍin. No doubt, in one verse (i, 158), Bhoja is apparently of opinion that a poem is relished only if it contains the *guṇas*, even though it may possess various kinds of poetic figures; for even excellent poetic figures in a composition without the *guṇas* present an ugly aspect, as the form of a woman, destitute of youth, looks ugly even

though she wears excellent ornaments. But this verse is only an unacknowledged quotation from Vāmana (iii, 1, 2, *vr̥tti*), and must be taken as an instance of eulogistic statements, not unusual in Sanskrit writers, made for the purpose of simply emphasizing a point, or as a characteristic of the uncritical and confused nature of the work itself ; for otherwise we cannot reconcile this dictum with others of a similar nature made in connexion with *rasa* or *alamkāra*.

Although Bhoja puts a great deal of emphasis on *rasa*, probably in accordance with the views of the new school of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, as well as of his own school, he cannot yet be taken as an adherent of this school or of the older Rasa School. Bhoja mentions here as many as ten *rasas*, adding the *śānta* and the *preyas* (the last occurring also in Rudraṭa) to the eight orthodox *rasas* mentioned by Bharata (vi, 15); but in his treatment he follows the *Agni-purāṇa* tradition in singling out the *śṛṅgāra* for almost exclusive attention. This trait is also noticeable in his other work, *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, in which he accepts only one *rasa*, the Erotic,¹ thus justifying its title.

Bhoja modifies the *Agni-purāṇa*'s classification of the *guṇas* by dividing them, according as they relate to *śabda* and *artha*, into external (*bāhya*) and internal (*ābhyantara*), on the one hand, and specific (*vaiśeṣika*) *guṇas* on the other. By the last he understands those which are *guṇas* in spite of their being essentially *doṣas* or faults (i, 60 ff.). He carries the differentiation and multiplication of *guṇas* still further, and enumerates twenty-four *śabda-guṇas* and as many *artha-guṇas*,

¹ So says Vidyādhara, p. 98 ; *rājā tu śṛṅgāram ekam eva Śṛṅgāra-prakāśe rasam urarīcakāra* ; also Kumārasvāmin, p. 221, *śṛṅgāra eka eva rasa iti Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa-kāraḥ*. A MS. of this work, also referred to in Rāyamukūṭa on Amara, Hemādri on *Raghu*, and Sarvānanda in his *Tikāsarvasva* on Amara, has been recently acquired by the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library ; and from its report it appears that the work, in the usual encyclopedic spirit of the author, discusses and profusely illustrates all the phases of the amorous sentiment in no less than twenty chapters. An account of this work will be found in my *Hist. of Sansk. Poetics*, vol. i, pp. 147-8.

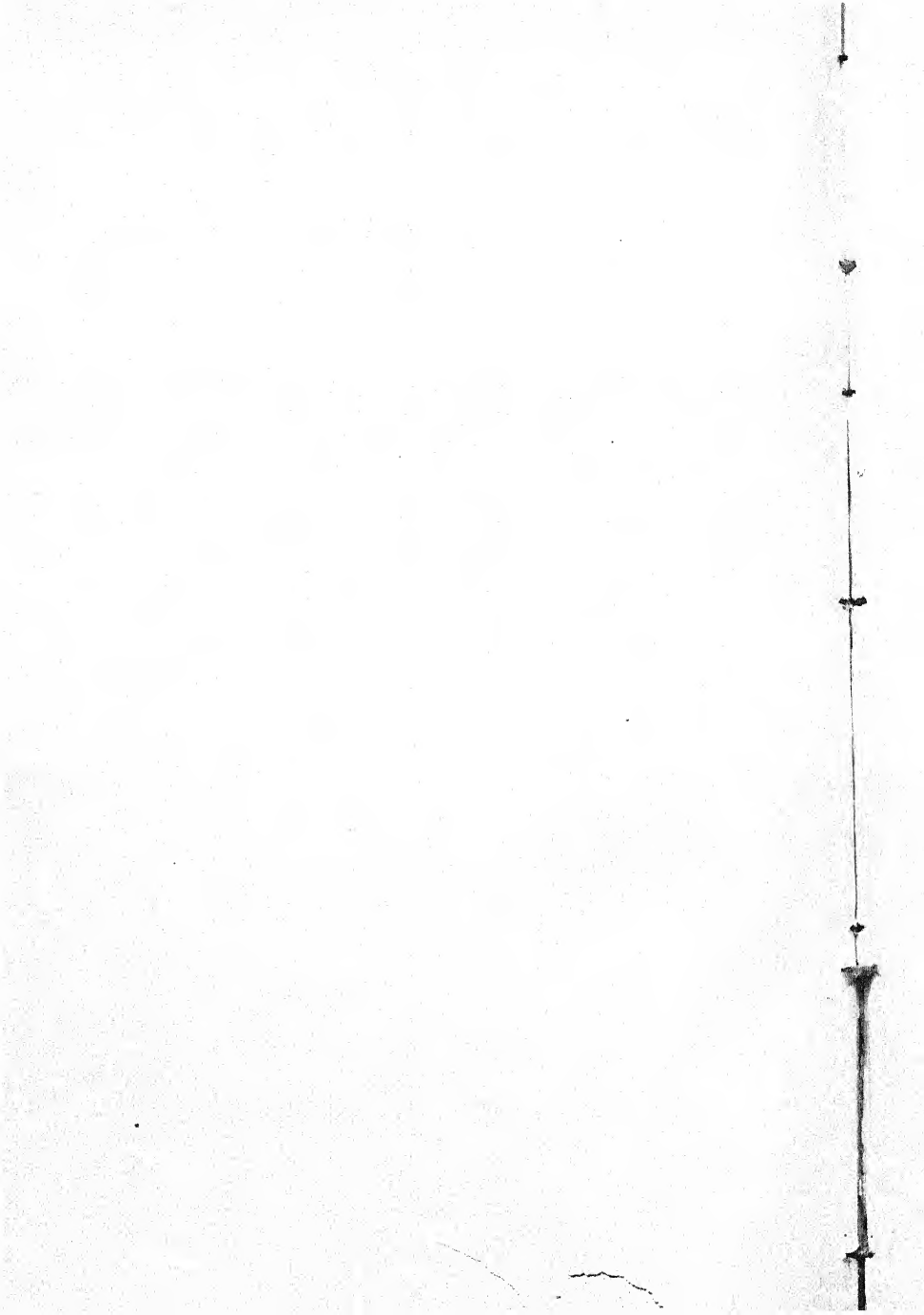
again, of identical names. Like the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja is not very precise or critical in his definitions of individual *guṇas*, and he assigns to some *guṇas* properties which are ascribed to *alamkāras* by other writers. It is curious to note that the *artha-guṇa kānti* is defined, after Vāmana, as *dīptarasaśatvam* (i, 81), including *rasa* therein; and in the *śabda-guṇa gāmbhīrya* (i, 73) is incorporated the concept of *dhvani*. At the same time, *rasa* is taken elsewhere as a fundamental æsthetic concept, and the idea of *dhvani* is omitted from his treatment. Bhoja, however, does not pay any homage to Vāmana's classification of *rīti*, the elaboration of which he carries still further. He adds two more types of *rītis*, viz. *āvantikā* and *māgadhi* (ii, 32), to the four mentioned by the *Agni-purāṇa*, the former of these being an intermediate kind between Vaidarbhī and Pāñcālī, and the latter forming only a *khaṇḍa-rīti*, i.e. defective or incomplete type. It is also noteworthy that some of the *upamā-doṣas*, such as *hīnatva* and *adhikātva*, are included in the general discussion of *doṣas* as *hīnōpamā* and *adhikōpamā*, and not mentioned, in the usual manner, in connexion with the figure *upamā* itself.

In the treatment of *alamkāras*, Bhoja is one of the earliest writers to follow the *Agni-purāṇa*'s classification into three groups, viz. *śabdālamkāra*, *arthālamkāra*, and *ubhayālamkāra*. Without entering into details here, we may state that Bhoja's treatment is much fuller. He enumerates, for instance, and defines the largest number of *śabdālamkāras* mentioned by any author, namely twenty-four, and develops further the treatments of Daṇḍin, the *Agni-purāṇa* and Rudraṭa. The number of *arthālamkāras*, however, is surprisingly limited, and a love of symmetry probably leads him to enumerate them also as twenty-four in number, which is also the number of the *ubhayālamkāras*. The most curious chapter is that which deals with the last-named class of poetic figures, which includes figures like *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprekṣā*, *dīpaka*, *atiśaya*, and other well-recognized *arthālamkāras*. Mammaṭa later on admits this three-fold classification of poetic figures, which

is not recognized by all, but unlike Bhoja, he includes a very limited number in the mixed third class, such as *punar-uktavadābhāsa*, in which stress is laid equally on *śabda* and *artha*.

This novel and somewhat unorthodox standpoint, which follows a peculiar line of speculation different in some respects from the accepted views of the various established schools, makes Bhoja's work an interesting study; but its theoretic importance has been exaggerated. The work, no doubt, possesses a certain importance for this unique treatment in the history of Sanskrit Poetics; but its value consists, not in its theories, or in its discussion of general principles, but in its being a very elaborate, if somewhat diffuse, manual and an exhaustive store-house of definitions and illustrations, for which not only the works of Ālankārikas but also of almost all the well-known poets have been laid under contribution. The later writers, in spite of the fascination which the magic name of Bhojarāja carries with it, cite this work chiefly for its abundant wealth of illustration, or for the purpose of supporting some unorthodox view to which Bhoja might have lent the authority of his name. The learning which this work parades, though extensive, is ill-assorted and uncritical, its ideas lacking in system and its expression in preciseness. The school of opinion which Bhoja represents does not appear to have received any support or following in later times.

November, 1922.



Dr. Hoernle's MS. Papers

By F. E. PARGITER

I (IV, 1)

“Rough list of Dr. Stein's MSS. sent by Dr. Barnett”—with brief descriptions.

1. (1) “9, 1 Brāhmī fol. C.A.,” unknown language, probably a *Prajñā-pāramitā*.
(2) Inner cover marked C xlvi (Suppl.) Large C.A. leaf 6.vi.07; outer cover marked Ch. Large C.A. Brāhmī frgt.; part of the former.
2. *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra* (Ch. xlvi, 0015) [now No. 4 in my (i.e. Dr. Hoernle's) Register]. In Stein's parcel marked “C xlvi, 0015 C.A.” Pothi, 20 fol. Brāhmī, unknown language, 18 leaves, with extracts from the folios.
3. *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra* (Ch. xlvi, 0015) [now No. 4 in the Register]. Only 2 leaves survive. Brāhmī, with extracts from folios.
4. *Vajracchedikā* (Ch. xlvi, 1012A) [now No. 5 in the Register]. 20 fol. Brāhmī, unknown: 8 leaves surviving; with extracts.
5. *Vajracchedikā* (Ch. xlvi, 0012A) [belongs to No. 5 in the Register]. 34 fol. Brāhmī, unknown, 3 leaves: is really portion of No. 4; with copious extracts.
6. Medical (Ch. ii, 003) [No. 12 in the Register]. 34 fol. Brāhmī, unknown: 34 surviving leaves; with extracts.
7. (Ch. ii, 003.) Missing leaves of No. 6 [No. 12 in the Register].
8. Stein's mark “C.A. Br. Pothi, 11 foll.” Brāhmī, unknown.
- No. I. Stein's mark “Ch. ii, C.A. Brāhmī Pothi”. Brāhmī, unknown, with Dr. Hoernle's brief list of medical terms in unknown language and Sanskrit.
- *Siddha-sāra-śāstra* [No. 1 in the Register]. Copious extracts, fol. 1-4, 10, 103, 104, 106, 107, 121, 123, etc.;

with note on *bhūta-kalyāṇaka-ghṛta* and 10 other *ghṛtas*, and lists of terms and words; copious extracts from fol. 47b to 116b.

In separate covers. Medical vocabulary to *Siddha-sāra-śāstra* by Dr. Hoernle.

II (IV, 2)

One book. Discussion (following on consideration of the systems of Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa I) about Mādhava, author of *Nidāna* or *Rug-viniścaya*; discussion of his system and of Vṛnda-Mādhava and Bhāva-Miśra, i.e. Suśruta's school. Then a consideration of the school of Vāgbhaṭa I, i.e. Dṛḍhabala, Vāgbhaṭa II. 14 fol.

- (1) One cover, containing extracts from Graf & Jaemisch, *Handbuch der Ges. An.*, in German, about the eye; 5 fol.; also extracts from *Geschichte d. grauen Staures*, von Dr. Hugo Magnus, Leipzig, 1876, in German, about the eye; 6 fol.
- (2) Relation of Mādhava to Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa I and Vāgbhaṭa II: extracts and comparisons; 1 fol.
- (3) On *kālakāsthī*. MSS. of Suśruta and Mādhava. Commentaries on the same. Printed editions of the same. With extracts from MSS.; 9 fol.
- (4) Article: *On the ancient Indian theory of the structure of the Eye and the Cataract*; 28 fol.; lists comparative of works, 12 fol.

Letters from Jolly and Fuchs. Various miscellaneous notes and extracts.

Indische Medizin von Dr. Iwan Bloch—a separate paper from the *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*; and 2 other papers by him.

Chap. I. Anatomy: the structure of the eye; merely the beginning, 1 page.

References to the Eye in Caraka, 5 fol.

I. Anatomy: the structure of the Eye, 71 fol. Introduction, 1 fol.

Further notes, extracts about medicine, 6 fol. ; and 2 envelopes with small light red seeds. Chronology, 3 fol. Caraka's *Cikitsā-sthāna* and chronological notes, 6 fol.

Book with extracts from medical works and commentaries, Caraka and anonymous.

III (iv, 3)

A portfolio containing miscellaneous papers relating to eye-diseases, etc.

- (1) Extracts from Prof. Dr. H. Magnus' *Die Augenheilkunde der Alten*.
- (2) Correspondence with Dr. P. Cordier, 21 letters and post-cards.
- (3) Letter and annexure from Col. Waddell about enteric fever in Baghdad.
- (4) Pamphlet by Dr. P. Cordier, *Quelques données nouvelles à propos des Traités Médicaux sanscrits*, 1899.
- (5) Letter from Mr. Pargiter about medical passages in the *Śiva Purāṇa*.
- (6) Letter from Miss C. M. Ridding with list of medical MSS.
- (7) Letter from Prof. Jolly about Kalpa works.
- (8) Pamphlet by Dr. P. Cordier, *Nāgārjuna et l'Uttaratantra de la Suçruta saṃhitā*, 1896.
- (9) Notes by Dr. Hoernle about *rasas* ; and books to consult.
- (10) Letter from Birajācharan Gupta Kabibhūṣaṇ with his pamphlet *Banausadhi-darpana*.
- (11) Cutting from *Daily Mail*, letter by Robert Bell about cancer.
- (12) Letter from A. R. L. Anderson about medical researches.
- (13) Note about dimensions of the eye, with a diagram.
- (14) Letter from Asiatic Society of Bengal about loan of 3 Medical MSS.
- (15) Letter from Dr. M. A. Stein dated 1st March, 1905.
- (16) Letter from the Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, about certain medical works.

- (17) Cutting from *Times Weekly Edition* of 11th October, 1907, reviewing Dr. J. S. Milne's *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*.
- (18) Pamphlet by E. C. van Leersum, *Preparation du calomel chez les anciens Hindous*.
- (19) Quotations from *Bheda-saṃhitā* and *Kalyāṇa*, supplied by Dr. P. Cordier.
- (20) Packet marked "Correspondence and Papers, etc., referring to Surgical Instruments of India".
- (21) Extracts from *Cikitsā-kalikā* and other medical works.
- (22) 10 folios containing an alphabetical list of well-known ancient Indian medical men.
- (23) 1 folio, extract from *The Book of Quinte Essence*, etc.
- (24) Folio note, extracts from Lanfranck's *Science of Chirurgie*.
- (25) 1½ folio miscellaneous notes of chapter numbers.
- (26) File of letters from and to Col. Waddell, Mr. Walsh, and Dr. Thomas, with 17 folios containing extracts from the *Tanjur*, apparently by Dr. Thomas.

IV (IV, 4)

Three red-backed folio books containing a vocabulary of the *Caraka-saṃhitā*. Vol. I is marked "Sthānas: sūtra, Nidāna, Vimāna portion—*Vimāna* up to *pāñīya*". Vol. II "Sthānas: Vimāna, Śarīra, Indriya, Cikitsita portion—*Cikitsita* up to *praśamaya*; Vimāna from *pāpīyas*". Vol. III "Sthānas: Cikitsita portion, Kalpa, Siddhi—*Cikitsita* portion from *praśasta*".

Also a square cardboard box containing many slips (or cards) of words in the *Siddhi-sthāna* of the *Caraka-saṃhitā*. These apparently complete the vocabulary.

V (IV, 5)

Book. Index of Words in Suśruta's *Saṃhitā*, with MS. pages of more words not yet entered therein. At the end: reversed—Copy of the *Nidāna-sthāna* from the Sausrutiya. *Āyur-veda-śāstra* MS. in the India Office.

VI (iv, 6)

Roll Ch. 73 xv 001 and Poth Ch. 83 vi 001. Descriptions and transcripts.

VII (iv, 7)

A copy-book, "Stein MSS. Sanskrit." Transcripts of plates, x (D iii 8), and xi (D iii 7); xii (D iii 2 and 3); xi (D iii 4); xvii (D vi 1); xv (D iv 1 and 2).

A copy-book, "Stein MSS. non-Sanskrit." Transcripts of plates xvi (D iii 1); xiv (E. c. Roll). Transcripts of Brāhmī documents, plates xvi (D iv 6); xiii (D iii 12); xvii (D v 8); xvii (D vi 6); xviii (D viii 2). Transcripts of wooden tablets, Rawak 5 i 1901; D 54; D v 3; N xx, 1.

VIII (iv, 8)

Description of MS. frgt. Miran 31, from Dr. Stein's collection, with transcripts; 1 fol.

IX (iv, 9)

Tracings of inscriptions on frescoes and pottery.

Kha i, 312, note and cast of inscription on rim of a jar.

Kha i, 0055, tracing of inscription on fresco (part unbroken); with Miss Lorimer's letter of 25th Jan., 1913.

Kha i, C 0074, do. (4 fragments); with letter do.

Kh i, 3.

Ta i, 1. Inscription on small grotesque-headed figure; a handmade copy.

X (iv, 11 (a))

A large envelope marked "Dr. Watanabe's Reading of two Chinese fragments, Nos. 150⁵² and 151"; containing the two fragments of paper with Chinese characters and the readings.

XI (iv, 11 (b))

Envelope marked "Dr. Watanabe's contribution, also my readings"; but inside is a copybook marked "Transcript of Dr. Stein's Brāhmī MSS., Plates i-v", with a note

" Sent to Prof. Leumann on 28 Sept., 1907. Returned by him, 13 January, 1911 "; with 23 folios containing revised transliterations of the same.

XII (iv, 11 (c))

Dr. Watanabe's Paper on 1 Hinayāna, 11 Mahāyāna, etc. [but only a rough title-page; with transliteration of one fragment in an odd folio].

Preliminary Report of the studies on Khotan Fragments collected by Dr. Stein and Dr. Hoernle, by K. Watanabe, Ph.D. 57 pages (revised thoroughly by Hoernle).

XIII (iv, 12)

Large long envelope, containing 3 photographs marked 118a and 118c (of MSS.) and 118b (of painting), and marked " 3 photographs belonging to ' Gigantic Roll ' (No. 56) ".

XIV (iv, 13)

Envelope marked " Papers on Central Asian Antiquities, Nos. 87 and 121-139 "; containing miscellaneous correspondence with the India Office, Sir M. A. Stein, Sir C. J. Lyall, Professor Rapson, etc.

XV (iv, 14)

Envelope marked " Papers on Central Asian Antiquities, Nos. 140-160 "; containing miscellaneous correspondence with the Archæological Department of India, the Government of India, and the India Office.

XVI (iv, 15)

Stein Collection. Two folios of a Palm-leaf MS. found in the walled-up cave, Tun-huang; described and transliterated fol. 140, 465 [not in the volume published].

Big Roll from the Temple Library, described; in upright Gupta characters, about 1110-2 lines; transliteration of lines 1-774, 840-860.

XVII (iv, 16)

Cover marked "Classified List [rough] of Block prints and MSS." But contents are—Register of Correspondence on Central Asia. Chronological, in the form of a table thus—

No.		Date.		Communication.		Remarks.
containing from No. 1 of 28th March, 1895, D.O. letter from Sir A. C. Talbot, sends scraps of MSS. ; to No. 160 of 8th Oct., 1914, a D.O. letter No. 2375 from Mr. Marshall inquiring about progress as above, with draft report in reply attached.						

Register of Correspondence : alphabetical, of the foregoing.
Register of antiquities in table thus, 3 pages—

Name.		Reg. No.		Contents.
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XVIII (iv, 18)

Large quarto reproduction of specimens of palm-leaf and other MSS. ; first proofs of ten plates numbered 119 to 124, 137 to 139, and 152 ; with 5 other plates unspecified, 4 reproducing MSS., and one reproducing paintings.

XIX (iv, 19)

Register of Kharoṣṭhī documents from the Niya site, found in Sir A. Stein's first expedition ; from " Ancient Khotan ", vol. i, pp. 385 ff., giving in 5 columns, serial No., class No., site-mark, shape, and condition, type-written. Nos. 1 to 473 on 20 folios.

XX (iv, 22)

Book. Index (to Dr. Stein's Brāhmī MSS.) of Sanskrit words with the MS. (Plates) and places where they occur.

Other end. Index of words, not Sanskrit, with MS. (Plates) and places where they occur.

XXI (IV, 23)

Copybook. Transcriptions of a number of folios, but book not stated. Non-Sanskrit (apparently unknown language)

Copybook. Notes on non-Sanskrit language signs, letters, numerals, dates, etc.

Copybook. Notes to Stein MSS. Non-Sanskrit. Sanskrit words used, language, inflexions, new symbols, forms of letters.

The Hittite version of the Epic of Gilgames

By A. H. SAYCE

THE Assyrian and Babylonian copies of the Seventh book of the Epic of Gilgames, which recorded the destruction of the demoniac Khumbaba and the death of Engidu, the companion of Gilgames, have not yet been recovered. It is, therefore, interesting to find that among the Hittite tablets from Boghaz Keui, now in Berlin, there are fragments of two or three different copies of it, not only in Hittite, but also in "Kharrian", that is to say, Mitannian. There was, however, a reason for this. The home of Khumbaba was "the Cedar forest" of the Amanus region, and the story of the struggle between him and the Babylonian hero possessed a special interest for the people of Asia Minor.

Four of the fragments have now been published by Professor Hrozný in the sixth part of the *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Nos. 1, 30, 31, 32, and 33. No. 32 is too small a fragment to be worth reproducing here, while No. 33 is in the Kharrian language, which is only partially deciphered. Of the other fragments, the following are my translations:—

No. 1

1. [nu]-lu-uk-ki-is-ta . . .
So on the morrow . . .
2. AN UD sa-me-e . . .
the Sun-god of heaven . . .
3. na-as u-i-is-ki-iz-zi . . .
he bade come . . .
4. sa AN UD sa-me-e an-da . . .
to the Sun-god of heaven . . .
5. nu-us-si-gan is-kha-akh-ru nakr-e . . .
Now of him let shed the blood the enemy . . .
6. nu AN Gil-gim-mas-as a-na AN UD sa-me-e . . .
The divine Gilgames to the Sun-god of heaven [says]:

7. ka-a-as-wa a-pa-a-s UD-KAM-za i-na
 verily *he*¹ *from to-day* *in*
 ALU-ri . . .
 the city [will remain]
8. ku-it ALU-ri makh-khat a-se-sa-nu-ut
 since to the city *back* *he is restored.*
-
9. am-mu-uk-ma-za-gan a-na AN UD . . .
 When therefore I *to* *the Sun-god [went?]*
10. nu-[sa?]-an e-ip-pu-un na-an . . .
 him (?) *I took; him I . . .*
11. [AN UD sa-] me-e [a-na] AN Gil-gim-mas
 [The Sun-god of] heaven *to* *Gilgames*
 ar-ku-wa-[an-zi]
 sent a message;
12. is-ta-ma-as-ta nu a-na AN Khu-wa-wa
 he heard. *Then* *against* *Khumbaba*
 SARU-[MES]
 the winds
13. GAL-MES-is a-ra-iz-zi SARU GAL SARU el-ta-nu
 great *raged,* *the great wind,* *the north wind*
 . . .
 . . .
14. SARU zi-ik-zi-ki SARU su-ru-up-pu-u
 the hurricane, *the simoom,*
 SARU a-sa[-an-nas?]
 the continuous (?) wind,
15. SARU an-khu-ul-lu VII SARU-MES a-ra-a-ir
 the devil's wind, *7* *winds* *raged;*
 nu-gan . . .
 so . . .
16. SI-ZUN-wa makh-khar wa-al-khi-[is]-gan-zi
 before *and behind* *they assaulted (him).*
17. nu-us-si u-ul khat-ra . . . an-ni-ya-u-wa[-ar]
 For him *no* *escape*

¹ Apparently Engidu is referred to.

18. ki-sa-ri u-ul-ma-as-si makh-khat ti-[ya-u-wa-ar]
will be, nor for him retreat
19. ki-sa-ri nu-za AN Khu-wa-wa-is ar-kha da-[i-is]
will be. Henceforth was Khumbaba driven away.
-
20. nu AN Khu-wa-wa-is a-na AN Gil-gim-mas
Then Khumbaba to Gilgames
 makh-khat me-mi-[is-ta]
replied :
21. ar-kha-ma-mu-da-a-li AN Gil-gim-mas
Depart from me, O Gilgames,
 nu-mu-za-zi-ik . . .
and from me do thou [go].
22. am-mu-uk-ma-ad-du-za ARAD-is e-es-lu-ut
Since against (?) me the master the servant has rebelled (?) ,
 nu . . .
 so . . .
23. ku-i-e-es sal-la-nu-us-ki-nu-un
These people I have magnified ;
 nu . . .
now [they have turned against me].
24. nassa-us bu-ul-li-ya-[an-zi] . . .
They have . . .
25. ta-a-as-mi nu-za Ê-MES kha . . .
I have stolen. Then the houses . . .
26. nu AN En-ki-tû-us a-na . . .
So Engidu to . . .
27. AN Khu-wa-wa-is ku-in . . .
Khumbaba whom . . .
28. na-an li-e is-ta-[masta] . . .
Him he did not hear . . .
 The next two lines begin with "Khumbaba" and
 "mountains".

No. 30

1. . . . sum-mi-it-ta-an-ta-an SU-az e-ip-[ta]
 . . . the . . . *with the hand he took.*

2. . . . [AN Gil-]gim-mas-ma GIM-an
 . . . *Gilgames also similarly*
3. . . . a-bu-us-sa kha-az-in-nu
 . . . *and they the axe*
4. . . . e-ip-ta
 . . . *took.*
5. . . . [GIS ERIN] ta-a-as-ta
 . . . *[the cedar] he felled (?)*
6. . . . ta-kha-ra-an is-ta-ma-as-ta
 . . . *the . . . he heard.*
7. . . . kar-tim-mi-ya-za ki-sa-at ku-is-wa u-[it ?]
 . . . *a judge was he who ca[me ?]*
8. . . . am-me-el sal-la-nu-wa-an-ta-tar
 . . . *my greatness*
 KHAR-SAG-MES . . .
the mountains . . .
9. . . . nu-ut nu-gan GIS ERIN ta-a-as-ta
 -d *Thereupon the cedar-tree he felled (?)*.
-
10. [nu]-wa-as-ma-ma-as-gan ne-bi-sa-az kat-ta . . .
Thereupon one from heaven down [came].
11. AN UD sa-me-e me-mi-is-ki-iz-[zi] ti-ya-at . . .
The Sun-god of heaven drew near to speak . . .
12. li-e-ya na-akh-te-e-ni nu . . .
and you are not loyal. So . . .
13. i-ya-an-ni-ya-at-tin ku-it . . .
you do. What . . .
14. BIT-ri an-da na-a-wi pa-u . . .
to the house not yet they have given. . . .
15. nu-wa-za GAL pa-ri-wa-at na[n] . . .
So then the chief of the pair (?) him . . .
16. is-ta-ma-as-ta AN En-ki-tû-us . . .
heard. The divine Engidu . . .
17. ki-sa-at nu-us-si-gan AN En-[lil ?] . . .
it was. Then to him the god En-[lil ?] . . .

18. AN Gil-gim-us-sa an-da i-ya-[zi] . . .
 and Gilgames to (him) made . . .
 19. nu AN Khu-wa-wa-ni khal-lu-wa-[an-zi].
 So to Khumbaba the dawn came.¹

No. 31. Obr. Col. I

1. . . . ta-ti nu-lu-uk-ki-is-ta . . .
 thou . . . Then on the morrow . . .
 2. . . . [AN] Gil-gim-mas makh-khat me-mi-is-ta . . .
 Gilgames back replied . . .
 3. . . . mi-an-ti ku-in û . . .
 it was night (?) being, and . . .
 4. . . . AN E-a-as AN UD AN-E-ya a . . .
 the god Ea and the Sun-god of heaven . . .
 5. . . . [AN En-]lil IGI-an-da me-mi-is-ta . . .
 [the god En]-lil primarily spoke . . .
 6. . . . [i-da]-lu-u-un ku-en-nir
 [the vic]ked one they have killed
 AN Khu-wa-[wa-in]
 even Khumbaba
 7. . . . is-tu GIS ERIN wa-ar [-nuwanzi ?]
 from the cedar they [carried away ?]
 8. . . . [tu-e-]ta-as-sa-wa-gan is-tar-na . . .
 And then . . . in front . . .
 9. . . . [AN] En-ki-tû-us-wa ak-du
 let [Gilgames ?] and Engidu die ;
 10. . . . li-e a-ki
 [but Gilgames ?] is not dead.
-
11. . . . nu AN En-lil UR-SAG
 So En-lil the hero
 li makh-khat me-mi-[is-ta]
 did not reply.
 12. . . . tu-e-ta-za me-mi-ya-na-az ku-en-nir . . .
 . . . *the famous one they killed . . .*

¹ This is the end of the 7th book.

13. [i-da-]lu-u-un AN Khu-wa-wa-in-na ki-nu-un-ma
and the [wic]ked one Khuwawa. And now
 NUMUN wa-al-akh-[kha-an-zi] . . .
the seed [they have] destroyed . . .
14. kar-tim-mi e-es-ta zi-ik-wa-as-ma-as ku-it
adjudged he was. But you, while
 i-wa-ar . . .
with [him you were]
15. AN En-ki-tû-us a-ki AN En-lil-as-ma-gan a-na
the divine Engidu dies. Then Ellil to
 AN UD AN-E . . .
the Sun-god of heaven [said:] . . .
16. AMEL tab-bi-su UD-KAM-ti-li kat-ta-an i-ya-at-ta-ti
his companion all day long thou didst depress
 AN En-[gi-tû-us]
the divine En[gidu]
17. a-na AN Gil-gim-mas bi-ra-an kat-ta e-es-ta
to the divine Gilgames was a helper.
18. nu-us-si-gan is-kha-akh-ru khat-ra-[a]
But of him will pour the blood forth
 [nakr-]e-ZUN-us ma-a-an . . .
the [enemy] If . . .
19. akhu-ya na-ak-ki-is-mu-za akhu a-na
my brother ; when friendly to me (is) a brother, to
 akhu-ya-mu-[nakkimi]
my brother then [I am friendly].
20. bar-ki-ya-nu-wa-an-zi nam-ma nu-za-gan
He is guiltless accordingly. So now
 a-na TUK-is . . .
against . . .
21. e-es-kha-kha-ri GIS-KAK ta-lu-uz-zi-ya-wa-gan sa
he will shed the blood. So the spear (?) . . . of
 TUK-is . . .

22. nu-wa akhu-ya na-ak-ki-in SI-ZUN-wa-za u-ul
 Now my brother friendly openly has not
 nam-ma . . .
 accordingly [shown himself?].
-

No. 1

1. Literally "when it was light". In the Code of Laws *lukkizzi* signifies "he sets on fire".

5. In No. 31 *iskhakhru* is written *eskhakhru* and *eeskhakhru*. It must therefore be derived from *eeskhar* or *eskhar*, also written *iskhar* "blood". In *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, i, pp. 37, 38, ll. 6, 6, the Hittite *ül iskhakhruwattat* is translated by the Babylonian [*da*]māti *ül isbuk* "he has not shed blood".

8. The syllabaries render *kuit* by *adi* "until".

11. The signification of *arkuwar* is fixed by the passages in the historical inscriptions in which it is found.

24. We find *bül-tianzi* in the "War with the Great Serpent": *JRAS.*, April, 1922, p. 183.

No. 30

7. In *KUB.*, iii, 119, 9, 14, 7, the Hittite (*lê*) *kuez-ga kartimmi* . . . is translated by the Assyrian *meimma (ül) usarkhâp* "he pronounced upon, worried over, nothing". Hence in *KB.*, v, 1, 18, 19, we find *nussi mân ilum kwiski kartimi-yarwanza nan-za sipanti* "if any god pronounces judgment on him, he must sacrifice to him".

15. *Parias* seems to signify "a pair" in the Code of Laws. There was another *parias*, however, meaning "boundary", and we might read *khatriwat* "writings".

No. 31

3. *Miyandas* in the Code of Laws signifies "additional". But it is possible that we should read MI here as the ideograph of "night": *MI-an-ti* "thy night".

8, 12. I have no clue to the meaning of *tuetas*. It can hardly be connected with the 2nd personal pronoun from which we

have *tuel* "of thee" and *tuesas* "thine". The significance of *memiyannas* "famous" (line 12) is fixed by *BK.* iii, 6; iv, 11.

14. *Iwar* is rendered by the Assyrian *itti* "with". *Iwaras* signified "endowment" (Bab. *sirigtu*).

17. *Biran katta* "under the house" or "interior" is the common idiom in the historical texts for going "to the help of" a person.

19. The legal texts have settled the signification of the verb *nakkiurur*. The verb is also found frequently in the historical texts, e.g. *BK.* v, 3, i, 19, 20: *nutta mân tuel makhkhan SAG-DU-ka nakkis nutta mân SAG-DU AN UD-si qatamma úl nakkis* "If afterwards thou thyself are friendly, but if the Sun-god (the Hittite king) as aforesaid is not friendly". Hence in the YUZGAT tablet *Rev.* 9, AN *Telibinusa kuedanikki nakkeszi* must be translated "and Telibinus was friendly thereto".

20. *Barkiyaniwanzi* is usually written *barkunuwanzi*.

I have no idea what *TUK-is* signifies. The ideograph generally denotes "possession", but that would have no sense here. Another signification given to it was *asaridu* "chieftain", which may possibly be what is intended.

21. *GIS-KAK* is "a peg", which makes no sense, and the verb *taluzzi* is unknown to me. Perhaps we ought to read *gis-kat-ta-lu-uz-zi*.

In the fragment No. 32, "the temple of El-lil" appears to be described as being "behind the cedar".

In the Kharrian or Murrian tablet (No. 33) the name of Gilgames is written Galgamis. Many of the words are recognizable from their occurrence in the Mitannian letter of Dusratta in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence. The goddess Siduri—"the barmaid" (*šabitu*)—is mentioned, and called "the wife of . . ." (*Sidurri-wâ aste-ni-wâ . . .*), the word "brother" coming in the next line (*sênip-wâ*). The Mitannian words *inudda pali-u-sseni-wâ* "according to my demand", *eti-da* "aforesaid", *kati-ya*, *kati-u* "I have described" or

"uttered",¹ *urunni* "a mission", are also found. One of the paragraphs begins: AN *Galgamiss-ul tiwi-na* . . . "the divine Gilgames [made] words", i.e. "spoke"; the subject of another is AN *Nakhmamâl-el* "the divine Nakhmamâl", whose name does not occur in the extant texts of the Epic, and a colophon states that the whole tablet is concerned with "[the conquest] of Khumbaba" (. . . *sa AN Khuwawa*).

KHUMBABA

Many years ago Oppert suggested that Khumbaba was the Kumbabos of Lucian, and since then I have connected it with the deity whose name I have read Khalmis, Khalwis in the Kasko-Hittite hieroglyphic texts, and from whom the people of Carchemish derived their title of Khalwi-wis. The cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui now inform us that the deity in question was of Proto-Hittite origin and was known at Boghaz Keui as Khalma-suittas and Khalwa-suittas.² Khalwi-wis I have further identified with the Khalbaba of the Ordek-burun inscription, which is written in the language of the hieroglyphic texts, though in Aramaic letters; Khalbaba is there the name of the kingdom over which the priest-king commemorated in the inscription held rule. The Asianic *l* was a sound which other peoples found it difficult to reproduce; it interchanges not only with *n* (as in the cuneiform Khali and Khani)³ but also with *d* and *t* (as in

¹ We do not know whether *ḡatikhi* and *ḡatikhu*, which are interpreted "at thy feet" in a Tel el-Amarna letter (*Knudtzon*, 53. 64, 65), were Mitannian words or belonged to some other language.

² *KBK.* iv, p. 48, l. 17. It is uncertain whether we should connect this *Khalua* with the words *khalwassis* and *khalwannis* (*KBK.* ii, p. 40, l. and p. 60, 4), since *khal* may here be the ideographic KHAL "divination". *Khalwannis* is the name of a well of holy water, and *khalwassis* may possibly interchange with *ibarwassis* (ii, p. 40, 3). In Proto-Hittite the deity Khalwāsuit appears as Khanwāsuit. The name Khalmanu is found in one of the contracts published by Johns (*Assyrian Deeds and Documents* 261, *Rev.* 4), but the individual bearing it seems to belong to Nineveh or Armenia rather than to the Hittite region, so it may be derived from the name of the Akhlami.

³ Weidner instances also the Hittite Sulupassis and Sunupassis, *irmanī* and *irmali* "sick", Nur-Daggal and Nur-Dagan, Laplani and Niplani, Lulakhi and Nulakhkhi, לַעַשׁ and Nukhasse.

the Proto-Hittite *tabarna* and *labarna* "our lord", Lygdamis and Tugdamme, *λάφνη* and *δάφνη*, Derbe and Lorbe, or the Hesychian *sidê*, *sîbdai* "pomegranates" and *silbai*). Before a labial the *-n* became *-m* or *w* or else disappeared altogether.

Kombabos thus corresponds with *Kύβεβις*, which according to Hesychius signified the Gallos or eunuch priest of the great Asianic goddess *Κόμβη*,¹ better known as Kybelê. Another form of Kubebis was *Κύβηβος*. They are both varying attempts to reproduce the cuneiform Khumbaba, Khuwawa, the Khalwiwis of the hieroglyphic texts. A wooden implement called *Khalmassuittan* in the (Boghaz Keui) Hittite translation is *wâsuittun* in a Proto-Hittite text (*KUB.* ii, p. 9, ll. 16, 18). The bird which ideographically represents the goddess Khalmis or Khalwis in the hieroglyphic inscriptions was also Khumbis or Kumwis; the inscription discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay at the entrance to "the Midas-city"—the Metropolis or "City of the Mother-goddess" of Stephanus Byzantinus—reads according to the photograph "priest-king (arm with dagger) of Khumbis-country" (two mountain cones). The same country is mentioned in the inscription attached to the figure of the Pseudo-Sesostris in Karabel.²

Weidner has pointed out that in the lexical lists *khumbibittu* is defined as *sikin Khuwawa* "creature of Khuwawa" and *wazallaru sa tseri*, which he suggests means "wasp"; it is, however, rather "mosquito". Khumbaba, in fact, "the (attendant) of the goddess Khumba," was, like the Kubebis, or Gallos-priest in classical times, the representative of the cults of Asia Minor and consequently the enemy of the Semitic neighbours and invaders of the country. He thus became synonymous with the evil demon who had his abode in the

¹ Hesychius defines Kombê as "mother of the Kurêtes".

² The cast in the Art Institute at Chicago reads: (1) "Image of Tuate king (2) of the country of Khumwis, (3) the High-priest". The name of the king is uncertain as the first character is injured and may be either *mi* or *tua*, two characters which closely resemble one another. The name, therefore, will be either Mita or Midas, or else Tuate(s). The second character is *ta*, *ti*.

depth of the cedar-forest and, like Baal Zebub, launched swarms of insects against his adversaries, which were blown away by the winds.

NIMROD

That Gilgames was not the Biblical Nimrod I have maintained from the outset, and my brother Assyriologists have now come round to the same conclusion. Kraeling¹ has lately identified Nimrod with Lugal-banda, the third king of the first dynasty of Erech, and though his arguments are not very convincing there are other arguments which induce me to believe that the identification is right. (1) Nimrod, we are told, was the son of Cush, whose eldest son was Seba (Gen. x, 7). Seba is the cuneiform Šabu, and "the mountain of Šabu" was the place where Lugal-banda found the storm-bird Zu. (2) Nimrod was "a mighty hunter before the Lord". Lugal-banda hunted the storm-bird and recovered the tablets of destiny, which had been stolen from Ellil, when the gods of heaven were afraid to do so. The Assyrian phrase "to march before" an army or a king is a common one and denotes a champion-leader. In the expedition against Zu, Lugal-banda was the champion of Ellil, the Babylonian equivalent of the Amorite Yahu, the Hebrew Yah'veh. (3) "The beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Akkad and Calneh." Babel here takes the first place, as it does in other documents which are later than the establishment of Babylonian primacy under Khammurabi; a parallel case is the list of antediluvian kings given by Berossus where two local heroes of Babylon are inserted before Amelu, i.e. Amelu "Man" (or Adam), with which the list originally began. So, too, the list of Nimrod's cities must have begun originally with Erech. And Lugal-banda was king of Erech. A Nippur text published by Poebel,² however, shows that legend

¹ *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, April, 1922, pp. 214 sqq.

² *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (University Museum, Philadelphia), v, pl. xi, 20.

also connected him with Babylon, as it refers to Asari-lu-dugga, the later Merodach, and to "the building" by Lugal-banda of E-Saggila, the temple of Merodach at Babylon. The foundation of Akkad must go back to a very early period in Babylonian history, since it gave its name to the whole of northern Babylonia. Calneh is Kul-unu, near Erech, called Kul-ab by the Semites, owing to a similarity of forms between the two characters *unu* and *ab* and the fact that they both signified "abode". Calneh is stated to be in Shinar or Sumir in order to distinguish it from another Calneh, called Kullania by the Assyrians, in northern Syria. (4) Nimrod invaded the north and founded Nineveh; hence Micah (v, 6) entitles Assyria "the land of Nimrod". According to the Nippur tablets Lugal-banda invaded Elam "in the south", Khalma or Aleppo "in the north", and Tidanum or Syria "in the west". His road would therefore have lain through Assyria. Nineveh, in fact, commanded the highway to the north and west.

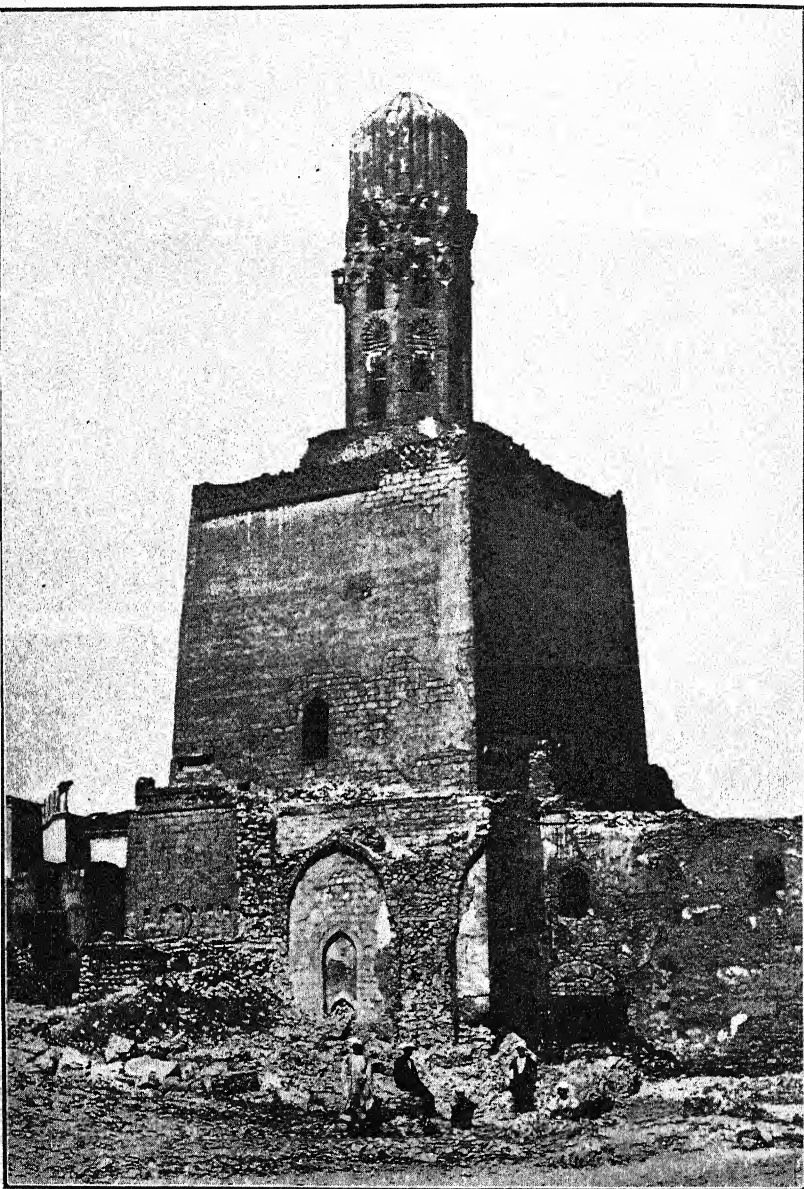
As for the name of the hero, the theological lists found by the Germans in the library of Assur inform us that the Semites read *banda* as *marda*, perhaps identifying it with the name of the Babylonian city Marad. How *lugal* came to be read *n-*, however, is not clear; the *n-* cannot be identified with *en* as that is represented by 𒂗 in Semitic transcriptions. *Nin* becomes not only *In* (as in Inguriša for Nin-Giršu) but also *Ni* (as in Nigizida for Nin-gis-zida), but I do not see how *Nin* could have been substituted for *lugal*. Delitzsch has suggested the Sumerian *na*, *nu* "man", but this, again, is without support. In the Nippur text Lugal-banda has the title PA-*banda*, to be read *nu-banda* or *mu-marda*, the Sumerian equivalent of the Hebrew *gibbor*, and it is just possible that *mu-marda* became Nimrod as the early Babylonian Mardawan, the modern Mardin, became Nirdun in Assyrian.

An early Babylonian seal-cylinder of black stone, now in private hands in Edinburgh, has a representation of a royal hunter, who may possibly be Nimrod. He wears a fringed

kilt, his only garment, and grasps a lion, while *lugal* "king" is written below him. On one side of him is a man similarly dressed and with head turned back, who is grasping a goat, and on the other side is another man, also clad in the fringed kilt with an upraised dart in his hand. Behind him is a bull-headed man who grasps a goat, and pictures of the sun and a star are in the field. The same royal figure with the epithet *lugal*, grasping an ibex reversed, occurs on a seal from Nippur (Legrain, in the *Philadelphia Museum Journal*, June, 1923, p. 141), and the same hero is represented as fighting a lion on a seal from Tello.

NOTE.—Light may be thrown upon the enigmatical words in ll. 20, 21 of No. 31 above by one of the lexical tablets (KTBK. i, p. 79), where I am inclined to think explanations are given of words contained in the Hittite version of the Gilgames Epic. Here the ideograph TUK is explained by the Babylonian *sarû* "vicegerent", *labnu* "worshipper", and *ras ili* "inspired one", while the Hittite *gattaluskiuwar* is interpreted *bedû*, that is *pidû* "to free" or "save", as Delitzsch pointed out. It is also stated to be a synonyme of GUD-*i makhkhat tarnuwar* "to turn back (from labour?), said of an ox". The Hittite scribes often confound the two similar characters KAK and KAT or GAT, and I would therefore suggest that GIS-KAK is a mistake for GAT. The translation of the lines would then be: "as regards the inspired one (TUK-*issan*, i.e. Engidu) he will shed blood, but [the companion] of the inspired one is saved."

September, 1922.



Salient at western corner of mosque, from *ṣahn*.

The Great Salients of the Mosque of al-Hakim at Cairo

By K. A. C. CRESWELL, Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

THE mosque named after the eccentric Khalif al-Hākīm was commenced, according to Maqrīzī,¹ by the Khalif al-'Azīz in Ramaḍān 380 (November–December, 990), and opened for worship in 381 (991–2) before being finished. Al-Hākīm recommenced the construction in 393 (1002–3), and was still engaged thereon in 401 (1010–11). In 403 (1012–13) he had it furnished and decorated.

It possesses many peculiarities: a transept (rare in Cairo), a monumental gateway, two domes at the back corners of the sanctuary in addition to the dome over the *mihrāb*, a feature almost unique,² and two square salients, the subject of this memoir, at opposite corners of the north-western façade.³ Out of these salients rise the two minarets.

Each salient is composed of two cubes, the upper one being set back on the lower (which is exactly the same height as the enclosing wall of the mosque), about 1.60 m. in the case of the western, but a great deal more in the case of the northern cube, the construction of which shows marked differences. For example, the walls of the two western cubes

¹ *Khīṭaṭ*, ii, p. 277.

² The other exception is the mosque of al-Azhar, which appears to have been distinguished by the same anomaly. Maqrīzī (op. cit., ii, p. 273), speaking of the dating inscription, says that it was written round the rim of the dome, which was in the first aisle (*riwāq*) of the sanctuary, and to the right of the *mihrāb* and the *minbar*. It was therefore probably in the back corner, as the first aisle must, of course, be taken to mean the one next the *qibla* wall. If it was balanced by a second in the left-hand corner, the arrangement would be the same as in the mosque of al-Hākīm. Rivoira (*Moslem Architecture*, p. 163) is the only author who appears to have realized that the sanctuary of al-Hākīm's mosque must have had three domes. As for al-Azhar, the significance of the above-quoted passage in Maqrīzī has escaped notice entirely.

³ In Cairo the direction of Mekka is almost exactly south-east.

are slightly battered, a truncated pyramid being thus formed, the ideal summit of which is placed at a considerable height (Plate VII), whereas in the case of the northern cubes the walls of the lower (visible in photograph through gap in wall) are vertical, only those of the upper being battered (Plates VIII and XI). Out of the top of each rises an octagonal minaret, surmounted by three tiers of stalactites and a fluted cap.

These salients are entered by a door in their south-east faces, on passing through which one observes that the cubes are hollow, and merely form, as it were, pits in which the original stone minarets of the mosque are still preserved. Bracing arches at the summit of the cubes hold each minaret in position. It is at this point that the construction changes to the brick upper portions, which alone are visible from the exterior. Internally, the northern cube is circular, with big recesses, the western is square and without recesses, and one ascends the interior in each case first by an iron staircase which runs round the inner face of the cubes, but after reaching a level corresponding with the level of the lower storey we mount by stone steps. From the description of van Berchem, who visited this mosque c. 1888, it would appear that the interior at that time was less free than it is at present, as he ascended by a helicoidal ramp, of which the inner edge rested against the face of the minaret.¹ This ramp must have been cleared away during the administration of Herz Pasha, and replaced by the present iron staircase, with the result that the minarets are left much freer than they can have been at the time of van Berchem's visit. To this ramp must be attributed a great part of the damage which they have suffered.²

Both minarets are constructed of smooth, finely dressed lime-

¹ "Notes d'archéologie arabe," in the *Journal Asiatique*, viii^e série, tome xvii, pp. 439-41.

² He expressly says that the ramp cut diagonally across the windows and that a great part of the Kufic inscriptions were hidden by it.

stone, with well-made joints. The northern minaret is a circular shaft resting on a cubic base, but the western is of square section for at least half its height, after which it becomes octagonal in a series of receding storeys. On reaching the summit of the upper cubes, to which each minaret is attached by a couple of flying buttresses, the material changes to brick, the transition being consolidated by a number of palm-trunks which are built into the brickwork. The brick portion consists of an octagonal shaft with openings in each face, capped by a fluted dome, keel-arched in section, the transition from shaft to dome being marked by tiers of stalactites. The contrast is extreme between the fine masonry of the lower part, with its beautiful, crisply carved ornament, and the rough brickwork of the upper part with its coarse plaster decoration—a contrast which clearly indicates a difference in date. The earliest minaret with a finial in the least resembling these is that at the side of the Mausoleum of Abū-l-Ghādanfar, built 552 (1157),¹ but this is merely the prototype; we must come down to the Madrasa of Sultan aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb, built 639–41 (1242–3/4),² before we find anything approaching it in development. Here, however, we only find two tiers of stalactites, which is the case also with the Mabkhara of the Zāwiyat al-Henūd, built c. A.D. 1250.³

On the other hand, the minaret of the Madrasa-Mausoleum of the Amīr Sunqur Saʿdī, built 715 (1315),⁴ provides an example almost identical but somewhat richer.⁵ The stone part of each minaret is, as already stated, of beautifully dressed stone, pierced at intervals with rectangular windows, which originally gave light to the spiral staircase within. The windows of the northern minaret are set in frames

¹ See the *Comptes rendus du Comité de Conservation*, 1913, p. 106.

² van Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, pp. 103–4.

³ See my "Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt": *Bull. de l'Inst. français d'Archéol. orientale*, t. xvi, pp. 77–8.

⁴ van Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, pp. 733–6.

⁵ These finials, on account of their resemblance to censers, are known locally by the name of *mabkhāra*.

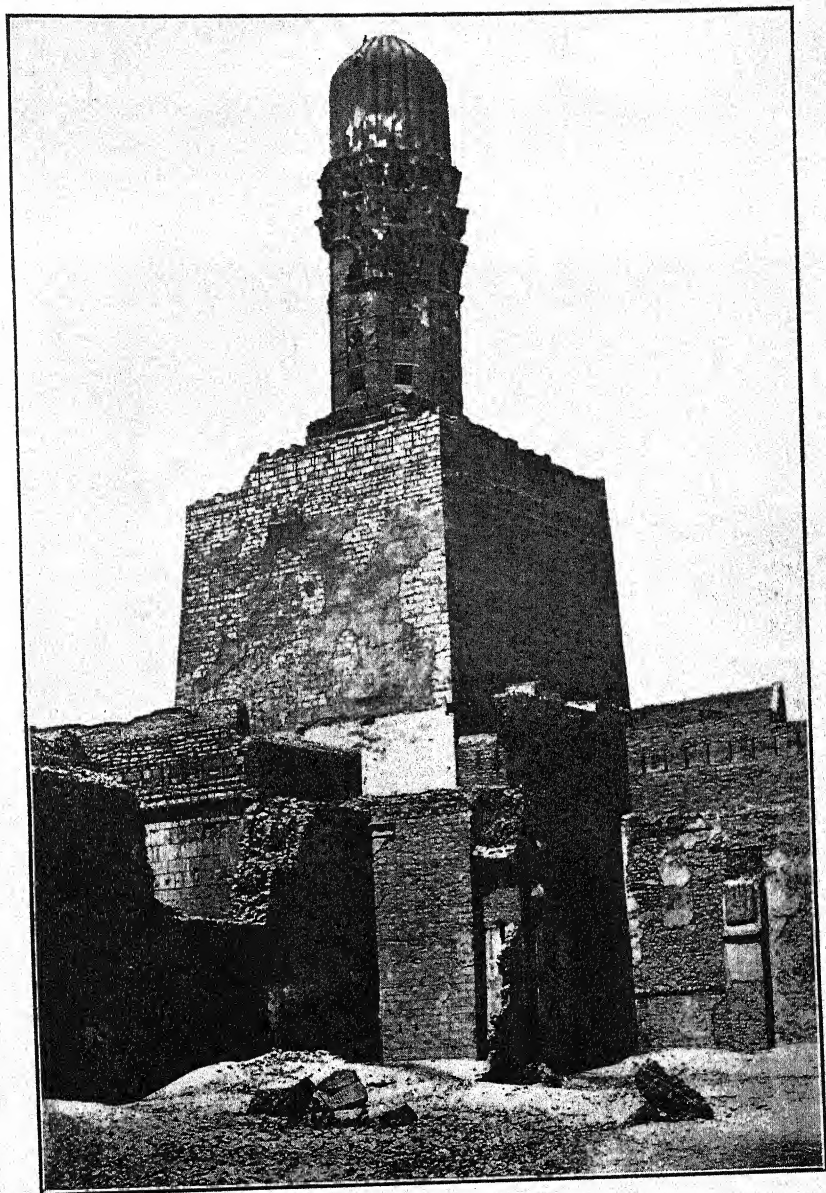
decorated with crisply carved tendrils, and some still retain their stone grilles, formed of a geometrical interlacing pattern based on the six pointed star (the so-called Shield of David)¹; those of the western minaret are more nearly square, and by their decoration are clearly the prototypes of those in the north-eastern façade of the mosque of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Telāye', built 555 (1160). But all doubt as to the date is set at rest by the superb Kufic inscriptions cut in strong relief, which form bands of decoration at intervals from top to bottom of the minarets.² It follows that their lower parts are undoubtedly the work of al-Ḥākīm, whereas the summits must be placed between the middle of the seventh (thirteenth) century and 715 (1315).

Now Maqrizī says that "this mosque was restored in 703, because on Thursday, 13 Dhu l-higga, 702 (17th July, 1303), there was at Miṣr, Cairo, and in the neighbourhood of these towns, an earthquake which made terrible ravages . . . The mosque of al-Ḥākīm was amongst its victims. A great number of piers (*badāna*) in the interior were destroyed; the summits of the two minarets fell down, the roofs and the walls cracked. The Amīr Rukn ad-Dīn Bibars al-Gāshankīr, much distressed by this accident, came to the mosque, accompanied by the Qādys and Amīrs. He himself examined the edifice and decided to restore the parts destroyed and to re-erect the piers, which was done . . ."³ The present upper portions must therefore have been built after 702 (1302) and may safely be attributed to the restoration by Beybars II in

¹ The earliest example of this motive that I have seen occurs at Tabga (Capernaum) on the fallen lintel of a second century synagogue, a fact which tends to confirm its traditional Jewish origin. The Tabga example, according to the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, is the earliest example known. The earliest example of its use as a decorative motive in Islam is that referred to above.

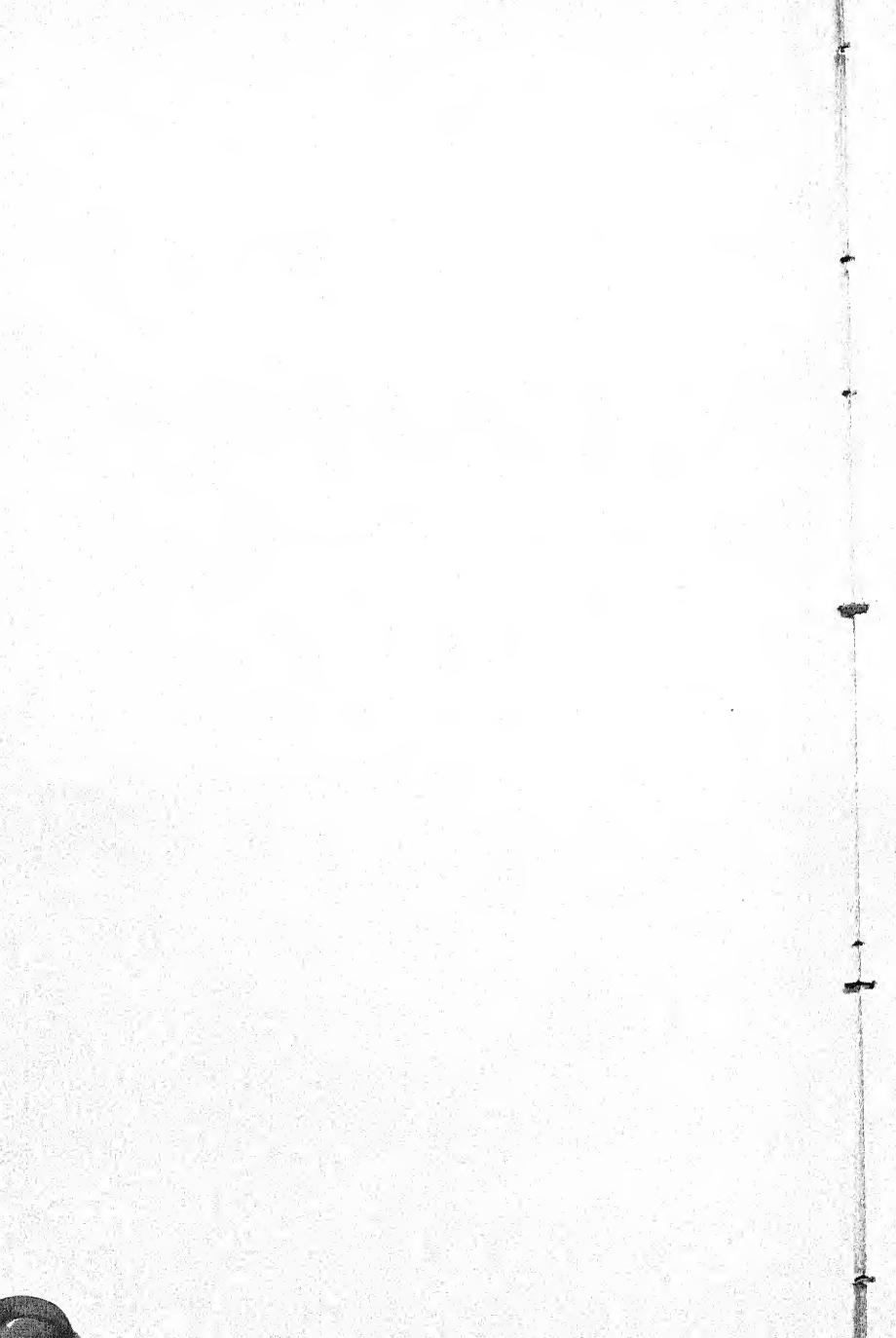
² The ornament of these minarets, and of the rest of the mosque also, has been admirably treated by Flury in his *Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee*, Heidelberg, 1912.

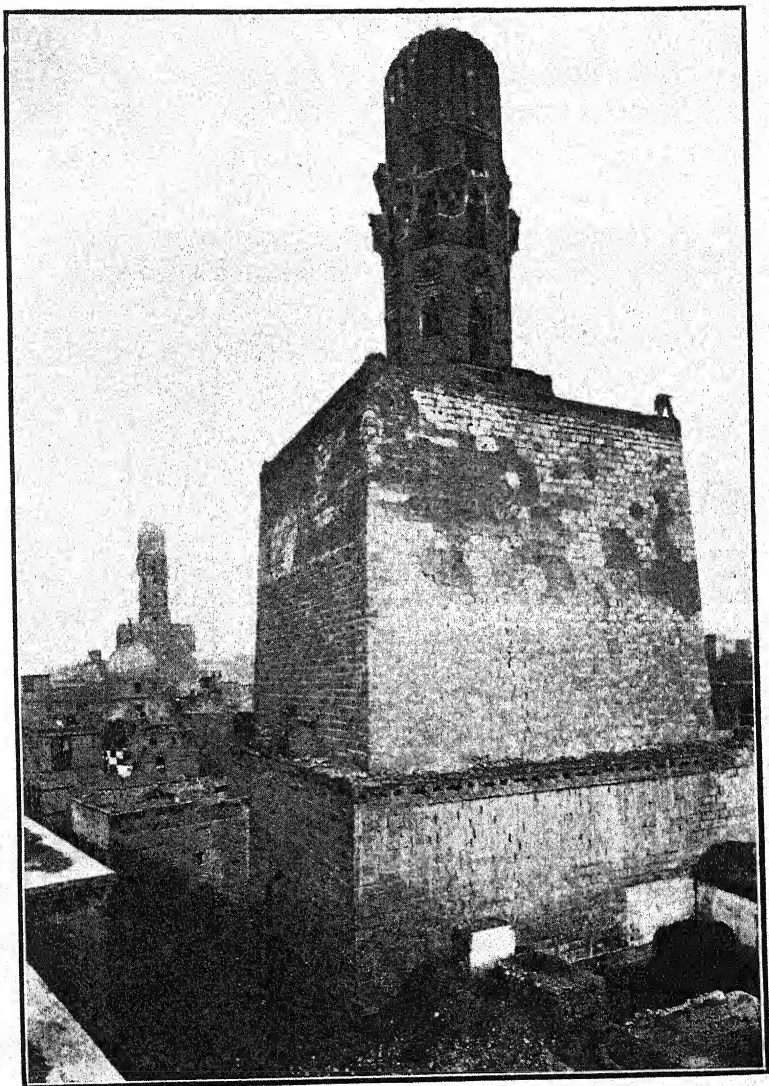
³ *Khīṭaṭ*, ii, p. 278, l. 9 f. (translated by van Berchem, "Notes d'archéologie arabe," loc. cit., pp. 435-6).



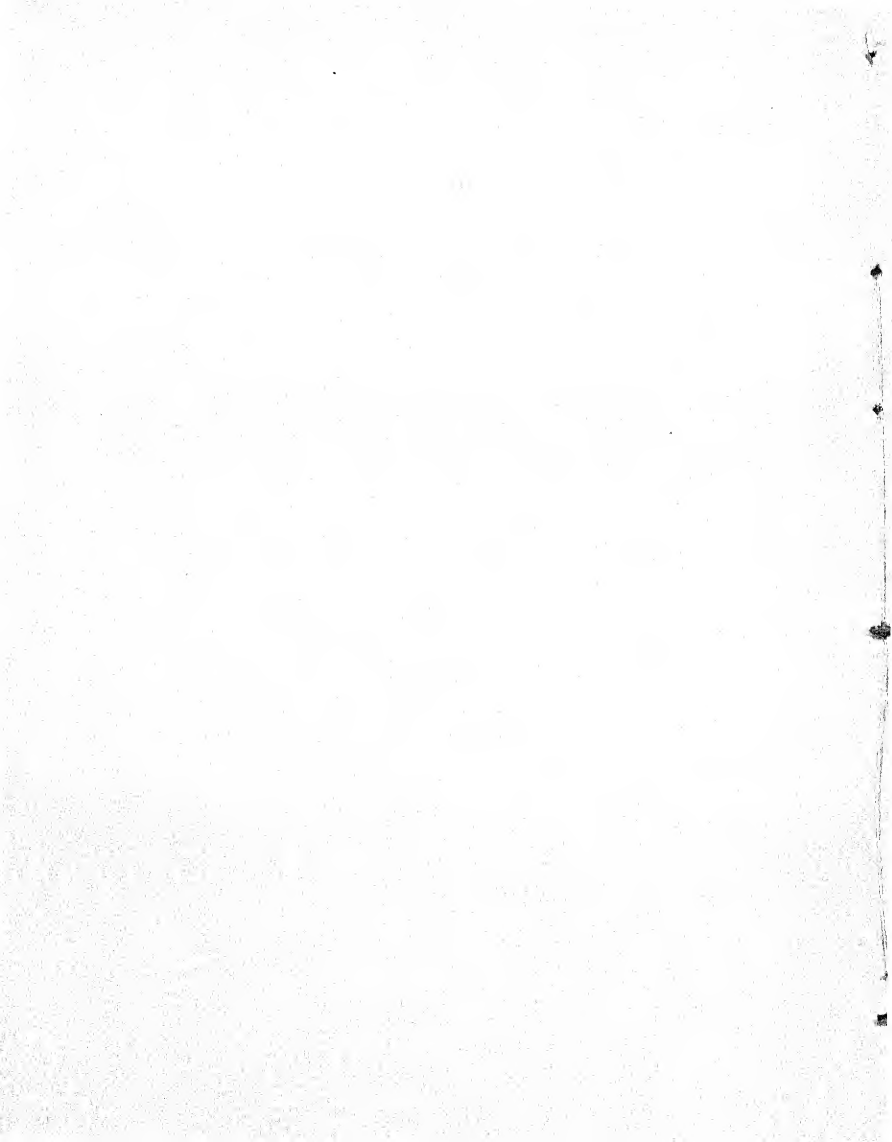
Salient at northern corner of mosque, from *ṣahn*.

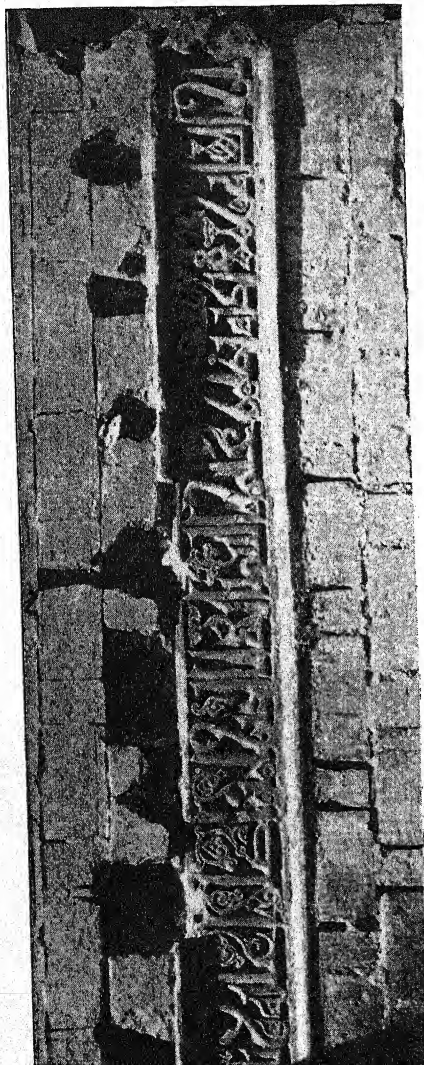
[To face p. 576.]





Salient at west corner of mosque, showing band of inscription above roof of shops.



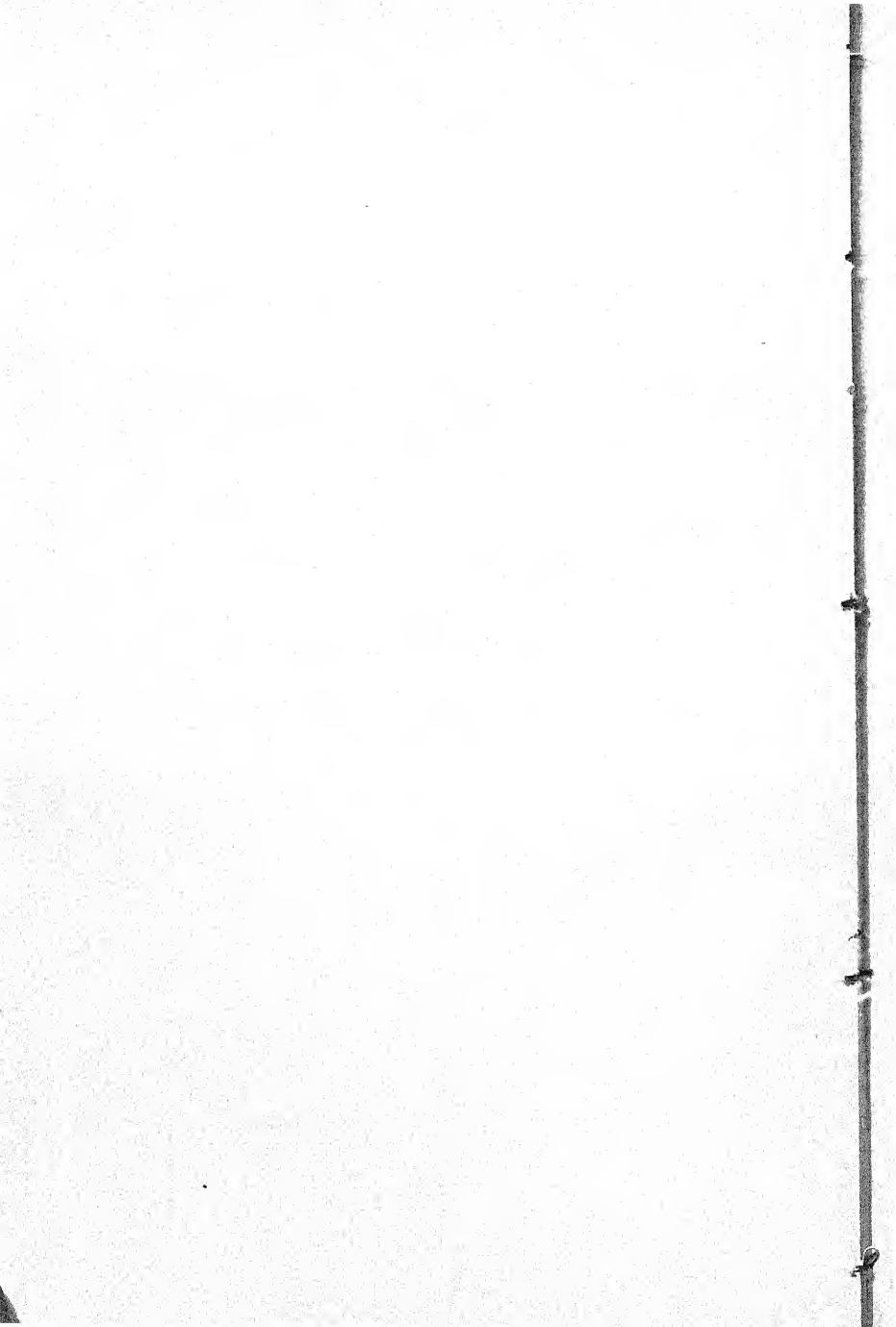


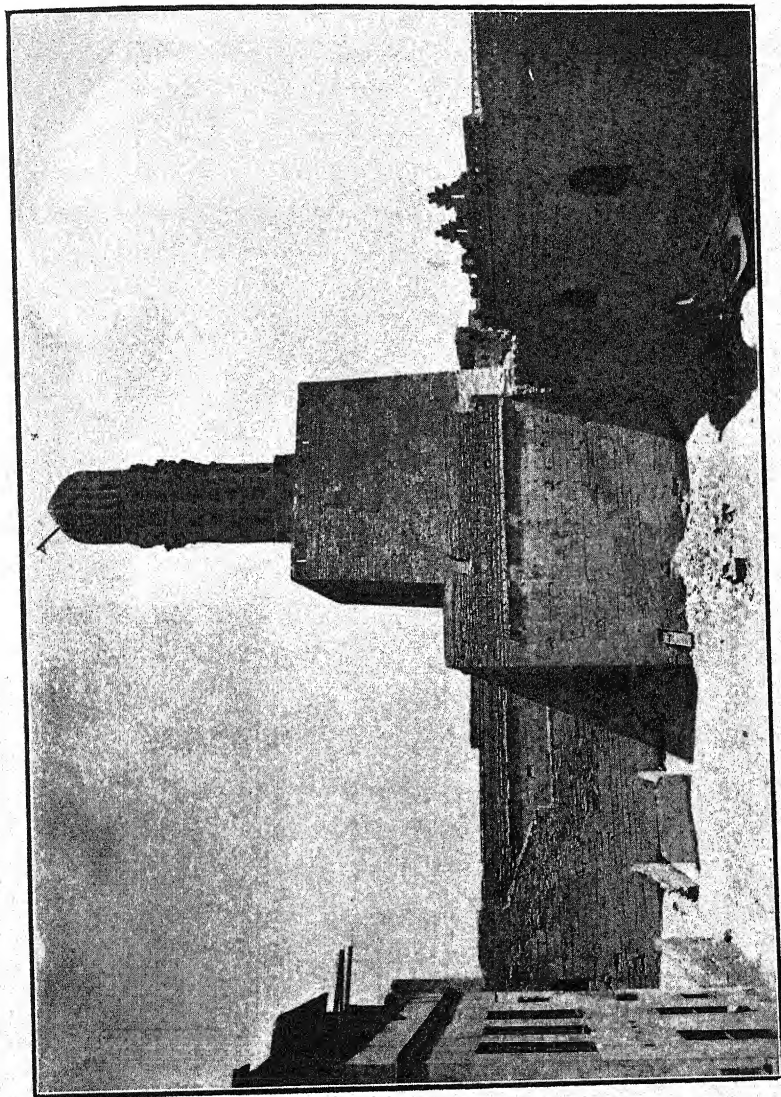
A. INSCRIPTION ON S.E. SIDE. QURAN.



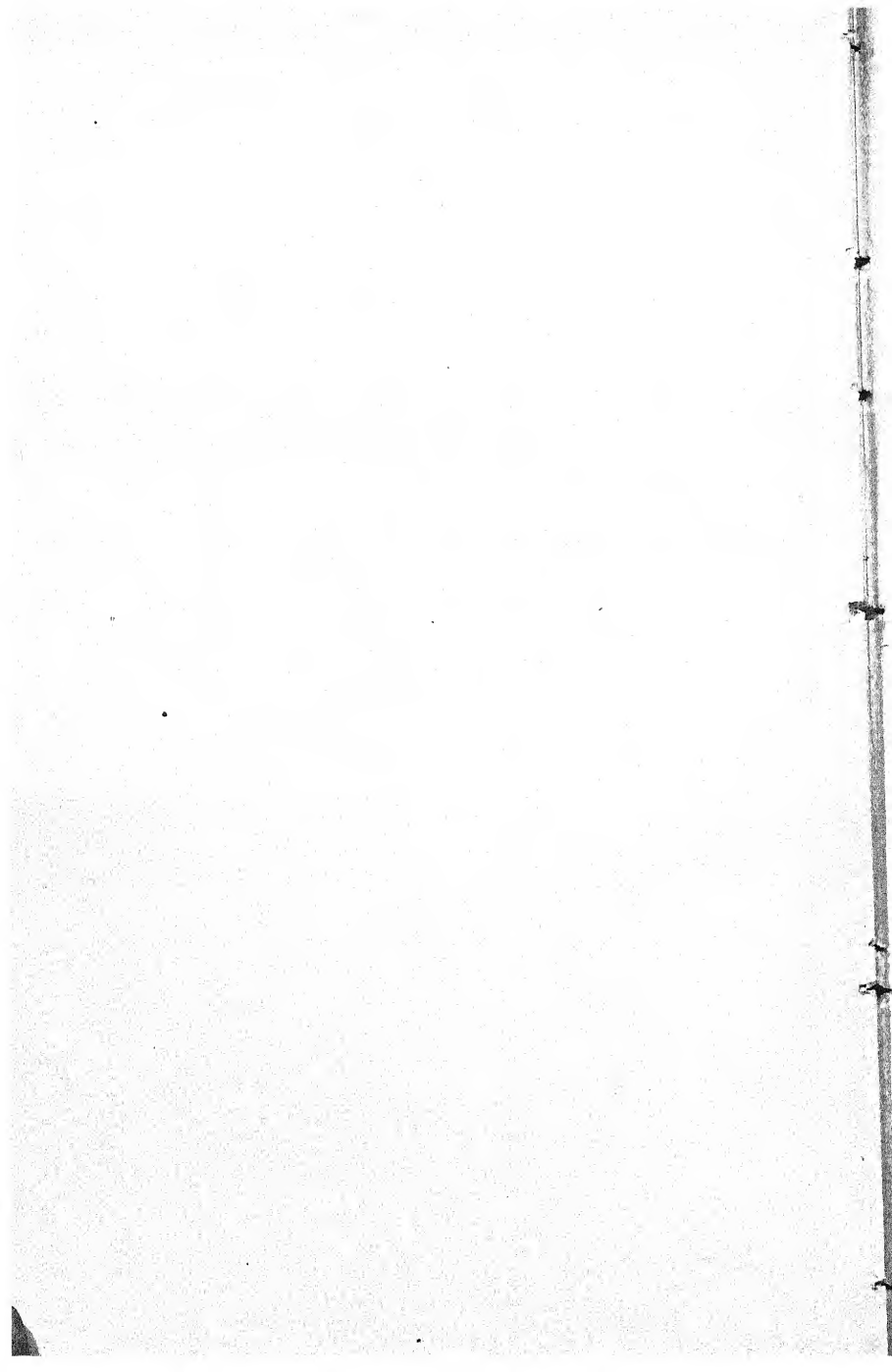
B. INSCRIPTION ON N.W. SIDE. QURAN.

Inscriptions on salient at west corner of mosque.





Salient at northern corner of mosque, from the west.
(North wall of Cairo to left ; mosque to right.)



703. Maqrizī's account is confirmed by an inscription dated Dhu l-higga, 703 (July, 1304), which occupies the place of the cornice over the vault of the main entrance.

Van Berchem, whose analysis is similar to that given above, concludes that the architect of Beybars II, in raising his brick finials on what remained of the old minarets, sought to brace the whole construction by an outer cube of masonry. He adds: "It may also be that these great massifs had a military purpose, at this epoch of the Bahrite Mamlūks, when the very mosques served as fortresses. In any case, one can only admit with M. Prisse that the cubes are the work of Badr; to convince oneself of it, it suffices to compare in the northern minaret the dressing of the cube with that of the great salient of the enclosure of Badr on which it rests."¹ He continues in a footnote: "The dressing of the salient is identical with that of the enclosure of Badr which we shall study farther on: large facing blocks, perfectly dressed without a plaster coating. The cube which rises above is composed of stones much smaller, more coarsely quarried, with much thicker mortar joints. It is a simple masonry, covered with a coating of plaster which has been preserved in places, and which ends above in a frieze of Qurānic inscriptions in the style of the first dynasty of Mamlūks . . . As for the arrow slits which crown the cube, they are modern, like those of the curtain walls and salients of Badr." He sums up as follows: "Be it as it may, this examination permits one to fix the following points:—

"(1) The two minarets [finials] of brick are the work of Beybars II.

"(2) The cubes of the base, whatever their exact date, do not go back to the original construction, since they hide the ancient minarets. They are probably contemporary with the minarets of brick, like the helicoidal ramp, which cuts diagonally across the four faces of the primitive minarets, without any regard to their architecture."

¹ Ibid., pp. 444-5.

With (1) I fully concur, but the problem of the cubes is more complex than Prisse or van Berchem imagined, since the northern and western cubes differ in size, construction, and in the dressing of their masonry. The northern is much larger than the western and is not completely square, but consists of an inner square, which we will call imaginary for the moment, round which an addition has been wrapped (Fig. 1). This addition commences where the wall of Cairo strikes the inner square, passes round its north-eastern and north-western faces, and ends against the north-western curtain wall of the mosque, leaving the angle of the inner square to project into the interior of the latter. This inner salient is of exactly the same size as the inner projection of the western cube (Fig. 2), but the outer faces of the northern cube are vertical, whereas those of the western are battered. That the masonry of the lower northern cube is to be attributed to Badr al-Gamāly, as Prisse¹ and van Berchem suggest, is not to be denied. It is clearly the work of the same hand that built the north wall, and it bears all the hall-marks of Badr's military architecture,² viz. smooth blocks with slightly bevelled edges, stone which has weathered extremely well, and, low down, a row of large stone circles, which are the ends of columns let in as a bond between the well-dressed facing and the rubble core, a combination of features found nowhere else in Egypt. The lower cube of the western minaret, however, is executed in totally different masonry; the blocks are much smaller, the surfaces indifferently dressed, the joints very thick, and there is no trace of columns having been let in as a bond. It is similar to that of the upper northern cube, but not identical. The masonry of both upper cubes is, however, clearly identical.

We are faced with further problems if we consider the cubes

¹ Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art arabe*, texte, p. 98.

² I say "military architecture" as this type of masonry is only found in the three gates and part of the wall of Cairo, but it is not found in the mosque of al-Juyūshy.

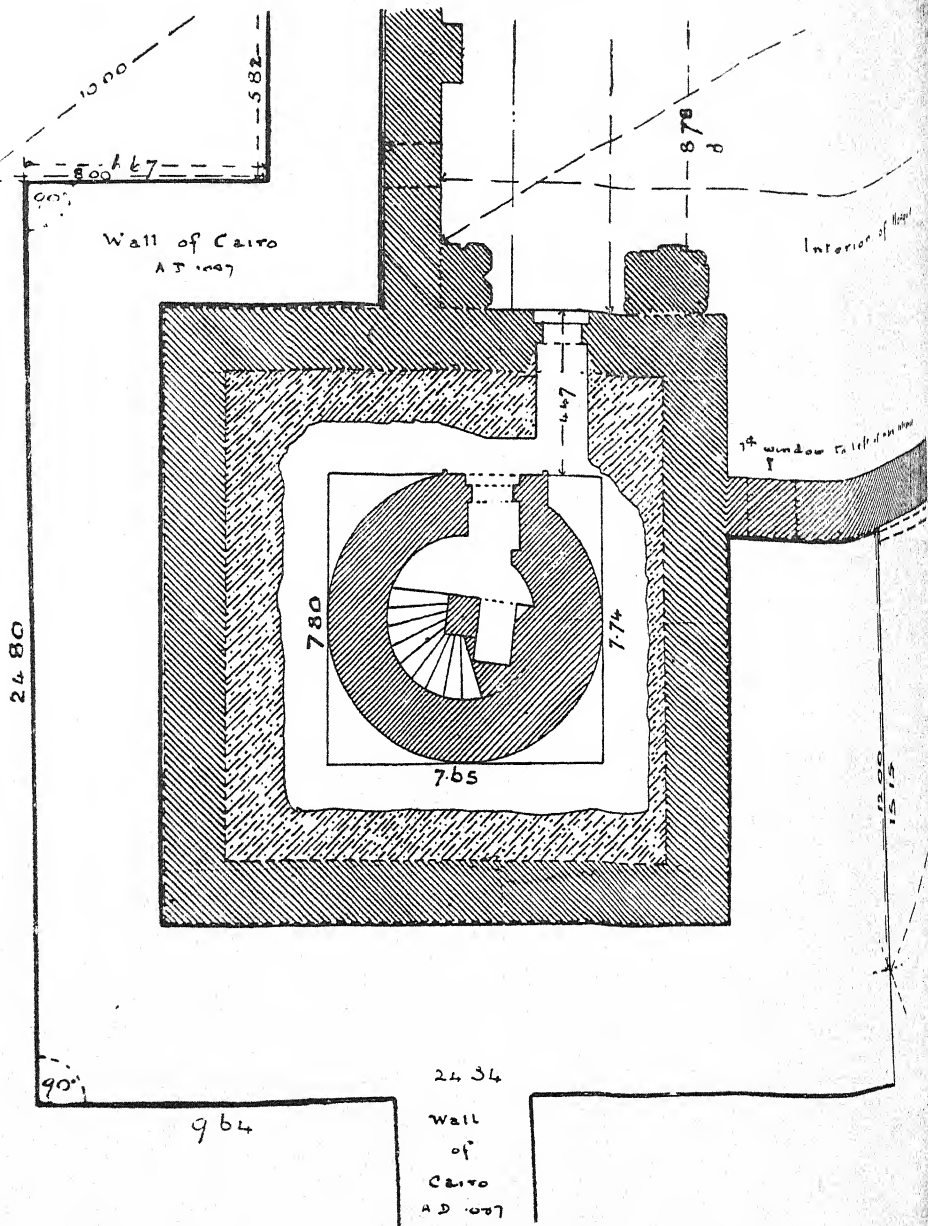


FIG. 1.



as later in origin than the mosque, for the question at once arises, what occupied their place? How are the minarets placed in relation to the ideal corners of the mosque? etc. Careful measurements show that the south-eastern faces of the two stone minarets are both in an exact line with the inner face of the north-western façade of the mosque (Figs. 1 and 2),

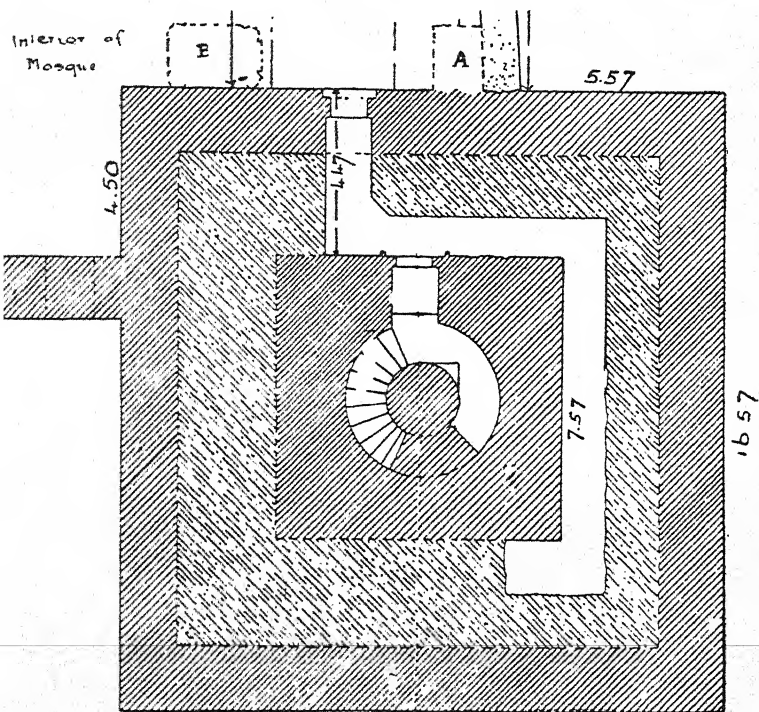


FIG. 2.

and that each minaret, at the same time, forms a salient on two façades. Now, if the sides of the mosque originally ran into the sides of the minarets, we should expect to find marks on the latter at the points where the sides of the mosque, if prolonged, would strike them. There should be four such test points, two on each minaret. The plan (Fig. 2) shows that the western minaret is inaccessible at the point where the

north-western façade would strike it; moreover, its south-eastern face has so suffered that it also is useless for test purposes. One test point, however, is absolutely decisive, viz. that where the north-east wall, if prolonged, would strike the northern minaret; here the moulded plinth and circular shaft are absolutely unmarked. The point where the north-west wall, if prolonged, would strike this minaret, although clear on plan (Fig. 1), is only so because the rough masonry filling of Beybars II has been tunnelled through. By stooping one can pass round at this point, but the surface of the minaret has been broken away.

It therefore follows either that (1) these two corners of the mosque must have been cut away, or (2) built in form of hollow squares so as to leave the minarets standing free in a well 11·20 m. deep. Such a treatment would form salients similar to the present ones.

I was led by the above line of reasoning to ask myself whether it was not possible that the lower western cube formed part of the original mosque, but proof was lacking. One day, however, when passing down the Shari' Bab-el-Futūḥ on the far side, I noticed the top edge of a Kufic inscription running along the north-western face of this cube, and just visible above the tops of the mean shops built against it (Plate IX). I immediately asked for a ladder, climbed up, and saw a great band of early decorated Kufic set in a frame half a metre broad, which ran all along the north-west face until it disappeared behind a house built against the north corner (Plate X, B). I then went along the roofs to the south-west side of the salient, and found that the inscription ran the whole length of this side and apparently continued round the corner.

On climbing down and passing through a café into a yard next the south-western side of the mosque, I saw the rest of the band which ran along the south-east side of the salient for 5·57 metres, stopping, or, more correctly, commencing, against the take-off of the south-western wall of the mosque

(Plate X, A). I then returned to the street and was invited into another café (No. 37, Shari' Bāb-el-Futūḥ), the owner of which pointed out to me, just below the rafters, the continuation of the inscription on the north-east side of the salient. There is no doubt that it continues until it meets the north-western façade of the mosque, but the question cannot be put to the test as there is a mound of débris behind the café which reaches almost to the top of the curtain wall.

I submitted photographs of this inscription to my friend Monsieur Flury, of Bâle,¹ who has studied Fātimide ornament so minutely, and he tells me that he is convinced that it is due to Badr al-Gamāly, as the decorative alphabet employed is similar to that of the well-known inscription of Badr alongside the Bāb al-Futūḥ.

Are we, therefore, to attribute this salient to him? I think not, for the following reasons.

We have seen that the bases of the minarets cover the ideal corners of the mosque, a fact which is vital to this discussion. Nevertheless, the sides of the mosque did not run into the minarets, as one of the test points is unmarked. If the salients did not exist in al-Hākim's day, the side walls must have stopped short before reaching the minarets, an arrangement which would naturally have left the corners of the mosque open. This can scarcely have been the case, on account of the five doors which pierce the north-western façade, as follows:—

- (1) close against the northern salient,
- (2) in the middle of the curtain wall,
- (3) the well-known monumental gateway in the centre,
- (4) in the middle of the other curtain wall,
- (5) close against the western salient.

Of these, (1) can be seen from within, (2) from without, and

¹ He had already seen it and noted it; *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 43, and his *Islamische Schriftbänder*, p. 10, note 6.

(4) and (5) are mentioned by Maqrīzī.¹ No. 4 is now hidden, but No. 5 can be seen in Plate VII.

No. 1 must date from the earliest period, as it was blocked up by Badr when he built the north wall of Cairo in A.D. 1087. (See above, p. 578, and Fig. 1.) No. 5, which balances it, is presumably original also. Now it is incredible that two such entrances can have existed if the corners of the mosque had been open. Had it been possible to enter the mosque by passing round the ends of the curtain walls, entrances would never have been made a metre from those ends.

There must, therefore, have been salients from the first.

Moreover, the inscription does not attribute the salient to Badr, it is merely Qurānic, and the texts, which are careful to give due credit to al-'Azīz, al-Hākīm, Beybars II, and others, make no mention of additions due to Badr. On the other hand, we shall presently see that there is a passage in Maqrīzī which may be interpreted in favour of my theory.

Let us return for a moment to the northern salient. We have seen that its projection within the mosque is exactly the same as that of the one we have just been discussing. In 480 (1087) Badr al-Gamāly built the new north wall of Cairo, running along the north-eastern façade of al-Hākīm's mosque, and in contact with it. The great salient which he made next the Bāb al-Futūḥ has clearly been determined (Fig. 1), both in size and position, by a pre-existing salient, corresponding in size with that at the western corner of the mosque.

This salient bears part of an inscription which commences in the re-entrant angle next the Bāb al-Futūḥ, runs along the curtain wall, and continues along the north-western side of the salient.² But he carried this salient still farther round the

¹ In the course of his description of the main artery of Cairo from the Bāb Zuweyḥa to the Bāb al-Futūḥ (*Khīṭaṭ*, i, p. 376, and Casanova's transl., *MIFAQ*, tome iv, pp. 78-9).

² For this inscription see van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 8^{me} série, t. xvii, pp. 455-60, and his *C.I.A.*, i, pp. 61-2.

original salient of the mosque, as is shown by the identity in the style of the masonry, until it met the north-western façade of the latter, where it extends 4·57 m. farther to the south-west side than the inner salient, blocking up the seventh window and the door below (see Plate XI and Fig. 1), both of which still remain visible from the interior. Hence the inner cube, agreeing in size with the southern one, and the outer incomplete cube. The portions of both salients which project into the mosque have almost vertical faces, probably because of the piers with which they are in contact.

Thus we have three successive stages in the evolution of the northern salient—

(1) The original cube enclosing the minaret, of which only that part which projected inside the mosque is still visible.

(2) The work of Badr al-Gamāly, who built the north wall and carried it round the north-eastern part of al-Ḥākim's cube, thus forming a great salient in the wall itself, which salient he continued round the cube until it met the north-western curtain wall of the mosque, blocking up a window and a door in the process.

(3) The work of Beybars II, who, in 703 (1304), reduced the free space inside the salient and made it circular in plan internally, by lining it with a mass of coarse masonry, and filled the lower part of the space still left with a helicoidal ramp (since removed), at the same time building the upper cube, to which he braced the minaret by two arches on its north-eastern and south-western sides.

Let us now see whether there is anything in the text of Maqrīzī to support the above conclusions. He tells us¹ that al-Masīḥī, in his *History of Egypt*, relates among the "events of the year 393 (1002/3) that the Khalif al-Ḥākim ordered the completion of the mosque commenced by the Wazīr Ya'qūb ibn Kās near the Bāb al-Futūḥ. This is why

¹ Op. cit., ii, p. 277 (translated by van Berchem, "Notes," loc. cit., p. 434). The works of al-Masīḥī are lost.

40,000 dinars were allotted for the expenses, and the works commenced. In Šafar 401 (September–October, 1010) they enlarged the minaret and made *arkān* of 100 cubits in length.” Van Berchem in his translation is puzzled by the signification of the word *arkān* in this connexion, and renders it by “arêtes” with a query after it. He says in a footnote:

“ركن point de résistance, angle. Je suppose que ce mot désigne ici les quatre arêtes qui limitent les faces d’un minaret à base carrée (peut-être les faces elles-mêmes); c’est la seule donnée d’un minaret qui puisse atteindre une pareille longueur; mais cette explication n’est pas très satisfaisante, puisque les vieux minarets de cette mosquée étaient cylindriques dans leur partie supérieure . . . Il s’agit peut-être des murs de fondation.” May it not mean the walls of these very salients, as it is clear from the text that it refers to something in connexion with the minarets?

Although I have found that the cubit employed in the setting out of this mosque was an unusual one, we are here concerned with the cubit frequently used by Maqrīzī. This was the *dhira al-‘amāl* of 656 mm., 100¹ of which would measure 65·6 m. The southern salient being about 16·57 a side,² measures 66·28 m. all round, a striking confirmation of my suggestion that the *arkān* of 100 cubits in length are the four walls of the cubes enclosing the minarets.

¹ Mahmoud Bey, “Le Système métrique actuel d’Égypte,” in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 7^e série, tome i, pp. 100–1.

² This measurement is not direct, owing to the buildings clustering round the base of this salient, and therefore it cannot be quite accurate.

March, 1922.

Some Remarks on the Hindu Drama

By JARL CHARPENTIER, Ph.D.

1. THE DATE OF THE MUDRĀ-RĀKṢASA

AMONGST the dramatic works of the Hindus a peculiar position is occupied by the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, the one work known under the name of Viśākhadatta. Neither the superior genius of Kālidāsa, nor the pathetic sublimity of Bhavabhūti, nor even the versatility and skill of Śrī-Harṣa has been in any way rivalled by this author, nor can he perhaps lay claim to a very high rank as a stylist, although some of his verses are certainly among the loftiest passages in the classical literature of India. But he excels them all in the marvellous power of characterizing his personages; and, if Rāma, Jīmūtavāhana, and even Śakuntalā often appear to us, with all their praiseworthy qualities, somewhat pale and lifeless, like fair spirits from a wonderland far away from the sin-stained earth, nothing of that sort could ever be said of the figures acting the play of Viśākhadatta. For there is certainly no lack of real life either in the diabolical plotting and unbending energy of Cāṇakya, or in the noble bitterness of Rākṣasa, or the stubborn blockheadedness of Malayaketu. Besides, the whole theme of the play is political intrigue and preparations for war, the hard work of men, and there is nothing at all about love and sentimentality, except the little scene between Candanadāsa and his family at the beginning of the last act, which is of absolutely no importance for the development of the play. Even religion and pious feelings seem to have been looked upon by the author as rather unimportant things—his interest is politics and nothing but politics.

It seems to me that Viśākhadatta might lay claim to somewhat more interest than he seems to have attracted until

now.¹ Of his person we know only what he himself tells us, that he was son of the Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta and grandson of the Sāmanta Vāṭeśvaradatta²; and we shall probably never know anything more, unless by chance an inscription mentioning one or more members of this family comes to be known. And he also shares the fate of most prominent Sanskrit writers in that his real date is unknown. Still, that question might perhaps be settled with at least some degree of certainty, as different passages, as well as the whole tenor of the play, seem to me to point to a certain well-known period of Indian history.

Professor Konow, in his book *Das indische Drama* (= *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie*, ii, 2d), p. 70 sq., has given a conspectus of the views of various scholars concerning the date of Viśākhadatta. From this we learn that, while Wilson thought of the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Delhi in the late twelfth century, Professor Konow himself, in accord with Speyer and Professor Hillebrandt, feels inclined to see in Viśākhadatta a contemporary of the great Gupta king Candragupta II (about A.D. 375–413).³ Great weight must here, as everywhere, be attached to the opinion of Professor Jacobi, who would fix the date of the play on 2nd December, 860; but to me it does not seem

¹ A reprint of the excellent translation in Wilson's *Hindu Theatre* might make him somewhat better known to the English public. A Swedish translation has appeared in my book *Ur Indiens klassiska litteratur* (Stockholm, 1920), pp. 129–217.

² *Vāṭeśvara* "the Lord of the fig-tree" is probably = Śiva. There is a *linga* called Vāṭeśvara in the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī, i, 194 sqq.

³ Curiously enough Professor Konow has not taken into consideration the able article of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal on the date of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (IA. xlii, 1913, 265 sq.). Mr. Jayaswal also connects this drama with the period of the great Guptas and believes the Candragupta of the *bharata-vākya* to be Candragupta II. I am not able to follow him here as—even considering that Candragupta II subdued some Śaka satraps—the earth was certainly not during his time "*mlecchair udvejjamānā*". But I am very glad of the consent of an able Hindu scholar as to the Gupta time. It is only unfortunate that the identifications of the names Parvataka and Malayaketu in Mr. Jayaswal's article should be wholly fanciful.

doubtful that this date is far too late, much more as Professor Jacobi has also reckoned with the name Avantivarman in the final verse of the play, which is no doubt a later " emendation " instead of the original reading *Candragupta*, restored into the text by Professor Hillebrandt.¹

To me there can be little or no doubt that the *Mudrārākṣasa* belongs to the period of the imperial Guptas, although reasons that will presently be taken into consideration prevent me from assigning to it as early a date as that of Candragupta II.²

Professor Konow very judiciously lays stress on the fact that Pāṭaliputra really seems to be the residence of the king during whose reign the play was first acted; and he also points out that at the time when Yüan-tsang visited India (A.D. 629-45) the magnificent capital of the Mauryas was already reduced to a heap of ruins. So this gives a *terminus ante quem*—we can no doubt draw the conclusion that Viśākhadatta wrote a considerable time before the reign of Śrī-Harṣa. It must in this connexion be underlined that Viśākhadatta shows that sort of intimate acquaintance with Pāṭaliputra which could scarcely be possessed by a man who had not lived for some time at least in that very place. In the third act he speaks of the *Sugāṅga* palace as the favourite resort of Candragupta, where he carries on with Cānakya the political discussion which leads to the pretended rupture between them; and in the sixth act (p. 173, 7) Candana-dāsa is spoken of as living at the *Puṣpa-catvara*, the " Flower-market ". And in that same act Rākṣasa, in his desperate state of mind, resorts to the old garden of King Nanda on the outskirts of Pāṭaliputra. Who could really doubt that the man who wrote the following passages:—

(p. 166, 5-6): *etās tāvad devasya pāda-cankramaṇa-pavitrīkṛta-talāḥ Kusumapuropakaṇṭha-bhūmayāḥ.*

¹ In the following the text is always quoted from the edition of Professor Hillebrandt, Breslau, 1912.

² The reasons by which Mr. Antani (*I.A.* li, 1922, 49 sq.) concludes that the M. was written in the seventh century seem to me wholly unconvincing.

(p. 167, 9 sqq.): *aho jīrṇodyānasya nirabhīramyatā !*
atra hi

viparyastaṃ sandham kulam iva mahārambha-racanam
sarah śuṣkaṃ sādhor hṛdayam iva nāśena suhṛdah |
phalair hīnā vrkṣā viguṇa-vidhi-yogād iva nayāḥ
trṇaiś channā bhūmir matir iva kunītaiva viduṣaḥ ||

etc., had himself visited the place he pictures to us in such vivid colours ?

The great fight between Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa is carried on by means of their puppets, Candragupta and Malayaketu, the latter probably meant to be a ruler of the South.¹ And Malayaketu is even by Rākṣasa himself said to be a *mleccha*, a barbarian (pp. 165, 17 ; 166, 1). Amongst the allies of Malayaketu are mentioned a certain *Meghākṣa*, the Great King of the Persians (*Pārasīkādhirāja*, p. 22, 1 ; °*ādhipati*, p. 140, 7 ; °*ādhipa*, p. 154, 1), the Greek princes of Gāndhāra (*Gāndhārāḥ . . . Yavana-nṛpatayaḥ*), the Scythians (*Śaka*), and the Huns (*Hūṇa*),² perhaps even the Chinese.³ And amongst the troops of Candragupta and Malayaketu, when before their rupture they laid siege to Pāṭaliputra, there are found amongst others the Scythians, Greeks, Kambojas, Persians, and the people from Balkh (°*Śaka-Yavana . . . Kāmboja-Pārasīka-Bāhlika*°, p. 49, 10-50, 1). So there is no doubt that India was not only *threatened* with an invasion of barbarians from the west and north-west—not in the time of Candragupta Maurya, the fictive hero of the play, but in the time of the author and the ruler who is also called Candragupta (which is here rather an honorific name than the real one). For this is exactly what can be concluded from the final verse :

¹ The name seems to me absolutely significant; cf. Jayaswal, *IA.* xlii, 1913, 267.

² Act v, verse 11.

³ Hillebrandt has given *Cedi* in his text; but there is in Be the reading *Cina* and in L. *Cina*, which may perhaps represent the original text. Mr. Jayaswal takes this reading for granted without further discussion (loc. cit., p. 266).

*vārāhīm ātmayones tanum atanubalām āsthitasyānurūpām
 yasya prāk-potra-koṭim pralaya-parigatā śīsriye bhūta-dhātṛ |
 mlecchair udvejyamānā bhujayugam adhunā pīvaram rāja-
 mūrteḥ
 sa śrīmad-bandhu-bhṛtyaś¹ ciram avatu mahīm pāṛthivaś
 Candraguptaḥ ||*

In times of sore need the Great God had come down to earth in different shapes to bring help and protection to distressed humanity; and, just as he in the shape of the Giant Boar, the *ādi*^o or *mahā-varāha*, raised on his tusk the earth weighed down into the flood of the ocean by her burden of sin and crime, so the hero-king should now ward off with his strong arm the flood of barbarians that inundates the holy land of the Brahmins. It is the same idea that we meet in Kālidāsa's great epic, *Raghuvamśa*, vii, 56 :—

*rathī niṣaṅgī kavacī dhanuṣmān drptaḥ sa rājanyakam ekavīrah |
 nivārayām āsa mahā-varāhaḥ kalpa-kṣayodvṛttam ivārṇavām-
 bhaḥ ||*

One might fain believe that the same time begets with different authors the same ideas.

Now, if we duly consider the various barbarian peoples enumerated in the passages quoted above, it is quite obvious that the "Greek princes of Gāndhāra" and the Śakas can scarcely be contemporaneous with the author of the play. We have here reminiscences of former invasions from the north-west. But not so with the Huns, of whom nobody in India had certainly obtained any real knowledge before the time of the later imperial Guptas.² According to Smith,³

¹ On this compound cf. Jayaswal, *IA*, xlv, 1917, p. 275, who would translate it: "he whose servant is Śrīmān Bandhu." According to Mr. Jayaswal, Bandhu here means a certain Bandhuvārman whose father reigned in Mālwa during and after the time of Candragupta II. The suggestion is certainly an ingenious one—only I am afraid it can scarcely be ever proved.

² The arguments which Mr. Jayaswal (loc. cit., p. 266) pleads for an earlier Indian knowledge of the Huns are rather weak.

³ The *Oxford History of India*, p. 163.

the first attack of the Huns on India was repelled about A.D. 455—about the same time as the hordes of Attila were checked by the last legions of the Roman Empire on the Catalaunian plains—and it was scarcely until the time when the Persian king Fīrūz and his armies had succumbed to their attacks (A.D. 484) that the danger to India became a very real one. It seems to me quite obvious that if an author like Viśākhadatta speaks in the same passages of the Great King of Persia and the Huns, this must refer to a time when people knew in the North of India that the nomads had subjugated Persia and invaded the western frontier, threatening to inundate the whole of Hindustan. And this period must be identical with that of the last great Guptas, especially Skandagupta, during whose reign the cataclysm seems to have come. As far as I can see, Skandagupta (or his successor) must be the prince from whom the earth hoped for succour from the barbarian deluge; that he is called Candragupta in the final verse of the play may be consistent with the tendency to revive in times of distress a great historical memory, in order to beget a spirit of energy and resistance.

Consequently, I think it most probable that Viśākhadatta was contemporaneous with one of the last Guptas—probably Skandagupta—and that he belonged to about the same period as Kālidāsa. And I see in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* a very tendentious piece of literature, the author of which intended in a time of threatening external dangers to revive the great memories of the past, in order to inspire his contemporaries with the fierce and energetic spirit of times gone, when great emergencies were met by men fit to deal with and overcome them.

As for literary proofs of my theory I have not much to adduce. It seems quite obvious that Viśākhadatta was well acquainted with the text nowadays known by the name of the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya. Different passages¹ seem to prove this beyond doubt, and the *Cāṇakya-nīti*, on p. 43, 10,

¹ Cf. e.g. pp. 9; 38, 1; 42, 18; 56, 9; 86, 2-3, etc.

must certainly mean exactly the same as the Artha-śāstra. But this is of no use for fixing the exact date of our play, as the Artha-śāstra—if it is really, as Professor Jacobi seems to have proved, the work of Kauṭilya—must be some 700 or 800 years older than the Mudrā-Rākṣasa.

There is, further, a curious passage in the Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata (xvii, 56),¹ which must perhaps be considered in connexion with this play. Bharata there prescribes that amongst people speaking the Māgadhī dialect are also to be included the diggers of subterranean passages (*suruṅgā-khanaka*). Now there exists, as far as I know, not one play in the whole of the dramatic literature where any such person is produced on the stage. But in the Mudrā-Rākṣasa (p. 57, 9–10) there is some talk of certain creatures of Rākṣasa having dug a subterranean passage (*suruṅgā*) to the bedroom of Candragupta and at the last moment having been discovered by Cāṇakya.² However, these persons are here only spoken of, not introduced on the stage. But, as Bharata would scarcely have given a detailed prescription without any concrete sample having been known to him, it seems possible that there may have existed at his time a play, with the same content as ours, where those persons were really introduced as acting figures. But we know nothing of the exact date of Bharata,³ nor do we know if the Nāṭya-śāstra is the work of one single author without later interpolations—or, I might rather say, all we know is that it is not. So this does not help us at all.

Some stress has been laid on a pretended imitation by Viśākhadatta of the famous play of Śūdraka.⁴ Personally,

¹ Cf. Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 17.

² Concerning such subterranean passages, cf. *Kauṭilya Artha-śāstra*, p. 40, 6; *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, p. 51, 6, 8; *Daśakumāra-carita*, Pūrva-pīthikā, iii, etc.

³ Cf. Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 2. Already Kālidāsa in the *Vikramorvaśī* (e.g. verse 36) speaks of Bharata as a mythic sage and the stage-manager of the gods.

⁴ Cf. Morgenstierne, *Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakatikā*, Halle a. S., 1920, pp. 26, 77; Antani, *I.A.* li, 50.

I do not at all feel convinced that the *Mṛcchakatikā* is really older than the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*; with that I shall try to deal presently. As for the supposed imitations, there is certainly a sort of similarity in the dialogue between the *sūtradhāra* and the *naṭī* in the prologues of both plays; but, if Viśākhadatta has here imitated anyone, he may easily have been acquainted with the older play called the *Cārudatta*—be it by a certain Bhāsa or not—later copied by Śūdraka. One has also pointed at the scene in the last act of both plays, where in the *Mṛcchakatikā* Cārudatta and in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* Candanadāsa are led away by the hangmen to be impaled on the stake. But, as the motives for, and the development leading to, this event are totally different in the two plays, I cannot find any urgent necessity for assuming here an imitation on one side or the other.

There certainly exists a connexion between a passage of Kālidāsa and one in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, viz. *Raghu-vaṃśa*, vii, 43 :—

sa CHINNA-MŪLĀḤ kṣatajena REṆUS tasyopariṣṭhāt pavanāva-
dhūtaḥ |

aṅgāra-śeṣasya hutāśanasya pūrvotthito dhūma ivābabhāse ||

and *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, act v, verse 23 :—

Gauḍīnām lodhra - dhūti - parimala - dhavalān dhūmrayantaḥ
kapolān

kliśnantaḥ kṣṣṇīmānam bhramara-kula-nibham kuñcitasyāla-
kasya |

PAṂŚU-STAMBHĀ balānām turaga-khura-puta-kṣoda-labdhātma-
lābhāḥ

śatrūnām uttamānge gaja-mada-salila-CCHINNA-MŪLĀḤ patantu ||

as the situation described is certainly a very peculiar one. But who could tell whether Kālidāsa or Viśākhadatta is here the imitator or the imitated? Still, one might probably feel inclined to ascribe the priority to the greater poet of the two.

Also, a closer connexion may exist between the expression *vārāhīm ātmayones TANUM ATANUBALĀM*, etc., in the final

verse of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* and the *Śiśupāla-vadha*, canto i, verse 47 :—

Satācchaṭā-bhinna-ghanena bibhratā
nṛsimha sainikhīm ATANUM TANUM tvayā |
sa mugdha-kāntā-stana-saṅga-bhaṅgurair
uro-vidāram prati-caskare nakhair ||

Here it is, of course, necessary to me to conclude that Māgha is indebted for his expression to the older poet, Viśākhadatta.¹

However, these literary coincidences do not carry great weight in comparison with the historical proofs adduced above. After all, I think it to be fairly well proved that the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* belongs to the period immediately preceding the downfall of the Gupta empire, when the Huns had already trodden Sassanian Persia under the hoofs of their horses and were threatening Hindustan with a formidable invasion. Viśākhadatta, consequently, to me belongs to the older set of Hindu dramatic poets, and is perhaps a somewhat younger contemporary of the greatest of them all, Kālidāsa.

2. THE AUTHOR AND DATE OF THE *MṛC-CHAKAṬIKĀ*

The discovery and publication at Trivandrum of several plays already famous under the name of Bhāsa has been of decisive importance for the position of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* in Hindu dramatic literature in so far as the play called *Cārudatta* (or *Daridra-Cārudatta*) has revealed to us the original of the first four acts of the work ascribed to King Śūdraka. It has once for all made away with the theory of Pischel—incredible as it was in itself—of Daṇḍin being the author of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā*; and, as there can be now no more talk of this play being the oldest specimen of the Hindu theatre, one may perhaps safely hope that the hypothesis of the Greek influence on the Indian drama is also once for all made away with. However, the problem of the *Mṛc-chakaṭikā* itself has not been solved by the recent discovery—it rather seems to have become

¹ On the date of Māgha cf. now the article of Professor Jacobi in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1923, p. 214.

more entangled than ever. A short discussion on some topics connected with its author and its date may not be wholly out of place, although I am well aware that I cannot claim to have arrived at any real solution of either problem.

There is only one statement concerning the author of the *Mṛc-chakatikā* which can claim any sort of authority, and that is what the prologue of the play itself has to tell us. And that is chiefly contained in the following words ¹: *yad idaṃ vayam Mṛc-chakatikaṃ nāma prakaraṇam prayoktuṃ vyavasitāḥ | etatkaviḥ kīla*

*dviradendra-gatiś cakora-netraḥ
paripūrṇendu-mukhaḥ suvighraś ca |
dviḥ-mukhyatamaḥ kavir babhūva
prathitaḥ Śūdraka ity agādha-sattvaḥ ||*

api ca |

rg-vedaṃ sāma-vedaṃ gaṇitam atha kalāṃ vaiśikīṃ hasti-śikṣāṃ

*jñātvā Śarva-prasādād vyapagata-timire cakṣuṣī copalabhya |
rājānaṃ vīkṣya putram parama-samudayenāśvamedhena ceṣṭvā
labdhvā cāyuh śatābdaṃ daśa-dina-sahitaṃ Śūdrako 'gnim
praviṣṭaḥ ||*

api ca |

*samara-vyasanī pramāda-śūnyaḥ
kakudaṃ veda-vidāṃ tapo-dhanaśca |
para-vāraṇa-bāhu-yuddha-lubdhah
kṣiti-pālah kīla Śūdrako babhūva ||*

This is very nearly all we get to know by this prologue, which can apparently not have been written by King Śūdraka himself ²—what has been left out I shall try to discuss presently. But let me first of all remark that, this prologue taken duly into consideration, it has certainly been a very correct view of Professor Jacobi ³ and some other scholars

¹ p. 2 sq., ed. Parab.

² Cf. Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, p. 197; Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 57, etc.

³ Cf. *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. u. hist. Klasse*, xxix, 4 (1918), p. 83, n. 1.

that, if we know anything of the author of the *Mṛc-chakatikā*, it is that his name was *Śūdraka* and nothing else. For that is about all we know, and a piece of knowledge like that ought certainly not to be discarded without very weighty reasons.

I lay some special stress on this because the latest historian of the Hindu drama, Professor Konow, has started quite a new theory concerning the author of our play.¹ Professor Konow thinks the man called *Śūdraka* to have been in reality an *Ābhīra* prince with the name of *Śivadatta*, who was possibly connected with the downfall of the Andhras and the inauguration of the Cedi-era (A.D. 248-9).² But the arguments on which this conclusion is based are, although ingenious, certainly of a very unsubstantial character. They are closely connected with other arguments adduced by Professor Konow for fixing the date of the drama—arguments that start from the wholly unproved thesis that our author is certainly older than *Kālidāsa*, and that will be mentioned somewhat later on. Having tried to corroborate this thesis, Professor Konow then takes hold of a tradition according to which *Śūdraka* was connected with the downfall of the Andhras and was king of *Pratiṣṭhāna*.³ But the fact is that this tradition has just as little historical value as many other things that are told of this same King *Śūdraka*; and Professor Konow might just as well have laid stress on another tale according to which he was perhaps the founder of the *Āndhrabhṛtya*-dynasty⁴—a hypothesis that would certainly have led to a totally different result.

However, King *Śūdraka* plays an important part in Hindu literature, as various passages from *Bāṇa* and other authors (recorded by Professor Konow, loc. cit., p. 56 seq.) testify. He is often connected with the struggle between

¹ Cf. *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte . . . E. Kuhn gewidmet* 1916, p. 108 sq.; *Das indische Drama*, p. 57.

² Cf. Fleet, *JRAS.* 1905, p. 568.

³ Recorded by Bhau Dāji, *J. Bo. Br. RAS.* viii, 240 sq., and Professor Jacobi, *Ind. Stud.* xiv, 147 sq.

⁴ Cf. Wiltford, *Asiatic Researches*, ix, 107; Wilson, *Works*, ix, 194, n. 1.

Vikramāditya and his opponents; and it is rather a queer coincidence with the prologue of our play that he is said to have been a Brahmin minister of Sāta-vāhana on whom this ruler bestowed the half of his kingdom.¹ For it is no doubt very curious that a ruler belonging to the caste of Kshatriyas should be styled *dvija-mukhyatamaḥ* and *kakudaṃ veda-vidām*, as is there done, these epithets being much easier to understand if they were applied to a ruler who was a Brahmin by caste.² As for the remark that "he knew the R̥g-veda, the Sāma-veda, mathematics, the elegant arts, and the training of elephants", it has scarcely been made up from the contents of the drama as Windisch once seems to have thought.³ For nobody in the whole play, so far as I know, makes much use of his knowledge of the two first Vedas, nor would anyone be very likely to know much of them except Śarvilaka and perhaps even Cārudatta. And, besides, one might well compare with this a passage in which Daṇḍin praises the great accomplishments of a young Brahmin: ⁴ *adhītī caturṣv āmnāyeṣu grhītī ṣaṭṣv aṅgeṣv ānvīkṣikī-vicakṣaṇaś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭi-kalāgama-prayoga-caturo viśeṣeṇa gaja-ratha-turaga-tantravid iṣvasa-nāstrā-karmaṇi gadā-yuddhe ca nirupamaḥ purāṇetihāsa-kuśalaḥ kartā kāvyā-nāṭakākhyāyikānām vettā sopaniṣad-artha-sāstrasya*, etc. If need be, this shows pretty well that not only spiritual insight was to be requested from a Brahmin who claimed to belong to the upper ten of his caste, and that there was nothing very strange in his knowing also the arts of an elegant life and even the training of elephants.

So there would be, according to my opinion, scarcely any obstacle to presuming Śūdraka to have been a Brahmin by caste and to have played the part of a Peshwā to some Hindu

¹ Cf. *Ind. Stud.*, xiv, 151.

² The explanation of Prthvīdhara *dvija-mukhyatamaḥ kṣatra-jāti-śreṣṭhaḥ trayo varṇā dvijātaya itī smṛteḥ kṣatriyo 'pi dvija-prayogaḥ* || is scarcely very well founded.

³ Cf. *Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama*, p. 70.

⁴ Cf. *Dasa-kumāra-carita*, p. 100, 5-9, ed. Bühler-Peterson-Agashe, Bombay, 1919.

Rājah before he rose to be even by title a ruler himself. But, of course, this is only a suggestion and very far from any degree of certainty. If we were better acquainted with certain details of Indian history it would perhaps not be very difficult to identify a ruler of whom we know that he had been cured of cataract, had attained the remarkable age of one hundred years and ten days, and above all had celebrated the famous horse-sacrifice. For there are perhaps not so many rulers in the real history of India who have been able to set into motion the giant apparatus needed for this, the greatest and most expensive of all sacrifices. But, unfortunately, all these facts do not help us at all.

There is, however, another tradition concerning Śūdraka that it may be worth while to discuss, although it seems not to have attracted much notice. Pischel¹ long ago, while pleading the South Indian origin of the *Mr̥c-chakatīkā*, drew attention to a gloss to Vāmana's *Kāvya-lamkāra-vṛtti* (p. 31, 24, in MS., Bühler, *Det. Report*, No. 266, fol. 18a), where Śūdraka is called a *rājā komatīḥ*; and *Kōmati* is well known as the name of the great trading caste in the Madras Presidency.² Now it may well be quite a fortuitous thing, though it seems to me rather remarkable, that one of the most common and well-attested traditions of the *Kōmatis* tells us how, on account of a struggle with a certain King Viṣṇuvardhana, 102 heads of gotras belonging to this caste sacrificed themselves in fire-pits rather than giving away to their opponent. And the fact recorded in the prologue of the *Mr̥c-chakatīkā* that Śūdraka in his extreme old age "entered the fire" (*agnim praviṣṭaḥ*) has puzzled more than one scholar. Is there any possibility of these traditions standing in closer relation to each other? If that were the case, Śūdraka might possibly have been a king of the south, ruling over a country where the caste of *Kōmatis* had obtained great influence, who sacrificed his own life in

¹ Cf. *Rudraka's Śṛṅgāratilaka und Ruyyaka's Sahyodayalīlā*, Kiel, 1886, p. 20. Cf. also Lindenau, *Bhāsa-Studien*, Leipzig, 1918, p. 14.

² Cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii, 306 sqq.

the strife with another king called Viṣṇu-varḍhana. This person, unfortunately, cannot be identified; but he may almost certainly have belonged to the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas¹ that seems to have been founded in the early beginning of the seventh century.² If there were any truth in this suggestion, it would help us also to fix the date of the *Mṛc-chakatikā* within certain not very wide limits.

The idea that the *Mṛc-chakatikā* should be the very oldest Hindu drama preserved to us has naturally to be given up, and needs no further discussion. However, quite recently scholars whose opinion cannot be passed over in silence have pleaded the very early date of that drama. Professor Lévi, who formerly³ tried to assign to it a date between the times of Bāṇa and Vāmana, has more recently⁴ taken into consideration that it might belong to a far earlier century, but unfortunately on very unconvincing reasons. And Professor Konow, as already mentioned above, thinks that its date may be fixed in the early half of the third century A.D.⁵ But this rests on the wholly unproved foundation that the *Mṛc-chakatikā* is older than Kālidāsa, a suggestion for which, according to my opinion, no proofs can well be adduced. For, if it were so, then why did not Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* mention Śūdraka amongst his predecessors together with Bhāsa, Saumilla, and Kaviputra.⁶ And I deny flatly that any internal reasons force us to think the *Mṛc-chakatikā* to be older than the three dramas of the greatest of Hindu poets.

Professor Jacobi certainly thinks our drama to be younger

¹ Cf. Thurston, loc. cit., p. 320.

² Cf. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 216.

³ Cf. *Le Théâtre Indien*, p. 198.

⁴ *J.A.* 1902, i, p. 123 sq.

⁵ Cf. also Morgenstierne, loc. cit., p. 76.

⁶ It would be no valid reason against this that Aśvaghoṣa is also not mentioned by Kālidāsa. For Aśvaghoṣa was a Buddhist and wrote Buddhist dramas which would certainly not be mentioned by Kālidāsa, whose Brahmin orthodoxy may scarcely be doubted.

than those of Kālidāsa, and Professor Jolly long ago¹ tried to prove that the lawsuit acted in the ninth act could best be brought in accordance with the precepts of the law-books belonging to the sixth or even the seventh century A.D. And, even if Pischel's theory concerning the authorship of Daṇḍin scarcely found any believer except himself, there certainly exists a great degree of similarity between the society seen on the stage in the *Mṛc-chakatikā* and that one presented to us in the fascinating novels of Daṇḍin. To use the words of Dhanika,² they are both *kitava-dyūtakārādhidhūrta-saṃkula*, and a society not very different from that described in Casanova's famous biography may well be characteristic of a certain period of history, a period of highly developed literary activity and highly debased morals, like that of Louis XV.

Now Mr. K. C. Mehendale has in a very well-considered article³ tried to fix with the help of literary evidence the limits within which the date of the *Mṛc-chakatikā* must fall. It is certainly of decisive influence on the whole question that Bāṇa, who has made King Śūdraka of Vidiśā the hero of his famous romance, does not in the introductory verses of the *Harṣa-carita* know anything at all of the dramatist Śūdraka. The *terminus a quo* is, no doubt, given here: the *Mṛc-chakatikā* of Śūdraka—whoever he may be—was not yet known to the famous court-pandit of Śrī-Harṣa, and, as that writer must certainly have been better acquainted with the literature of his day than anyone else, we may safely conclude that it did not exist in his time. On the other hand, there are in Vāmana's *Kāvya-lamkāra-vṛtti* two quotations of which the one⁴ may be doubtful, as it agrees on the whole much better with the *Cārudatta* than with the *Mṛc-chakatikā*, while the other (*dyūtaṃ hi nāma puruṣasyāsīmḥāsanam*

¹ Tagore Law Lectures, 1883, p. 68 sq.

² *Daśarūpa*, ed. K. P. Parab, p. 90.

³ Cf. Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume, p. 367 sqq.

⁴ The verse *Yāsām baliḥ*, etc., which is in the *Cārudatta* I, v, 2, and in the *Mṛc-chakatikā*, i, v. 9.

rājyam) undoubtedly refers to the latter drama. As Vāmana wrote his work about the year 775, this would show that the work of Śūdraka already at that time belonged to the stock of classical literature taken into consideration by the leading æstheticists. Now, if there be anything in my suggestion that Śūdraka was a southern monarch who finished his life during a struggle with one of the eastern Chalukya kings, this would only corroborate the theory of Mr. Mehendale, and we might then almost safely conclude that the *Mṛc-chakatikā* was composed *during a period extending from the middle of the seventh to that of the eighth century of our era*. This would make Śūdraka belong to a time not very far from that of Daṇḍin and would also agree with the arguments adduced by Professor Jolly from quite different sources.

Having thus shortly discussed the questions concerning the author and date of the *Mṛc-chakatikā*, let me now add some words on the composition of the play and its relation to the older work called the *Cārudatta*—whether this be the work of Bhāsa or not may here be left wholly by side.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the first four acts of the *Mṛc-chakatikā* are simply a more copious version of the four acts that constitute what has been preserved to us of the *Cārudatta*. But, unfortunately, these four acts did scarcely constitute the whole of that play, and various scholars have also decided that it has come down to us in an unfinished state.¹ Convinced though I be of the correctness of this opinion, I feel very uncertain whether most of the passages adduced by Dr. Morgenstierne and Mr. Mehendale as proving the existence of a continuation of the *Cārudatta* really prove anything at all. So when in Act I, v, 6, *Cārudatta* says : *pāpaṃ karma ca yat parair api kṛtaṃ tat tasya sambhāvya*, this line forms part of a verse which is, on the whole, of a proverbial or sententious tenor, and it need not at all mean

¹ Cf. Konow, *Aufsätze* . . . H. Kuhn gewidmet, p. 107 ; *Das indische Drama*, p. 55 ; Morgenstierne, loc. cit., p. 67 ; Mehendale, loc. cit., p. 369.

that the Cārudatta once developed on the very same lines as the last acts of the *Mṛc-chakatikā*.¹ Nor is there any need to find in the words of Vasantasenā: *gacchadu bhavaṃ punodamsanāe*, when taking leave of the monk in the second act, any allusion to the future; for, just like “au revoir”, the word *punar-darśanāya* may certainly be uttered to a person out of sheer politeness, though one does not expect ever to see him again.² Nor does the wish of Sajjalaka in Act IV, v. 7, that he may be able once to reward Vasantasenā or Cārudatta involve any consequences of that sort.

But there is one passage just at the winding up of the fourth act that undoubtedly betrays to us that the Cārudatta must have consisted of at least one act more, viz. the words of the maid: *edaṃ puṇa abhisārā-sahāa-bhūdaṃ duddinaṃ unnamidaṃ*. For, leaving alone the very abrupt and inadequate end of the act, there can be no doubt whatsoever that this points to a next act which in the *Mṛc-chakatikā* bears the name of *durdinam*.³ One might only ask whether we have reason to think it possible that the Cārudatta really ended with this fifth act. It appears to me that, as the play does not (in its present shape at least) contain any undisputable allusion to what in the *Mṛc-chakatikā* follows after the fifth act, and, as that same act which contains the happy meeting of the lovers might well serve as a final one, we may safely assume that the *Cārudatta* consisted of only five acts, copied in the first five ones of Śūdraka's work.

If, then, we assume that Śūdraka had before him a drama of five acts, which he took over and used for his own composition, it is quite obvious that he has altered and enlarged a number of passages. But, as this has been discussed in detail by Dr. Morgenstierne, I need not busy myself with it

¹ Even the words of the Śākara (p. 226, ed. Parab)—*dalidde kkhū se | taṣṣa saṁvaṃ sambhāviadi*—need not be taken as an allusion to this passage (cf. also *sambhāvyate* in Act IX, v. 37).

² Cf. the words of Āryaka: *evam punardarśanāya* in *Mṛc-chakatikā*, ed. Parab, p. 182, 17.

³ Cf. the introductory words of the fifth act: *unnamaty akāladurdinam*.

here. A quantity of verses have been added, and several passages made more extensive in comparison with the original, so e.g. the scene of Śarvilaka's burglary in the third act. In the fifth act, the original of which we do not possess, one may feel quite sure that the whole conversation between the *viṭa* and Vasantasenā is a later addition,¹ as it only causes a tedious interruption and is of absolutely no importance to the development of the dramatic action. Moreover, the whole scene between the players in Act II and the description of Vasantasenā's palace in Act IV are not at all found in the *Cārudatta*. They both seem to be more at home in that dramatic genre called *prahasana*, and it is especially to be observed that the very indecent words of Māthura and Maitreya that are found in some passages of these two episodes do not belong to the style of the *prakaraṇa*, but that corresponding things are often found in the existing *prahasana*'s. We have also the very clear statement of Dhanika² that it is the presence of such shady characters as Māthura, etc., that make of the *Mṛc-chakatīkā* a *saṃkīrna-prakaraṇa*. And one might well doubt whether we have not here later interpolations that were added by some stage-director in order to secure to the play a greater popularity with the public.

Even if it may not be taken for granted, I still believe it to be tolerably certain that Śūdraka, having copied the first five acts from the *Cārudatta*, added the last five ones—or, at least, the greater part of them³—himself. One might even ask if there is not in the prologue—which cannot be by Śūdraka himself—a quite distinct statement as to this fact, and personally I really believe there is. For let us consider the verses that follow immediately upon those describing the personality of Śūdraka :—

¹ Cf. Morgenstierne, loc. cit., p. 69.

² *Daśarūpa*, ed. Parab, p. 90.

³ In the tenth act a considerable interpolation is said to have been made by a certain Nilakaṇṭha; cf. Morgenstierne, loc. cit., p. 69.

Avanti-puryām dvija-sārthavāho
yuvā daridraḥ khīla Cārudattaḥ |
guṇānuraktā gaṇikā ca yasya
vasanta-śobheva Vasantasenā ||
Tayor idaṃ sat-suratotsavāśrayaṃ
naya-pracāraṃ vyavahāra-duṣṭatām |
khala-svabhāvaṃ bhavitavyatām tathā
cakāra sarvaṃ khīla Śūdrako nṛpaḥ ||

While the first of these verses only tells us the names and conditions of the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, whom Śūdraka had simply taken over from the older play, the second has several other things to tell us. To give it in the translation of K. P. Parab:¹ "King Śūdraka composed this drama based upon their happy sexual enjoyment. In it he exhibited the efficacy of righteous conduct, villainy of law, the temperament of the wicked, and inevitableness of fate."

According to this statement, what did King Śūdraka do? He composed the *naya-pracāra*, meaning apparently the conduct of Cārudatta perhaps towards Āryaka and certainly during the last two acts, the *vyavahāra-duṣṭatā*, which is simply another name for the ninth act, the *khala-svabhāva*, "the nature of a rogue," meaning the behaviour of the Śākāra, during the three Acts VIII-X,² and finally the *bhavitavyatā*, the inevitable fate, involving the triumph of justice and noble sentiments, that winds up the whole play. And all these things apparently followed, according to our verse, upon "their happy sexual enjoyment", which could scarcely mean anything but the visit of Vasantasenā to Cārudatta's house in the fifth act. Consequently, this means to me that what Śūdraka did really himself compose were the last five acts, the acts following upon I-V, which had been borrowed from the older play. A courteous poet who would not accuse

¹ *Mrc-chakatikā*, notes, p. 4.

² Except in these acts the Śākāra does only produce himself in the first act. But there he is only a ridiculous braggart and a still more ridiculous coward, and does not show any of the real wicked qualities that constitute a *khala*, a rogue.

King Śūdraka of plagiarism—a thing scarcely consistent with the high praise bestowed upon him in the preceding verses—could perhaps not tell us in a clearer way what did in reality belong to him and what did not.

The continuation of the *Mṛc-chakatikā* contains the development of the love-story between Cārudatta and Vasantasenā, which, through bad vicissitudes, is led to a happy end, interwoven with the tale of a political intrigue, the downfall of King Pālaka of Ujjayinī through the conspiracy of the cow-herd Āryaka, Śarvilaka, and others. Now this episode is already foretold in two passages belonging to that part of the drama copied from the Cārudatta, viz. in the words of Darduraka in the second act: ¹ *kathitaṃ ca mama priyavayasyena Śarvilakena yathā kila | Āryaka-nāmā gopāla-dāraḥ siddhādeśena samādiṣṭo rājā bhaviṣyati | sarvaś cāsmadvidho janas tam anusrati | tad aham apī tat-samīpaṃ gacchāmi*, and in those of Śarvilaka in the fourth act,² where he gets to know that King Pālaka has incarcerated Āryaka and consequently announces his intention to liberate him. But it is rather curious that if we took away these few lines and then eliminated the greater part of the sixth, the whole seventh, and the very last pages of the tenth act there would be absolutely no trace of the story of Āryaka and Pālaka, nor would that be of any consequence whatsoever to the development of the original play. One person only is concerned both with the Cārudatta-drama and the Āryaka-episode, viz. the Brahmin-burglar Śarvilaka (Sajjalaka); and this person would probably never have been able to show his gratitude to Vasantasenā and Cārudatta had he not joined the party of Āryaka and slain King Pālaka.³ An episode inside a drama could scarcely be more loosely connected with the main action.

Wilson⁴ once thought that some sort of historical fact lay at the foundation of the story of Pālaka and Āryaka; and

¹ Ed. Parab, p. 65, 5-8.

² Ibid., pp. 112-13.

³ Act X, v. 46.

⁴ *Specimens of the Hindu Theatre*, i, 158, n.; cf. Lévi, *J.A.* 1902, i, 123.

according to his opinion this was that Pālaka had, through sympathies with the Buddhists and contempt to Brahmin laws and ceremonies, himself caused the revolution that brought him out of kingdom and life. Now Pālaka cannot be historically identified, nor does the name tell us much, as it is probably only a shortened form of a compound ending in °pāla. But there might still be something in the hypothesis of Wilson—and I do not deny that after all there is not—if it could be really proved that Pālaka was a sovereign who was dethroned and killed because he adhered too strongly to Buddhism. It is, no doubt, true that Pālaka, by condemning Cārudatta to death, has sinned against the principle which Kautilya¹ dressed in the words: *sarvāparādheṣv apīdanāyo brāhmaṇaḥ* and broken his own solemn pledge to protect cows and Brahmins. But is there in the drama any allusion to his embracing Buddhist doctrines or specially protecting their adherents? I think not. On the contrary, his worthy brother-in-law, the Śākāra, is apparently in the habit of misusing in a very shocking manner every Buddhist mendicant that comes in his way,² and we may safely presume that he does it with the connivance of his royal protector. Nor is Buddhism in any way predominant in the play, its only representative being a man who, after having spent his fortune in the worst of companies, has taken refuge at the feet of the Tathāgata. And, above all, Pālaka was, according to the words of Śarvilaka,³ slain in his sacrificial enclosure (*yajña-vāṭa*), which does not sound as if he were a very convinced Buddhist. So we do not seem to find any help in the theory of Wilson if we try to identify him.

Again, Windisch⁴ thought that we might here see an

¹ *Artha-sāstra*, p. 220, 3; cf. *Mrc-chakatikā*, Act IX, v. 39, etc. Cf. *Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka*, p. 34, 9–10: *sarvāparādheṣv avadhyā khalu dūtāḥ*; Brahmins certainly have often been used as ambassadors and messengers on behalf of their sacrosanctity.

² Cf. the beginning of Act VIII.

³ Act X, v. 50.

⁴ *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.*, 1885, p. 439 sq.

influence from the legends of Kṛṣṇa and Kāṃsa; the idea was certainly a very good one, only the congruity between the two stories seems to me to be of a rather vague nature.

Finally, Professor Konow¹ seems inclined to believe that we have here an adaptation of a story in the *Bṛhat-kathā*. For in Budhasvāmin's *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṃgraha* I-II we find a King Pālaka who abdicates in favour of the son of his brother Gopāla; ² and Professor Konow thinks that the name Gopāla may have been altered into *go-pāla* "cow-herd", which is the profession of Āryaka. The parallel traits in the two stories are not very striking, and, if it were not for the name Pālaka, one would scarcely think of bringing them in connexion with each other. However, it is quite obvious that Śūdraka knew the *Bṛhat-kathā*, and that it was probably a very popular work in his days; this appears from Act IV, v. 26 :—

*jñātīn viṭān sva-bhuja-vikrama-labdha-varṇān
rājāpamāna-kupitāṃś ca narendra-bhṛtyān |
uttejayāmi suhrdaḥ parimokṣaṇāya
Yaugandharāyaṇa ivodayanasya rājñāḥ ||*³

But, unfortunately, this can in no way prove that the story of Pālaka and Āryaka was borrowed from the famous poem of Guṇādhya.

The main question seems, however, to be not whence Śūdraka borrowed the story of Pālaka and Āryaka, but why he put it into his drama, where it is absolutely unnecessary and serves no apparent purpose. For Vasantasenā could just as well have mistaken the carriage without Āryaka being there, and Cārudatta's innocence would have been obviously proved by her reappearance even without the intercession of Śarvilaka. So it is not intelligible to me why Śūdraka should make this digression, unless there were something in the inserted episode

¹ *Das indische Drama*, p. 57.

² Cf. Lacôte, *Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, p. 153 sq.

³ It were perhaps possible that Śūdraka alluded here also to the *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*, but this is not proved by the tenor of the verse.

that had any special bearing on events of great weight and interest belonging to his own time and surroundings.¹ But of this we unfortunately know absolutely nothing, and to us the one result of Śūdraka's way of composing his drama is that we must complain of the bad taste which he has shown in putting together things in no way connected with each other instead of keeping to his theme which needed no additions for being developed on quite interesting lines.

The results of this short discussion—if there be any at all—would be to corroborate the opinion which puts the date of Śūdraka in the seventh or eighth century. He may possibly have been a Brahmin by caste and a king of the south who lost his life during strife with another ruler probably belonging to the Chalukya dynasty. As for his literary achievements, the *Mṛc-chakatīkā* is certainly a very amusing play, with no small merits; but we must always take into consideration that the first half is simply an enlargement of an older play which on the whole—fragmentary as it has come down to us—seems to me better than its imitation; as for the second half of the drama, it is partly spoilt by the contamination of two subjects that stood originally in no relation whatsoever to each other.

3. A PASSAGE IN THE DŪTA-VĀKYA

Professor Winternitz, in a very ingenious article,² seems to have proved that the drama called *Dūta-vākya* must be older than the passage in the *Mahā-Bhārata*³ where Draupadī, while Duḥśāsana is grossly insulting her in the Sabhā, by supernatural power obtains a new dress every time her enemy tears one from her. For although in the drama Duryodhana is represented as exhibiting a picture of that scene in the great

¹ Professor Konow seems to hint at something like this, cf. *Das indische Drama*, p. 57.

² *Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte . . . E. Kuhn gewidmet*, 1916, p. 299 sqq.

³ ii, 68, 41 sqq.

assembly hall and giving a very vivid description of it, he does not with one word mention this marvellous incident.

I should like here to draw attention to another passage in the *Dūta-vākya* which may be of some interest, although unfortunately I am not able to offer any solution of it.

When the princes are assembling together with Duryodhana for a council of war he invites the principal ones of them to take their seats with the following words (p. 29, 13-15) :
*ācārya | etat kūrmasānam | āsyatām || pītāmaha | etat
 śiṃhāsānam | āsyatām || mātula | etac carmāsānam | āsyatām ||*.
 Whatever the different terms may mean—which without a commentary we are scarcely able to understand—it is apparent that Duryodhana offers various sorts of seats to Droṇa, Bhīṣma, and Śakuni. Now this passage may be compared with one in Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* (xiii, 208-9, ed. Grosset), which runs thus :—

*devānāṃ nṛpatīnāṃ ca dadyāt śiṃhāsānam dvijāḥ¹ ||
 purodhasāṃ amātyānāṃ bhaved vetrāsānam tathā ||
 muṇḍāsānam ca dātavyaṃ senānī-yuvarājayoḥ |
 kāṣṭhāsānam brāhmaṇānāṃ kumārānāṃ kuthāsānam ||*

Unfortunately also this passage is not clear as we have access to no commentary. But it is quite obvious that the author of the *Dūta-vākya* does follow the prescriptions of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* only in one point, viz. offering a *śiṃhāsana* to Bhīṣma, a royal person.

Are we to conclude from this that the author—whether he be Bhāsa or not—had before him another *Nāṭya-śāstra* than the one preserved to us? A thorough comparison of the Trivandrum plays with Bharata might perhaps reveal other details which would corroborate that conclusion. If so, it would certainly exercise an influence on fixing the date of the Trivandrum author, as he might then possibly be older than the present *Nāṭya-śāstra*.

¹ *dvijāḥ* is apparently a misprint of the edition.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE KOSAR OF TAMIL LITERATURE AND THE SATIYAPUTRA OF THE ASOKA EDICTS

On page 84 of the January number of the *Journal* for 1922, there is a note on Satiyaputra of the Asoka Edicts—where a reference is made to my communication in a previous number of the *Journal*. It is stated that I have identified the Satiyaputra of the Asoka Edicts with the Nāyars of Malabar. An extract is quoted from an article by Mr. K. G. Sankara as against this. The points that Mr. Sankara makes out are (1) that the term *Satī* cannot be applied to the matriarchal folk of the West Coast, and that Kēraḷaputra is distinguished from Satiyaputra; and (2) that Durga devotees, like the Bengalis, are not described as Satiyaputra. In regard to these, it is enough to say that if one set of people took a name from some feature like the worship of Durga it does not logically follow that all the worshippers of Durga should be so named. If a set of people, foreigners to a locality, gave a name to another class of people from a feature that struck them as somewhat peculiar, it need not be correct to the degree indicated in the first part of Mr. Sankara's argument. I do not believe that in the note quoted I have made any attempt to identify the Satiyaputra with the Nāyars precisely. My only contention was that the name had its origin in the matriarchal habits of the people, and that need hardly include all the matriarchal folk in one group. Mr. Subramanyam, the author of the note under reference, brushes aside my note as well as Mr. Sankara's with the dictum that "what goes for the early history of India is almost an inextricable tangle of proved facts and wild guesses". He proceeds to his own solution of the question in the last three paragraphs of the note in question. Proceeding to define the limits of Chēra, the country

lying to the north of it and Kongu, he comes to the solemn conclusion: "I identify the *Satyaputra* with the Kōśars of Kongu Nāḍu."

The form of the word as written in this sentence may lend colour to this conclusion, but has no warrant whatsoever in the inscriptional records of Asoka. That was the discussion with which my note started—whether "*Satiya*" can be treated as the equivalent of "*Satya*". I found it impossible to make the conclusion, and hence proceeded to give the explanation that I did in 1919, when I had all the information about the Kōśar that I have put together in the following paragraphs. It may be useful to invite attention to these data.

I am not transliterating the Tamil texts, as the whole of them will appear in the revised edition of my *Ancient India*, which is in preparation. Those who wish to go further into the study of these will have an opportunity to study them there.

KŌŚAR

They are referred to as entering the country of Tuḷu by defeating Nannan and killing his state elephant.¹ Nannan's territory included in it both Tuḷu² and Konkan³ (Konkaṇam). These Kōśar are under reference in Aham 196 as having put out the eyes of the father of a lady, Anni Gūmili, and to have been destroyed at her instance by two chieftains, Kurumbiyan and Tidiyan.⁴ They are found mentioned as Kongu-ḷam-Kōśar in the Śilappadhikāram,⁵ and are associated with the Kongu country (Salem and Coimbatore) districts. One clan of them is associated with Podiyil hill, and the tribe that settled there became known as Nallūr Kōśar.⁶ In the same terms Māmūlanār describes the Kōśar as winning a victory against their enemies at Podiyil hill, and, as Mōhūr declined to submit to them, the Mauryas advanced

¹ Paraṇar in Kurumitogai 73.

² Māmūlanār in Aham 15.

³ Pālai-pāḍiya Perumkaḍuṅgō in Naṟṟinai 391.

⁴ Paraṇar in Aham 196 and 262.

⁵ M. M. Svāminātha Aiyar's edn., p. 3, l. 2.

⁶ Kurumitogai 15. Perumkaḍuṅgō.

south.¹ The other poets, such as Marudan Ḥanākan, Kallāḍanār, Naṟkīrar and Aiyūr Muḍavanār, make mention of these Kōsar also. Of these the first and the fourth associate the Kōsar with Śellūr. It seems to have been a place in the Chōḷa country.² Naṟkīrar's reference is to a Chōḷa having made an effort to conquer their territory. Kallāḍanār's reference is to their having protected on one occasion the chieftain Aḥḍai. They, therefore, seem to have been a well-known tribe of people, foreigners to the Tamil country, who settled in various localities ultimately, and came to be known as Nālūr Kōsar, "settled in four towns," if the particular reading of the first word is correct. Who were these Kōsar, and what was their connexion with the Mauryas? The suggestion was made elsewhere³ that these may be a tribe of people, the same as the Kōśakāras of the Rāmāyaṇa, and it is possible they were the Khaśas, who led the advance part of the army that marched upon Pāṭalīputra in favour of Chandragupta according to the drama Mudrārākṣasa. According to Manu (x, 20 and 22) these were Kṣatriya Vrātyas who, according to Uśanas, were water-carriers and distributors of water at fountains. They were a people who had a great reputation in the south as warriors, and are described invariably as people who kept their word. Kāri-Kaṇṇan of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam refers to the practice of the younger members of this tribe learning the use of weapons by hurling them against a pillar made of the wood of the *murungai*⁴ (*Erythrina Indica*) tree. The four places of their establishment, if the reading Nālūr is not a corruption of Nallūr,⁵ would be the Nallūr near Podiyil hill; Śellūr, probably in the Chōḷa country on the east coast⁶; Pālī, wherefrom they were dislodged by the

¹ Ahām 251.

² Ahām 90 and 220.

³ Beginning of the South Indian History, pp. 94-5.

⁴ Puram 169.

⁵ That the Kōsar were known in four divisions is clearly stated in ll. 508-9 of the Maduraik-Kāñji. The author there institutes a comparison between the appearance of the four groups of councillors at the Pāṇḍyan court (other than the ministers) and the coming of the four sections of the Kōsar of "unfailing word".

⁶ There is a Śellūr between the railway station, Koradācheri, in the Tanjore-Negapatam line, and Koḍaivāsal, a place of some importance now, and of great repute in the age of the Saṅgam. The only objection to the identification is that it is not as near the sea as the text would require. The local Aiyanār- (Śāsta) temple seems identifiable with the "sacrificial abode" of Paraśurāma.

Chōlas, in the Chēra country; and Koṅgu south-east from this territory.

Thus it is clear that the Kōsar, whoever they were, were a class of men who enjoyed a reputation in the Tamil country for determination and truth, for great military prowess, and for being wealthy as a result of trade. They were apparently in occupation of the Tuḷu country, which is referred to almost as their home territory.¹ If the reading *Nallūr* is correct, they had a settlement in the south-west corner of the Madura district. But their most important settlement seems to have been Śellūr, which is referred to clearly as having the sea towards the east of it, and is described as the place which offered worship to all of the gods and where Paraśurāma celebrated the sacrifice which brought to an end his destruction of the Kshatriyas. It was at the end of this sacrifice, according to the Purāṇic story, that he made a gift of the earth he had conquered to the Rishi patriarch Kaśyapa. Śellūr therefore must have been on or near the east coast, and may have memorials of its associations with Paraśurāma. There are a number of places having this association, as, for instance, the town of Kolar, which has a small Paraśurāma temple on the bund of the tank to the east of the town. But this Śellūr seems to refer to the village near Koḍaivēśāl, about 7 miles south-west of Kumbakonam, which was a place of considerable importance and great repute in the age of the Śaṅgam. It is some distance away from the sea, but may barely satisfy the requirements of the text. The local Ayyanār temple has traditions which may associate it with Paraśurāma, as was already stated. There is a Śellūr mentioned in the Kēralōlpatti, the traditional history of Malabar, which is spoken of as Parum-Śellūr, associated undoubtedly with Paraśurāma, but as a place where he performed his penance after the sacrifice and the gift to Kaśyapa. The attribute "parum" before the word would certainly indicate the existence of another Śellūr, from which this had to be distinguished. This is closely associated in Malabar tradition with Gōkarnam, and has to be looked for on that coast. Eḷimalai (Saptaśaila), near Cannanore, has associations with Paraśurāma, being known as Rāmantaḷi (temple of Rama). There perhaps will be found the Parum Śellūr of Malabar tradition.

¹ Aham 15.

The habitual attribute given to these Kōśar in literature, "the Kōśar of unfailing word," has led to the ingenious suggestion that they might be the *Satiyaputra* of the edicts of Asoka. Their association with the Tuḷu country would seem to support the identification. It is doubtful, however, whether the *Satiyaputra* of the edicts can be regarded as equivalent to *Satyaputra* literally translatable into "sons of truth". There is besides the chronological difficulty. They are spoken of in some of the passages quoted above as entering the Tuḷu country recently in the days of the poet Paraṇar and possibly even Māmūlar. It would therefore be too much to infer that in the days of Asoka the Kōśar were a people so closely associated with the Tuḷu country that they gave the name to the region.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR.

May, 1922.

NOTE SUR UNE TAPISSERIE ARABE DU VIII^e SIECLE

Les historiens musulmans, arabes et persans, nous ont conservé dans leurs chroniques une tradition suivant laquelle l'armée de Sa'd, qui s'empara de Ctésiphon, en 637, trouva dans le palais du roi de Perse un tapis de dimensions gigantesques, dont l'histoire semble une légende empruntée aux *Mille et Une Nuits*.¹

Les sujets du monarque sassanide nommaient ce tapis "le Printemps du Chosroès", et les Arabes, qui, à la Mecque et à Médine, n'avaient jamais vu un objet qu'on lui pût comparer, lui donnèrent le nom de *al-Kathif* "le Tapis". Il formait un carré de soixante coudées de côté, ce qui lui donnait la superficie exacte d'un arpent; il figurait un palais à trois dômes, comme Sarvistan et Firouzabad, au milieu d'un parc immense; le fond en était d'or; il était inscruté de cubes de pierre aux couleurs variées; les arbres étaient

¹ E. Blochet, *les Peintures des Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, dans les Publications de la Société Française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, Paris, 1914-20, page 137 et suivante.

représentés par des semis de perles, leurs feuilles tissées de soie aux nuances éclatantes ; des cours d'eau, simulés par des broderies d'or, traversaient la merveille de ce tapis.

Les historiens arabes racontent qu'il servait au roi d'Iran et de Touran à se créer, dans la monotonie et la tristesse de l'hiver, l'illusion du printemps naissant, et cette circonstance lui avait fait donner le nom de " Printemps du Chosroès ", sous lequel les Persans le connaissaient. Quand la mauvaise saison était venue, et forçait la Cour à vivre dans les salles voûtées du Palais Blanc de Ctésiphon, le roi de Perse se donnait la satisfaction enfantine de faire étendre son tapis sur le pavé des galeries, de s'asseoir avec ses familiers dans les bosquets qui y étaient figurés en broderies d'or et de soie, d'y boire le vin vermeil dans des coupes d'or. Immédiatement après la prise de Ctésiphon par l'armée arabe, ce tapis fut envoyé au khalife Omar, à Médine, et mis en pièces.

Le souvenir de la technique de cette texture métallique du " Printemps du Chosroès " s'est conservé jusque dans des tapis persans du xvi^e siècle, où l'on trouve encore, au milieu de la lisse de soie, des rehauts d'or et d'argent, qui scintillent dans les dessins de la trame. Cette manière se rattache à un procédé de fabrication aujourd'hui complètement abandonné, et tombé dans l'oubli, dont on connaît quelques traces, isolées et sporadiques, au xvi^e siècle, et l'on en trouverait des exemples beaucoup plus caractéristiques, si l'on possédait des tapisseries exécutées en Perse, ou dans l'empire du Khalifat, aux époques anciennes.

Le tapis, ou plutôt la tenture décorée qui est reproduite dans la planche jointe à cette notice,¹ appartient entièrement à ce genre de tissage métallique, avec cette différence que les Musulmans du Khalifat ont réduit à deux les couleurs qui enluminaient le tapis du roi de Perse, le blanc et le noir, à trois, si l'on compte de légères touches de rouge, destinées à rehausser la tonalité du dessin.

¹ Cette pièce fait partie de la collection particulière de M. E. Géjou, de Paris.

Il est essentiellement constitué par une broderie d'argent, en gros fils, sur une étoffe noire, elle-même supportée par un fond de toile ; l'étoffe noire est de soie ou de cachemire ; les fils d'argent qui constituent la trame du dessin la traversent à leurs deux extrémités, et sont repliés sous elle comme des petits crochets. L'étoffe noire a presque entièrement disparu, tandis que la broderie d'argent, qui est autrement solide, a bravé les injures du temps, de même que le fond de toile.

Le panneau représente, dans une perspective grossière, la mosquée de la Mecque, sous la forme d'une réfection exécutée en 683 de l'ère chrétienne, sur les ordres d'Ibn al-Zoubair,¹ par des architectes du Bas-Empire, comme le montrent les particularités de la technique.

L'édifice primitif était antérieur à l'Islam ; les détails de l'architecture de la mosquée, telle qu'elle est figurée sur ce panneau, en placent la construction vers le iii^e siècle : il est visible qu'elle fut édifiée par des architectes grecs ; ce furent des Grecs qui, à l'époque d'Ibn al-Mouttalib, reconstruisirent l'édifice, qui avait été en partie détruit par un incendie.² Des restaurations, des réfections successives, dont quelques-unes sous le règne des Turcs Osmanlis, ont modifié le caractère du monument, et lui ont donné l'aspect sous lequel il figure dans les photographies prises à la Mecque par les officiers du Khédive, par le sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar, médecin dans la Ville Sainte, qui ont été rapportées d'Orient par Gervais Courtellemont et Snouck Hurgronje. Ces modifications n'ont porté aucune atteinte au plan primitif de la mosquée, qui se compose essentiellement d'une cour rectangulaire entourée de portiques, au centre de laquelle se dresse l'édicule qui contient la Pierre Noire de la Kaaba, qui était, avant l'Islam, le symbole d'Aphrodite, entouré de monuments divers.

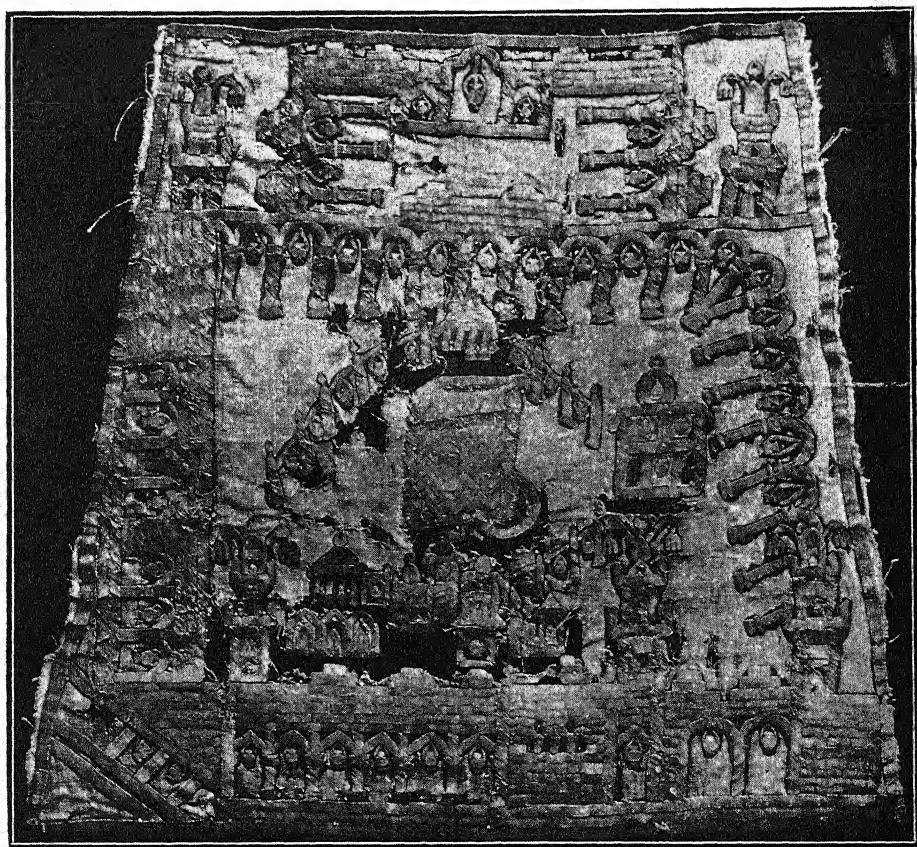
Ce plan ancien, si l'on fait abstraction des remaniements

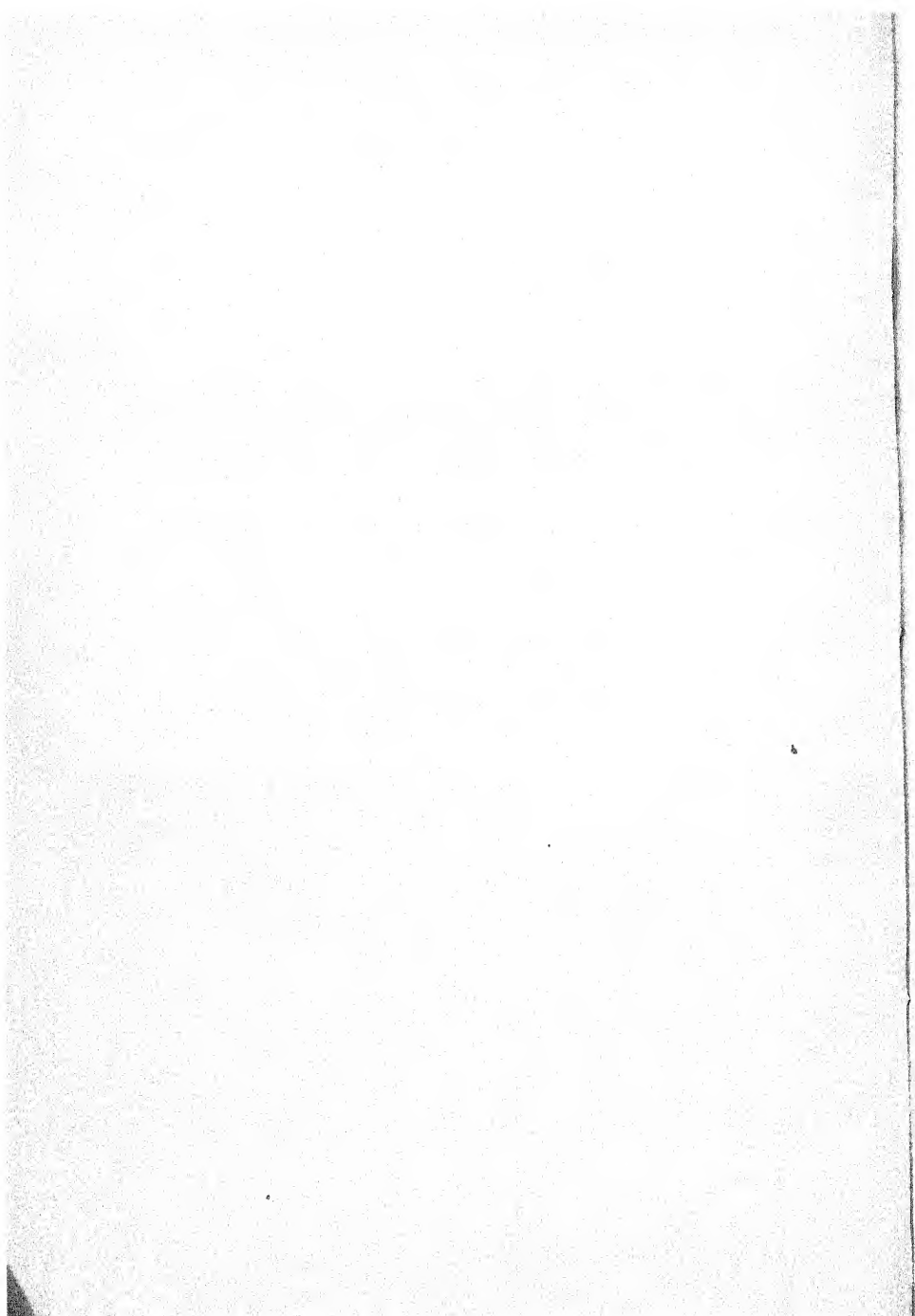
¹ *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, tome iv, p. 565.

² *Ibid.*, p. 555.

exécutés à la mosquée, à l'époque des khalifes abbassides, des Ayyoubites, des sultans mamlouks, des empereurs turcs de Constantinople, se superpose entièrement aux plans dessinés à la main, et enjolivés de couleurs, qui circulent dans tout le monde musulman, et qui ornent les traités persans dans lesquels sont exposées, en vers, les cérémonies du pèlerinage aux Lieux Saints.

Au centre de la composition, l'on voit, sous la forme cubique, l'écrin de la Pierre Noire, dont la partie supérieure est traversée par une bande de tissu rouge, portant l'inscription : "Allah est la plus grande (des divinités) ; il n'existe pas d'autre divinité qu'Allah ; Mohammad est l'Envoyé d'Allah." Sur trois de ses côtés, ou plutôt, sur les trois quarts d'une circonférence, la Pierre Noire est entourée d'une colonnade, entre les piliers de laquelle pendent des lampes, identiques à celles qui sont suspendues aux arcades du portique, que l'on allume la nuit, pour éclairer la mosquée ; devant la châsse de la Kaaba, on voit les édifices qui figurent sur tous les plans musulmans de la Mecque : de droite à gauche, la chaire à prêcher (*minbar*) ; le dôme du Trésor ; la fontaine d'Abbas ; le dôme qui recouvre le puits d'eau sainte de Zamzam. Le dôme de Zamzam est représenté sous les espèces d'une forme classique, qui établit la très grande ancienneté de l'image brodée en rivets d'argent sur la noirceur de son fond, celle de trois arcades en arc brisé, surmontées d'un fronton triangulaire, porté par quatre colonnes, d'un temple dorique ; le Makam-i Safi est figuré à la droite de la Kaaba, avec ses colonnes et ses lampes ; on reconnaît encore très bien le Makam-i Maliki derrière la Kaaba, sous une forme schématique, parce que le dessinateur manquait de place ; le Makam de Hanbal manque complètement, et cette omission est voulue, parce qu'il y avait assez de place entre le portique et la Kaaba pour que l'artiste ait pu reproduire ce monument, s'il avait existé à son époque. Comme Ibn Hanbal est mort en 855, il faut en conclure que le carton de cette tapisserie est antérieur à la moitié





du ix^e siècle, ou qu'il copie un dessin antérieur à cette date. Le style de l'architecture de la mosquée figurée sur ce panneau, la technique de la fabrication, en font le plus ancien spécimen de la tapisserie décorative chez les Musulmans ; sa date se place vers le milieu du viii^e siècle. La tradition veut que cette étoffe richement brodée, dans un style barbare et lourd, qui est bien dans la mentalité fruste des Arabes des anciens âges, fut déposée sur le monument où repose, à Tous, dans le Khorasan, Haroun al-Rashid, le khalife des *Mille et Une Nuits*.

E. BLOCHET.

THE ANTHROPOS ALPHABET

With much of Sir Richard Temple's criticism of the Anthropos Alphabet in the June number of the Journal (p. 415) experts will agree. The use of *z* for *ð* (actually a conventional symbol in more than one language) is misleading as well as clumsy, and has nothing whatever to recommend it ; while the text quoted contains several obvious blunders which are sufficient to show that its author is not a trained phonetician, but has merely made a clumsy adaptation of the system of the International Phonetic Association (which is genuinely scientific, and the work of the greatest living authorities on phonetics) with the substitution of letters with diacritical marks for special characters.

But when Sir Richard lays down "as an Englishman" that the vowel in unstressed *am* is never pronounced like that in unstressed *the*, that in Southern English a "liquid" *r* is always pronounced in *for*, and that "the man in the street" (a street in the south of England presumably) does not make a diphthong of the vowels in *name* and *don't*, it is necessary to repeat once again that the mere fact of being an Englishman does not enable anyone to analyse the sounds of the English language without ear-training, and to point out that Sir Richard is setting the opinion of a layman (or, as he puts

it, "an Englishman") against the unanimous conclusions of those who have made a scientific study of the subject, including the Professor of Phonetics at London University College.

This should be sufficient for most readers of a scientific journal, especially as Sir Richard makes no attempt to support his views by argument except on one point, and as the single argument which he puts forward can easily be shown to be fallacious. He says: "I have never seen an Indian, when transliterating or transcribing English into his own script, ignore the English *r*. . . . This means that the Indian hears it. Therefore it exists." This argument would be valid if Sir Richard's Indians had never seen the English language written in the ordinary Roman alphabet. I think it may safely be assumed, however, that they learnt the language from books. In that case, like everyone else whose ears have not been trained, they would imagine they hear the *r*, and would represent it accordingly in their own script.

Sir Richard ends his note with the question "If this is science, is it not better to be unscientific?" I hope I am wrong, but the words read to me like an indirect attempt to discredit the science of phonetics. If so, the attempt must be judged to have failed. A science is not discredited because an unscientific person has made mistakes, or because one who has not studied it, however distinguished he may be in other directions, disagrees with its conclusions. But Sir Richard Temple's name carries so much weight that I feel compelled, as author of the article in this Journal "On the Use of the Roman Character for Oriental Languages",¹ and as the Council's delegate on the committee called by the Senate of London University to consider the establishment of a Phonetic Institute, to correct the impression made by his note. If he had made it clear that the specimen which he criticized was an ignorant and blundering adaptation of a scientific

¹ This article was accidentally omitted from the catalogue of articles obtainable separately. The Society has a large stock, and copies may be obtained at 1s. 6d. each.

system of representing spoken sounds, my reply would have been less imperatively necessary.

R. GRANT BROWN.

TAMIL *pāmbu*, SANSKRIT *pāpa*-

In a well-known passage in the *Tantra-vārttika*,¹ Kumārila refers to the Dravidian word *pāp* (Tamil *pāmbu*, Kanarese *pāvu*), a snake, saying that when the Aryans borrowed it they confused it with their own word *pāpa*-, sin, "because a snake is a sinful being." So far as I can gather from dictionaries, the word *pāpa*-, in the sense of "a snake", does not occur in literary Sanskrit, but it was so used in popular speech. In the Prakrit form *pāva*- it is given in Hēmacandra's *Dēśināmamālā* vi, 8, with this meaning. *Pāva*-, of course, may have been borrowed directly from Kanarese, or may be a Prakritism of *pāpa*-. But in either case, the original word is the same.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

5th July, 1923.

"MONGOOSE"

The various forms of this word given in "Hobson-Jobson" are "mungoose", "mongoose", "mangus", "mongoos", "monguse". To these Dalgado's "Glossário Luso-Asiática" (ii, 31) adds for Portuguese "manguço", and "mongus". "Hobson-Jobson" says: "The word is Telugu *mangisu* or *munḡisa* [[?] *munḡisa*]," to which may be added the Kanarese *munḡisi*. Dalgado gives in addition the Kōṅkaṇi Marāṭhi *munḡūs* or *mungas*, the former of which is also given by Molesworth for standard Marāṭhi. It will be observed that the Marāṭhi is the only form which agrees with those current among Europeans in having an *u*-sound in the second syllable. This form has descended from Prakrit times. In

¹ See Burnell, *Indian Antiquary*, i (1872), 310, corrected by P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, in xlii (1913), 200 ff.

the *Dēśīnāmamālā* (vi, 118) Hēmacandra gives *maṅgūsa*, *muggusu*, or *muggasa*. The last two are evidently Dēśī variants of *maṅgūsa* (see *JRAS.* 1922, p. 385). The *ū* of the second syllable has not, so far as I am aware, been noted as any Dravidian form, and Hēmacandra's *maṅgūsa* shows that its existence is probably due to metathesis. Moreover, Dravidian *i* does elsewhere change to Dēśī *u*. Thus, Tamil *maśir*, hair, Dēśī *māsurī* (*DNM.* vi, 130), a beard; Telugu *vadine*, Sanskrit **vadhunī*, Dēśī *vahunī* (*DNM.* vii, 41), an elder brother's wife (here the borrowing occurred in the Sanskrit period). For a reverse instance, cf. Tamil *uḷundu*, Dēśī *uḷidō* (*DNM.* i, 98), a certain grain.

For the whole question of Dēśī (and Sanskrit) borrowing from Dravidian, see (in addition to Kittel's Kanarese Dictionary) K. Amrita Row in *Indian Antiquary*, xli (1917), pp. 33 ff., by which the above examples have been suggested.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

5th July, 1923.

THE CONSTELLATION BETELGEUSE

The emperor Bābur, near the beginning of his Memoirs, says "On the skirt of the Barākoh (in Aush, Farghana) is a mosque called the Jawzā Masjid (twin Mosque)". I beg leave to suggest that the real meaning of the words is "the house of Orion". Jawzā is a name of Orion. It may also be a name for the constellation of Castor and Pollux.

I am not aware that Muhammadans ever built twin-mosques. I should have thought the idea would have been contrary to their Monotheistic notions.

H. BEVERIDGE,

B.C.S., retired.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

A CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM :
CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK COINS OF ARABIA,
MESOPOTAMIA, AND PERSIA. By GEORGE FRANCIS
HILL, F.B.A., Keeper of Coins and Medals. 9 x 6,
ccxix + 366 pp., 55 plates, map. London : Longmans,
1922.

This is the latest volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins begun in 1873. As the sub-title states, it covers Nabatæa, Provincia Arabia, Arabia Felix, Mesopotamia, Persia, etc. The word "Greek" is thus used in a wider sense than in the earlier volumes of the series. As Dr. Hill says in the preface, many of these coins "have very little that is Greek about them except the inspiration of their origin". The present volume consists of ccxix pages of introduction, giving an exhaustive and closely reasoned discussion of the readings of the coins and the deductions to be drawn from them, followed by the catalogue itself, which runs to 314 pages. There are nine indexes, a map, and fifty-five very magnificent plates. It would, no doubt, have appeared earlier but for the war, at the outbreak of which the first portion only (the Nabatean) was finished. Hence, full use could not be made of Continental collections in the remaining sections. In all eight years have gone to the making of this volume, and the learned author has by his labour placed all who are interested in the history of the East under a debt of gratitude to him.

In spite, however, of the minute fulness with which the evidence here brought together is discussed, many of the unsolved problems of the coins remain unsolved still. Indeed, some of the results of earlier investigators have to be cancelled. On the other hand, there are some positive gains to be noted. Dr. Hill seems to have put it beyond a doubt that the Nabatean

King Malichus I reigned for twenty-eight or thirty years instead of only about twenty, as usually supposed, that is to say, from about 60 to 30 B.C. (p. xiv). On the Sabæan and Himyaritic coins, on the other hand, the "Aramaic inscription" and the curious caterpillar-like symbol are still unread, though the latter has been traced to its source by the late Professor L. W. King; and the discrepancy between the kings of the coins and those of the monuments is not bridged. The results, so far as these coins are concerned, are given on page lxxxiv. The coins of Edessa, again, supply a valuable, if necessarily provisional genealogy of its kings (p. ciii), and on p. cx the correct explanation of the reading "III P" on some of the coins of Rhæsena is given. An interesting confirmation of a conjecture of Dr. Hill's will be found on p. cxiii (note 2). The classification of the Achæmenid coinage, it is admitted, has made no advance (p. cxxv), and the most that can be achieved is to arrange it in certain groups (pp. cxxxiii ff.). The Aramaic legends, such as those of the coinage of Persia, appear to be as unsatisfactory as any, and the suggestion is quoted that they were the work of Greek artists who did not understand that language. The table of the alphabet on p. clxii f. shows how formidable a task the decipherment must be. Even the material of the coins declines. Perhaps the lowest depths are reached in those of Characene, which are the last treated of in this volume.

Dr. Hill steers a middle course between too hasty identifications on the one hand and undue caution on the other. Debatable points are dealt with in a thoroughly judicial way, and the last drop of evidence appears to be wrung out of the available material. With the reservation cited above from the preface, this fine work seems to contain all that there is to be said with regard to the matters with which it deals.

T. H. WEIR.

MEGASTHENES UND KAUTILYA. By Dr. O. STEIN. 10 × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$,
iv + 336 pp. Wien : Hölder, 1922.

Dr. Otto Stein has undertaken a most thorough, minute, and painstaking comparison between the Kautiliya Arthaśāstra and Megasthenes' description of India, as handed down by different Greek and Latin authors. The conclusion at which he arrives is that there is no such agreement between the two sources as some authorities have maintained ; that it is improbable that they could have been contemporary ; and that it is doubtful whether Candragupta's minister, Kautilya, was really the author of the arthaśāstra which bears his name.

That it is doubtful whether the Arthaśāstra, as we have it, is the word of Candragupta's minister, no one will dispute, but Dr. Stein takes exception to the views expressed by Vincent Smith, that it is an authentic composition of the Maurya age, and may be accepted as depicting political and social conditions about the year 325 B.C. In making his comparison, Dr. Stein has, perhaps, not taken sufficiently into account the essential difference of character between the compositions with which he is dealing. It is surely reasonable to suppose, for instance, that Megasthenes' acquaintance with the caste system was superficial, or that his account of it has been condensed and distorted. And might not the development of Magadha in the course of a quarter of a century account for work, which in the primitive state was done by a single official, being entrusted to a board ? Where he regards it as improbable that elephants can have been used without bridles, Dr. Stein is certainly hypercritical. Nevertheless, as a monument of patient erudition, his work commands respect, and must prove most valuable to the student of ancient India and of the Maurya period in particular.

F. J. MONAHAN.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIRST ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, POONA, Vol. I, 1919. 10×6½, clxxx+109 pp., 5 plates. Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1920.

JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, Vols. I, II, III, 1920. 10×6½, pp. 417, 443, 418.

A congress representative of Orientalists in India and Ceylon was held at Poona in November, 1919, under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Institute, and a volume containing brief synopses of the papers read has now been published. They cover all branches of research in Indian history, literature, religion, and folk-lore. We are glad to see the attention paid to the Prakrits and to South Indian languages and to history and archaeology. A number of the papers seem to deserve publication in a fuller form ; others do not.

The *Journal of the Department of Letters* contains a number of articles on Indian and allied subjects by members of the University of Calcutta, and is a welcome addition to the periodicals dealing with that field. Among the more valuable papers are Dr. Barua's important essay on the Ājīvikas, and Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda's admirable lecture on " Mediaeval Sculpture in Eastern India ", showing a scholarship and judgment which a recent discussion has shown us is rare in India. Dr. R. C. Majumdar again takes up the question of the Kushān chronology in a thoughtful paper, of which only the first part appears here. Mr. Pramanath Banerjee breaks new ground in an article on " International Law in Ancient India ". Modern subjects are not neglected, as may be seen from Mr. Niyogi's article on " Customs Duties in Bengal under Early British Rule ", and Mr. B. R. Rau on the native banking system of India. Mr. Panchanan Mitra's essay on the pre-historic arts and crafts of India will, we hope, be followed by many others. We cannot say the same of Mr. H. B. Hannah's speculations on Romic Chronology, the Arctic home of the

Aryans, the "advent of the Rhodo-Leukochroi into the Blondless East" and kindred subjects.

J. ALLAN.

DIE ABENTEUER DES KNABEN KRISCHNA. SCHAUSPIEL VON BHĀSA. Übersetzt VON HERMANN WELLER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 99. Leipzig, 1922.

Among the thirteen plays ascribed by their editor to Bhāsa, the Bālacarita holds a somewhat exceptional place on account of its treatment of the Kṛṣṇa legend, which it handles in a striking and quite sensational manner. The present translation is, therefore, to be welcomed. It is quite a meritorious piece of work. Its only radical fault is that it gives the whole play in German verse instead of rendering verse by verse and prose by prose; thus it wholly loses the lively variety of the original, and produces an effect of long-drawn monotony. The "Einleitung" shows a considerable knowledge of the literature that has arisen around the plays of "Bhāsa", but not a very strong grasp of the facts of the case. Herr Weller tells us that it was "entscheidend" for the authorship of Bhāsa that one of the plays in the collection was a Svapna-vāsavadatta, because Bhāsa is known to have written a drama of that name. This is indeed giving away the case: how many other plays may have been thus yclept? Then he proceeds to admit that this fact does not prove Bhāsa to have written all the other twelve plays, and confesses that the authorship of the Pratimā is open to "berechtigte Zweifel"; but he goes on to assert that in the present state of our knowledge it is permissible to assign *all* the plays to Bhāsa, including the Bālacarita, because the Bālacarita ends with the same verse as the Svapna. Such logic stands self-condemned.

L. D. BARNETT.

LA GLYPTIQUE SYRO-HITTITE. By G. CONTENAU. 48 plates, 40 fr. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1922.

ELÉMENTS DE BIBLIOGRAPHIE HITTITE. By G. CONTENAU. 20 fr. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1922.

Dr. Contenau's *Glyptique* deals with the seals and cylinders which have been bequeathed to us in large numbers by the ancient Syro-Hittite domain, and to which Ménant first drew attention many years ago. Its subject matter, therefore, is similar to that of Dr. Hogarth's *Hittite Seals*, but whereas Dr. Hogarth concerned himself with a single department only of the subject, Dr. Contenau's work embraces the whole range of it. It is treated with his usual thoroughness and learning, and will be for a long while the standard authority on the matter. The text is accompanied by a wealth of illustrations; the designs, in fact, of between three and four hundred seals are reproduced.

We begin with the seals impressed upon the Cappadocian tablets of Kara Eyuk, 2400 B.C., a branch of Assyriology which Dr. Contenau has made peculiarly his own, and the origins, history, and development of the seals of Asia Minor and Syria are then traced downward to the age of their decadence and disappearance. Dr. Contenau finds in them three main lines of descent. In the Cappadocian seals we have a combination of influence derived partly from the archaic glyptic of Mesopotamia, partly from the contemporaneous art of Babylonia, as evidenced in the seal-cylinders of Ur. They followed immediately the large cylinders covered with animal forms, which had their source in the art of primitive Elam and Sumer. About 1500 B.C. new influences supervened. In Asia Minor conical seals had long been in use, while in Syria the so-called gable-form had been specially patronized. The new forms now came to be spread throughout the whole Syro-Asiatic area, and at the same time the Egyptian scarab was introduced through Hyksos influence. This is also the period of the "hammer-seal" in eastern Asia Minor. With the twelfth

century B.C. fresh types make their appearance. Towards the east we find the "Kerkuk" type and reminiscences of Assyria; westward we have the seals with Hittite hieroglyphs, ornamented with similar hieroglyphs or with imitations of the cuneiform script.

Extensive as is the area covered by Dr. Contenau's book, nothing seems to have escaped his notice. Elam, Cyprus, Egypt, and the Ægean, all alike are included in his survey. The characteristics of the various classes of seals and the subjects engraved upon them are carefully examined, and the work is furnished with a good index and preceded by an exhaustive bibliography.

Equally exhaustive and brought up to date is Dr. Contenau's other work, which will, I think, be found indispensable by the "Hittitologist". The bibliography itself is preceded by a most excellent and useful history of Hittite research, at once brief, lucid, and complete. I have failed to discover any item, however obscure, which has been omitted by the author.

A. H. SAYCE.

DER DIWAN DES KAIS IBN AL-HATĪM. Herausgegeben von
Dr. THADDAUS KOWALSKI. Leipzig, 1914.

This excellent edition appeared just at the beginning of the war, and is probably not as well known as it should be. Qais ibn al-Khatīm lived shortly before the arrival of Muḥammad in al-Medina, and in his poems are reflected more than in any other verses of the period the sanguinary quarrels between the rival tribes of al-Aus, to which Qais belonged, and al-Khazraj, the tribe of Ḥassān ibn Thābit. In his introduction to the Diwān, Professor Kowalski narrates most lucidly the history of these troubled times, which have additional value as from them we can form an idea of the conditions in Medina at the time of the arrival of the Prophet. The text of the poems, though three MSS. are used, goes

back to one copy preserved at Constantinople (Top Kapu Serai), which, except for some missing leaves, presented a good text, and the edition is practically free from misprints or errors. I have noticed only one, in Poem 20, verse 3, where we should read **أَبْدُ الْقَطَا** "wild sand-grouse".

SHAMS AD-DĪN MUḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AD-DĀHABĪ, KITĀB DUWAL AL-ISLĀM. 2 vols., large 8vo. 213+90, 195+68 pp. Haiderābād, A.H. 1337.

The author, who died in the year A.H. 748, is known as the writer of a large history, in which he gives obituary notices of eminent persons, divided into decades, and of which portions are preserved in the British Museum and other libraries. This work, on account of its great bulk, was unsuitable for quick reference, and the author extracted this abbreviation, which gives short notices of learned and pious men in chronological order and will serve as an easy book of reference and also as a kind of index to his larger work. The editors have printed at the end an index which unfortunately repeats only the headings, and it would have been of greater utility if the index could have been in alphabetical order. The cheapness of the edition should make the book a handbook for all students of Muhammadan history.

LES HISTORIENS DES CHORFA. By E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL. Paris : Emile Larose, 1922.

LES MANUSCRITS ARABES DE RABAT. By E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL. viii, 306+74 pp. Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1921.

Morocco maintained up to the beginning of the Great War a certain amount of independence, and at the present time is nominally under the protection of France, which will probably in the end result in formal annexation. The country thus

preserved through many centuries a condition for independent development, which in the case of Morocco rather means a continuance of a mediaeval state and of traditions dating from the times of the conquest of the furthest West by the Arabs. The country was so far distant from the other centres of Muhammedan civilization that we find only rarely any satisfactory reference to its history in the chronicles written by Eastern authors. The publication of the *Rauḍ al-Qirtās* by Thornberg in 1843-6 and the large work of Ibn Khaldūn in Bulaq made it possible to read the history of the country up to the end of the Middle Ages. It was an event when in A.H. 1312 (1894) a history of Morocco, entitled *Kitāb al-Istiṣā li-Akhhbār al-Maghrig al-Aḡṣā*, was published in Cairo. Those scholars not acquainted with the works lithographed in Fez recognized that there existed in Morocco a large number of historical works which would throw light on the inner history of the country. Previously Houdas had published the Chronicles of ez-Ziyāni and al-Ifrani with French translations, which had considerably increased our scope of knowledge.

However, there remained a vast amount of works on the history of the country, but especially works of biography which to some extent were accessible in lithographs executed in Fez.

Professor Levi-Provençal in the work under notice has in a most exhaustive manner put all the works under review which deal with the history of the country since the fall of the Merinide dynasty. There is no work, whether in print or accessible to him in manuscript, which he has not analysed in a most lucid and exhaustive manner. He not only gives us the contents of the work of each author, but also gives his estimate of the historical value. As he states in his introduction, the study of history is not held in high esteem in Morocco, and the greatest quantity of the works under consideration consists of biographies of the saints of the land, but as these have played such an important part in the politics of the country very much can be gleaned from these works.

For it must not be forgotten that both the Sa'dian and 'Alawi dynasties owed their rise to the support of the religious fraternities, and that the whole life of the people is bound up with these peculiar organizations. The author has also taken the trouble to analyse the authorities from which they took their information, and his book is, on account of its continual references, a literary history of the Maghrib of the first order for the last three centuries up to the present time. I believe I am not far wrong in pronouncing the book one of the most indispensable works in Morocco which ought to be in every important library.

The catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the newly established library of the Institute at Rabat reveals that there have survived in Morocco several works of great importance, among which I will only mention a medical work by Yuhannā ibn Bakhtishu' and the Jamharat an-Nasab of Ibn Ḥazm. We must be grateful to Professor Levi-Provençal for making known to us the existence of these valuable works, especially as I understand that the Institute intends to be liberal in making the use of its treasures possible to foreign scholars also.

F. KRENKOW.

JAPHETITISCHE STUDIEN ZUR SPRACHE UND KULTUR
EURASIENS HERAUSGEGEBEN VON F. BRAUN UND N. MARR.
I: DIE URBEVÖLKERUNG EUROPAS UND DIE HERKUNFT
DER GERMANEN VON FRIEDRICH BRAUN. 91 pp., 8vo.
Berlin, Stuttgart, Leipzig. Verlag von W. Kohlhammer,
1922.

This is an amended text of the lecture referred to on p. 111 of *JRAS.* for January, 1922. The author is the well-known Professor *emeritus* of Germanic philology at the University of Petrograd, who is now temporarily resident in Leipzig.

The series, of which this is the first number, will include the following works in German: By Professor Marr: (1) *Japhetic*

Caucasia (the Russian edition of which has already been noticed in *JRAS.* of January, 1922), (2) *Comparative Grammar of Japhetic Languages*, (3) *Grammar of Ancient Literary Armenian*, (4) *Grammatical Tables for the Study of Georgian*, (5) *Lazian (Dehan) Grammar* (with texts and vocabulary by Qip'hshidze), (6) *Basque Grammar on Historical Lines*, (7) *Etruscan Studies*, (8) *Grammatical and Etymological Miscellanies*. By Professor Braun: (1) *Primitive European Names of Mountains and Rivers*, (2) *Germanic Names of Peoples*, (3) *Etymological Excursions*. By Professor Braun and Professor Marr in collaboration: *Metals and their Names in Europe and Western Asia*. By J. Qip'hshidze: *Grammar of Mingrelian (Iberian)* (with texts and vocabulary). Some of these have already appeared in Russian. The cost of producing the whole series in German has been guaranteed by an anonymous donor.

The Petrograd Academy of Sciences is still in being, and (according to a letter, dated Petrograd, May, 1922, from Professor S. Oldenburg, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy) it has established a Japhetidological Institute for the study of such problems as those dealt with in the book now published by Professor Braun and dedicated to the memory of his teacher, K. Brugmann.

Briefly stated, the question is that of the substratum of the languages called "Germanic". Neglecting for the present archæological, ethnographical, and other considerations, students are invited to compare such remnants as still exist of the various languages spoken in Europe and Nearer Asia before Greek, Latin, German, Keltic, etc., and to observe the remarkable affinity between certain of those still surviving, such as the Iberian of Transcaucasia and the Iberian of the Pyrenees, with others which are dead, e.g. Etruscan, and with the most ancient strata of the "Germanic" tongues. "A good part of the Basque vocabulary is already now easily intelligible to anyone who knows the languages of the peoples of the Caucasus and has had an adequate training in the

history of language" (p. 46). We find to this day in the Caucasus "Abaski" (Ap'hkhazians, Abasgi) whose name is etymologically that of the Euskara (**ebskara*) of Spain and France. The evidence already points to the existence of a primitive Eurasian stock, which for convenience Professor Marr calls "Japhetic", and Professor Braun considers the "Germans" as "somatically" the posterity of "Vorgermanen", with whom there is mingled a comparatively small percentage of pure "Indogermanic" blood (*Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos—Tacitus*).

So far as English is concerned, Professor Sayce (*Times*, 20th June, 1922, p. 16), referring to an article on "the Iberians" (*Times*, 15th June), writes: "Some years ago I drew attention to the fact that there are certain common words in English which have no etymology, like *dog* or *pig*, to which perhaps a strictly scientific etymologist would be inclined to add *boy* and *girl*." Feist and Liebich have estimated the words which are "isolated" in the "Germanic" languages (i.e. for which we find nothing corresponding or connected in the other "Indogermanic" tongues) as one-third, or 30 per cent, of the total vocabulary, and it is here that the "Japhetic" theory has a field for inquiry. When, in 1910, a fund was established in Oxford to encourage the study of the Georgian group of languages and a library on the subject was deposited at the Bodleian there were none who imagined that this foundation might have any value for English linguistics. The fact that, of the "Japhetic" group Georgian is the one language which has to our own day preserved a literary tradition unbroken for some 2,000 years is of the highest importance.

In reading Georgian the following curious parallels, among others, with European languages have been noticed and written down haphazard as they occurred; they are given here for what they may be worth, and without any claim that they are necessarily more than accidental coincidences:—

აკაცი (acaci) = acacia; აქ, აქა, იქ (ak, aka, ik) =
 Span. aquí, acá; ბავშვი (bavshvi) = child, cf. Eng. boy,
 Swed. pojke (= boy), Norw. pike = girl; ბაღობა (balba)
 = mallow, L. malva; ბაყაყი (baquqi) = Gr. βατραχος;
 ბუ, ბუვი (bu, buvi) = L. bubo, Fr. hibou, owl;
 ბუჩქი (buchki) = Eng. bush; ბირვი (birci) = Eng.
 burr, bur-dock; -გან (-gan) = Welsh gan = by;
 გალობა (gal-oba) = O. Eng. gal-an in nightingale, G.
 Nachtigall, Norw. gale (= to crow); გლუ, გლუვი
 (glu, gluvi) = G. glatt, R. гладкий = Eng. smooth;
 გუგული (guguli) = cuckoo, L. cuculus; ღაფნა (daphna)
 = laurel, Gr. δάφνη; ეს, ის (es, is) = L. is, iste, Sp. ese;
 ვარდი (vardi) = Gr. ῥόδον, ῥοδέα; თბილი (t'hbili) =
 R. теплый, L. tep-idus; იადონი (iadoni) = Gr. ἀιδών;
 იელატი (ielati) = Gr. ἐλάτη, R. ель; კატა (cata) = cat;
 კატუნი (catuni) = wildcat; კონიო (conio) = L.
 conium, Gr. κώνειον (hemlock); თევზი (t'hevzi) = Gr.
 ἰχθύς; კვეთა (cuet'ha) = to cut; კლუა (clva, clua) = to
 kill; კოცნა (cotzna) = to kiss, G. küssen; ლაპარაკი
 (laparaci) = Fr. parler, parole, etc.; ლოკა (loca) = to
 lick, cf. Lat.; ლომი (lomi) = lion, Gr. λέων, L. leonem;
 ლუღი (luli) = drowsiness, slumber, cf. lull, lullaby;
 ლეში (leshi) = corpse, cf. lyke, G. Leiche; მანდილი
 (mandili) = Sp. mantilla; მახე (makhe) = net, O. Eng.

max, cf. *mesh*; ნაზი (*nazi*) = nice, R. *нѣжный*; ნავი (*navi*) = L. *navis*; ოლოლი (*ololi*), ალალი (*alali*) = owl, L. *ulula*; ოქრო (*okro*) = L. *aurum*, Gr. *χρυσός*; პეპელა (*pepela*) = L. *papilio*; პირველი (*pirveli*) = R. *первый*; პალი (*palo*) = L. *palus* (Eng. *pole*, *pile*); რიგი (*righi*) = row, *rig* (Lowl. Sc. *rig*, corn-*rig*); რქა (*rka*) = L. *cornu*, R. *pora* = horn; საუკუნე (*saucune*) = L. *saeculum*; სერი (*seri*) = hill, cf. Sp. *sierra*; სვა, pl. სკები (*sca*, *scebi*) = beehive, Lowl. Sc. *skep*, Gael. *sgeip*; სული (*suli*) = soul, G. *Seele*; სპოვება (*spolva*) = to spoil; სარკე (*sarce*) = R. *зеркало*; ტეტკიში (*tetiksi*) = Gr. *τετραών*, L. *tetrao*, R. *тетеревъ* = heathcock, moorfowl; ტირილი (*tirili*) = tear (of the eye); ტკიპი (*tcipi*) = tick (insect); უარ, უარესი (*uar*, *uaresi*) = worse; უბნობა (*ubnoba*) = to hobnob; ქალი (*kali*) = girl (vulg. *gal*), Ir. *colleen*, Gael. *cailleach*; ქმარი (*kmari*) = Fr. *mari*, etc.; ქარქაში (*karkashi*) = Fr. *carquois*; ქერქი (*kerki*) = cork; ღუთისა, ღუთისა (*ghut'hisa*) = of God; ღვინო (*ghvino*) = wine, L. *vinum*, Gr. *οἶνος*, Welsh *gwin*; ღვიძილი (*ghvidzili-dzili* = sleep) = vigil; შლა (*shla*) = destroy, cf. *slay*, G. *Schlagen*; შლამი (*shlami*) = slime, G. *Schlamm*; ძაღლი (*dzaghli*) = dog; ძვირი (*dzviri*) = dear, G. *theuer*; ყვარება (*qvareba*) = Sp. *querer* = to

love; ყვითელი (qvit'heli) = yellow, cf. quince, G. Qvitte; ყელი (qeli) = L. collum, G. Kehle, Hals; ჰუნი (huni) = R. KOHL, G. Hengst (for Hengst cf. also ცხენი, tzhcheni); ჭაგი (djagi) = thornbush, cf. Lowl. Sc. jag = to prick.

The following Svanetian words may also be of interest in a similar way: *kitav* = kitten, cf. R. КОТЪ; *mare* = man (*homo*), cf. L. *mas*, *maris*; *mer* = bee, cf. L. *mel*, Gr. μέλισσα.

O. WARDROP.

ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY. By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L. Premchand Roychand Scholar. 9 x 6, xx + 228 pp. Calcutta University. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

INDIAN IMAGES. PART I: THE BRAHMANIC ICONOGRAPHY. By BRINDAVAN C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A. 10 x 6, xxxvii + 79 pp. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1921.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By Sir COURTENAY ILBERT, G.C.B., K.C.S.I. 9 x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$, viii + 144 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

ISLAM IN INDIA, OR THE QĀNŪN-I-ISLĀM. By JA'FAR SHARĪF. Composed under the direction of and translated by G. A. Herklots, M.D. New edition, revised and rearranged with additions by William Crooke, C.I.E. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5, xl + 374 pp., 27 plates. Oxford: University Press, 1921.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION. PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS. Vol. III: Third Meeting held at Bombay, January, 1921. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7, 65 pp. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1921.

A HANDBOOK OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT RECORDS. By A. F. KINDERSLEY. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6, vi + 100 pp. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1921.

In his brief "Foreword" to Mr. Narendra Nath Law's scholarly book, Professor Barriedale Keith has said all that

there is to be said about its merits and defects. India, as he points out, offers nothing that can be regarded as a serious theory of politics in the wider sense of the term. But there was intensive study of the practical aspect of government and of relations between states, and these topics were subjected to a minute analysis by writers on politics who carried out their work with a love of subdivision and detail which, we would add, deserves admiration rather than imitation. Mr. Narendra Nath Law has, however, that passion for detail in almost equal degree, and it renders much of his work pedantic in the extreme. But the reader who perseveres with it will agree with Professor Keith that, though the author's "conclusions may not always meet with our acceptance, the clearness with which he has set out his views, the care with which he has selected the relevant evidence, and the moderation of his criticism, render his work a contribution of substantial importance and lasting value".

Mr. Bhattacharya's book, like Mr. Law's, shows that Indian savants have yet to learn to pay as much attention to the manner as to the matter of their work. The author says that in this careful study of Indian images he has attempted to cater both for the layman and the scholar, but the book is so highly technical that its appeal to the former will, we imagine, be very restricted. No valid reason is given for confining the survey to the images of Northern India. The thirty excellent plates attached doubtless account for the high price charged for a book of some 120 pages.

All who are interested in the recent constitutional changes in India—and who is not?—will be glad to have the handy reprint of the valuable Historical Introduction which formed the first chapter of the third edition of Sir Courtenay Ilbert's book on *The Government of India*, published in 1915. This, which is by far the best summary which has yet appeared of Parliamentary legislation relating to India since Elizabeth's Charter of 1600, has been revised and brought up to date, and now carries the history down to the messages and speeches of

9th February, 1921, when the new Indian Legislature was formally inaugurated at Delhi.

The next book on our list is a composite production. Ja'far Sharīf was a Munshi employed in teaching Arabic, Persian, and Urdu to officers in the service of the Madras Government in the early decades of the last century. Encouraged by Dr. Herklots, a surgeon on the Madras Establishment, of Dutch extraction, he compiled in Hindustani an account of Musalmān beliefs and practices. This was translated by Dr. Herklots, who added to it a long appendix containing articles on such matters as relationships, weights and measures, dress, jewellery, cooking, and the like. Compiled by a Musalman of southern India, it was devoted mainly to the beliefs and customs of that part of the country, though Dr. Herklots attempted, not very successfully, by additions drawn from other sources to make it a comprehensive survey of the Musalmāns throughout India. Dr. Crooke has now rearranged and partially rewritten it. No one is more competent than he to supply Dr. Herklots' deficiencies, but we cannot pretend to like the result. If the book was worth republishing at all, which we doubt, especially in view of the many gaps which still remain in the Oxford series of reprints of the Anglo-Indian classics, it was worth republishing in its original form, supplemented, we need hardly add, by the copious notes and appendices which Dr. Crooke is so well able to supply embodying the information which has become available since it first appeared. As it is, it is impossible to tell where Ja'far Sharīf and Herklots end and Dr. Crooke begins, and this is not fair to any of the three or to the reader. An original work by Dr. Crooke on the Musalmāns of India would have been infinitely more valuable than this furbishing up of a book which appeared nearly a century ago.

Our last two books are evidence of the increasing interest which is being taken in the wealth of historical material which is scattered in manuscript up and down India. The papers read at the third meeting of the Indian Historical

Records Commission show the extent of the finds which are still possible. Thus, Professor Jadunath Sarkar has discovered in Patna a Persian manuscript giving a chronicle of events at Delhi during the anarchy of 1749-88 written by an eye-witness of the scenes related. Professor Rushbrook Williams has found an entirely new contemporary account of Sher Shah, and Moulavi Zafar Hasan a letter of condolence on the death of Shahjahan from Aurangzeb to Jahanara Begam, and her reply. Aurangzeb's letter is so little in keeping with the generally accepted view of his character that it is not surprising that Professor Sarkar preferred to reserve his opinion regarding the authenticity of the letters until he could examine the manuscript. Mr. Kindersley's little book is merely intended to give the student and the official an inkling of what they may expect to find in the Bombay Government Records. The contents of the Bombay Records Office have already been well worked over, but the Peshwas's Daftar at Poona still offers a rich harvest to the research worker.

F. NOYCE.

Recent Arabic Literature

LA PARURE DES CAVALIERS ET L'INSIGNE DES PREUX. By 'ALI B. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. HUDHAIL AL-ANDALUSI. Edited by LOUIS MERCIER. Paris: Geuthner, 1922.

This is a facsimile of a copy in the Maghribi character made by the editor from a MS. lent him by M. Nehlil, director of the École Supérieure de Langues, etc., Arabes et Berbères, of Rabat, and collated by him with an Escorial MS. In a very brief Arabic Preface he states that the material of the book is taken from an earlier one by the same author, called *Nuj'at al-Anfus*. This author was a Spanish Moslem of the fourteenth century, whose works are not mentioned in the ordinary bibliographies; the treatise which M. Mercier has edited deals with horses and weapons, both of them favourite topics with Arabic writers. A special chapter is devoted to quotations from poets on the former theme, but the writer is

not sparing with verses elsewhere. The editor's work appears to have been done with care, though European scholars are likely to find the script employed wearisome. It is probable that most of the author's matter is to be found in other works, such as the *Mukhassas* of another Spanish scholar.

ARABIC AND LATIN ANATOMICAL TERMINOLOGY, CHIEFLY FROM THE MIDDLE AGES. By A. FONAHN. Kristiania, 1922.

This is a collection of terms occurring in mediaeval Latin texts, dealing with anatomy, to which are added a number of Arabic technicalities belonging to analogous literature. The latter are given in transliteration followed by the Arabic script, and some of the mutilated forms of Arabic words which are found in mediaeval Latin are referred to their origins. A great many of the Arabic words noticed are familiar and to be found in the ordinary dictionaries, as well as in medical glossaries such as that of Dr. Ibrahim Mansoor (Cairo, 1891).

Since the number of glosses is 3,718, it is evident that Mr. Fonahn's work is the result of very extensive research. Even so, it does not appear to exhaust the astoundingly wealthy anatomical vocabulary of the Arabs, which has separate names for the spaces between the different fingers.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

BISṬĀM IBN QAIS. By Dr. E. BRÄUNLICH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 84 pp. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1923.

A detailed account of the well-known Sheikh of the Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il, one of the last heroes of the *Jāhiliyya*, his life-history, his "*'aiyām*", his family and the scenes of his exploits. The author has succeeded in making quite a substantial monograph out of the extremely scattered and fragmentary authorities dealing with his subject and his work is carefully documented throughout, and gives a good idea of the amount of historical information which is available regarding the events in Arabia in the half century immediately preceding the Hijrah.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

BOOK OF DUARTE BARBOSA : AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTIES BORDERING ON THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THEIR INHABITANTS. COMPLETED ABOUT THE YEAR A.D. 1518. Translated from the Portuguese text, first published in A.D. 1812, by MANSEL LONGWORTH DAMES. Vol. II. Including the coasts of Malabar, Eastern India, Further India, China, and the Indian Archipelago. London : Hakluyt Society, 1921.

SECOND NOTICE

CUSTOMS AND FOLKLORE

Barbosa is, of course, acute in his observations as to customs and is not often in serious error, but in describing the marks on the foreheads of some Hindus as being made to denote "caste" he falls into a mistake, which Mr. Dames corrects. It cannot be too clearly understood that they mark "sect" not "caste", and it is interesting to note that this error, commonly made by Europeans to this day, dates as far back as Barbosa.

I would like here to express a high appreciation of the quality of the annotations of Messrs. Dames and Thomas on the account of the Zamorins, and also of the Nāyars to which class they belong, and of their history, manners, customs, and rites, especially as regards the matriarchate and consequent heredity in the female line. They go a long way towards finally accurate knowledge on perhaps one of the most interesting old-fashioned dynasties of modern times. It is as well to note here that Barbosa's account of them is still, after 400 years, the best foreign first-hand description yet given.

The well-known South Indian matriarchal rule of succession passing to the sister's son is, in the case of the successor of a Zamorin, an instance of a social custom defeating any practically useful end. The succession goes to the eldest male heir alive in the direct female line, whoever his mother may have been. The result is that each Zamorin succeeds

at a time when he is "too old to administer his estate or property well; he holds the title a year or so, and is then succeeded by another old man". Another instance of a social custom defeating any practical end is to be found amongst the Karens of Burma. Among Sgaw and Pwo Karens, in times of general danger, the girls of allied villages are given in exchange as brides, to become hostages for the good faith of the villages towards each other. This explains a curious set of customs. Sawntungs may only marry among cousins residing in specified villages, and then not without the consent of the elders. The area of choice is so small that many aged bachelors and spinsters exist, and it results in great irregularity of age in the married couples, both ways—in men in regard to wives and in wives in regard to men. This is carried to an extreme extent by the Banyoks of Banyin in Loi Seng, where the field of choice is among six families at the choice of the chief official of the district (*taungsā*). Five and twenty years ago it had nearly wiped out the tribe.

The ways of the Zamorins are always interesting, and the installation oath on the lamp and gold ring to protect by the sword is more than noteworthy. One would like to know further what the instruments were which were used at the ceremony, and were "like unto a sheath of brass". Were they gongs? It may be mentioned here, too, that on pp. 29-32 several other oaths and ordeals worth examining are detailed.

One installation custom, which must cause unstable administration, is that of changing all or most of the public offices at each of the frequent successions, as the Zamorins, like the Presidents of the United States in this respect, followed each other at short intervals. Incidentally, the custom accounts for the present-day numerical strength of the Menon Caste of the Nāyars, which is made up of the descendants of those who at one time or another have been clerks to a Zamorin. Their documents were written, or rather inscribed, on strips of palm-leaf (*ōla*), and this habit

was still so much in vogue even fifty years ago that the present writer's washing and similar bills were made out on *ōlas* when he was in the neighbourhood of Calicut about 1873.

Barbosa is so well informed about the modern Malabar Coast (I say "modern" because long after his time the term "Malabar" was often applied to the East as well as the West coast of South India), that one is tempted to comment indefinitely on his observations. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the following (p. 37): "These Brahmenes hold the number three in great reverence; they hold that there is a God in three persons, who is not more than one; their prayers are all ceremonials; they honour the Trinity, and would, as it were, desire to depict it. The name which they give it is Bermabesma Maceru, who are three persons and only one God, whom they confess to have been since the beginning of the world. They have no knowledge nor information concerning the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. They believe and respect many truths, yet do not tell them truly."

How much more Barbosa knew of educated Hinduism than many who followed him even 300 years later! To my mind, however, the notable thing about this passage is that Barbosa does not in it allude to the image of the Trimūrti or Hindu Triad, but to the fact that they "honour the Trinity" and "hold that there is a God in three persons, who is not more than one". He is clearly talking here of the Southern form of the Hindu religious philosophy, as related to him by obviously educated people. And when he goes on to say that the Trinity is called Bermabesma Maceru (the last an easy error in transcription for Maṣeṣu), that is, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (Maheśvara), and that they "are three persons and only one God", he proves that he had been sitting at the feet of professors of Southern Vaishnavism, presumably of Monistic Bhāgavates. For this is precisely what they strongly held—that there is only one God and three representative forms of Him, the one God being Bhāgavat or Bhagavān, the Adorable. This is not precisely

the Christian Trinity (three persons *in* one God), but very near it, and the remarkable thing is that this first European observer of Hinduism should have got so much nearer the actual facts about the beliefs of the modern educated classes of Hindus than most of the European writers who have come after him.

It is remarkable, too, that he should have observed (p. 37) that certain ascetic orders of Hindus bury and not burn their dead. No doubt he alludes to the Lingāyats, who by his time had become numerous and well established in the Malabar regions, and bury their dead. On this same page (p. 37) Barbosa mentions a custom that amounts to a mild form of *couvade*.

From religion Barbosa passes on to the social customs of the Nāyars and the notes thereon are invaluable. In the course of these I am very pleased to see a remark by Mr. Dames that the Code of Manu (*Mānava Dharma Śāstra*) "never did and does not now correspond to the facts in any part of India", with the absurd result that such classes in the South as the Nāyars have been ranked by the orthodox as Śūdras and have so been held to be inferior. I have often wondered how much harm has been done in the ages right up to the present day by assuming the Code to consist of anything but mere monastic "councils of perfection". On pp. 55, 66, Barbosa has a few remarks in connexion with the Nāyars on South Indian "Devil-worship" and on the Hindu Doctrine of Rebirth, which are not quite correct, though left unannotated.

The Nāyars are essentially a military body by tradition, and extraordinarily arrogant where inferior castes are concerned; and both Barbosa's and Mr. Fawcett's (p. 49) remarks on their former and present treatment of "low-castes" contain a lesson to those who would accuse the European in India of arrogance towards the native Indians of any degree. There has never been anything in the action of Europeans in this respect approaching that of one native Indian towards another.

In another social matter it may be remarked that well known to the Nāyars were both the boycott and the strike—very old social weapons in India, noticed, incidentally, by many travellers—and Barbosa's accounts of the methods adopted by Nāyar soldiers to recover arrears of pay would spell terror if applied by European armies for a like purpose, though it is possible similar practices were in vogue when mercenary forces were the fashion.

Barbosa has on p. 57 a remark which is more than merely interesting, as the earliest European instance of an observation quite common more than three centuries later on with quite as much error in it. He is talking of the "Cuiavem" or potters (Kuswan or Kūyavan). He says they do not differ from the Nayres, "yet by reason of a fault which they committed they remain separate from them." This kind of folk-genealogy to bolster up a claim to "better days" in the past is very common in India, and in the middle of the last century there was brought about the accidental collection of many such instances as that quoted unwittingly by Barbosa. Someone in high office directed Settlement (of Land Revenue) officials to find out the origin of caste names in the course of their inquiries into tenant right. The result was the record in innumerable *Reports*, in the Panjab at any rate, of childish accounts of caste origin, based on absurdly false etymology, and put forward in every case in order to raise the social status of the narrators. Any one interested can collect them for himself from the official *Settlement Reports* of the period. It is very interesting to find that this particular method of gulling the inexperienced European inquirer is as old as Barbosa himself. That the Kūyavan *did* differ from the Nāyar comes out naively in a remark in Ramusio's version of Barbosa: "Those who are sprung from them may not adopt any other caste or occupation" (p. 57).

On the whole, Barbosa's observations on such castes as Kūyavan, Vannathan, and Chāliyan, when compared with the modern *Gazetteers*, seem to infer that they and the Nāyars

have an origin similar to that of the Rājput clans further north. After describing the Nāyars, Barbosa goes through the whole gradation of castes with wonderful accuracy, drawing many valuable notes from his annotators, including a fine comparative table of caste nomenclature on p. 71.

Going further along in his accounts, we find Barbosa twice alluding to a variant of the old European custom which is the subject of Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough*: once at "Quilicare" (Kilakkarai in the Madura district) and once at Pasay in Sumatra (pp. 121, 185). Hamilton (1727) transferred it to the Zamorius. It is worth while noting these two variants of a widely spread legend of the compulsory murder of the priest-king by his often unwilling successor.

Before parting with the engrossing subject of the Zamorins I would note that Barbosa's annotators have an appendix dealing with native accounts of them containing information not to be found elsewhere. In the course of it there is mention (p. 254) of a world-wide folk-custom, giving it a rational explanation: "As they go they turn and throw rice and other things over their shoulder. This ceremony is intended to avert the evil eye, and with this the investiture of the Sthanis [the Five Rājās] is complete."

As regards Barbosa's observations on Further India, that on pp. 150-2 (one fancies by hearsay) of a custom in Aracan of selecting brides by the smell of their perspiration in clothing, which reads as if it were apocryphal, may have an explanation in the custom of smelling for kissing prevalent in Burma and elsewhere in the Far East.

In annotating Barbosa's remarks on Pegu, Mr. Dames writes accurately regarding the white elephant. Except in pictorial representation it was anything but white, and that captured during the Third Burmese War at Mandalay from the Burmese Court in 1885, of which I had charge for a while officially, was properly speaking not even piebald. It had, however, on it certain marks in the arrangement of the hair, etc., which constituted it a holy object and a "White

Elephant" by a set of carefully recorded and observed rules : just as was the child chosen to become the Dalai Lama in Tibet. Barbosa's statement also as to there being "many very proper nags, great walkers" in Pegu is accurate if for "walkers" we translate "amblers". The Pegu pony (really from the Shān uplands) is still a remarkable ambler. I had one (13½ hands) for some time in Mandalay, a good weight-carrier, on which I have successfully kept pace for a long distance with a horse at a smart canter. These ponies can keep up a quick amble almost indefinitely, and are comfortable to ride at that pace.

Barbosa has a remark on Ambam or Amboyna in the Malay Archipelago which is of unusual interest (p. 199), when he says that every man collects as many "Cambaya cloths" as he can to provide a ransom in case he is captured and enslaved. In parts of the Nicobars it is also the custom to collect white and red cotton cloths by the piece, but for a very different purpose, viz. for wrapping round the owner's corpse as part of the funeral ceremonies. One wonders if Barbosa understood rightly.

Barbosa several times mentions the large size of the bells, drums, and gongs of the Malay Archipelago (e.g. pp. 198, 202, 203). This is common to the whole of the Far East, where they are put to many uses, including currency.

In describing Siam, Barbosa gives a circumstantial account of the ceremonial eating of dead relatives and friends as part of funeral ceremonies. This he attributes to a people "in the interior towards China, where there is a heathen kingdom subject to Anseam [Siam]". Mr. Dames identifies these with the Gueos, which argues that they were probably [Gwē] Shāns, and not Wās, as Sir George Scott has suggested. These ceremonial cannibals may be therefore taken to have been Shāns of some kind, in respect of whom such cannibalism has often been reported, as it has also been said of wild Wās, who belong to the Mon Race and the Kachins, who belong to the Tibeto-Burman Race. I have myself known of a case

where the body of a Shān rebel, said to have been a great sorcerer, was dug up by a local chief and boiled down into a decoction, some of which it was proposed to send to the British Chief Commissioner (the late Sir Charles Crosthwaite). It was probably the same case as that reported in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i, vol. ii, p. 37, as occurring in 1888. It will be seen here that the cannibalism was purely ceremonial, and due to a desire to secure extraordinary supernatural powers by a sort of sympathetic magic. The funeral ceremony told to Barbosa may have been a garbled report of similar occurrences. Ceremonial cannibalism of the same kind is said to have existed among the Nicobarese.

I must wind up this very long survey of one of the most informing books among the many of the same kind produced of late years by a note showing the care with which it has been edited. In describing the kingdom of Cochin, Barbosa alludes to the Court politics there of his day, of which the Portuguese accounts that have come down to us are scarcely intelligible, were it not for Mr. Rama Varmaraja's *Contributions to the History of Cochin*, Trichur, 1914. The quotations from this local publication in a long footnote (p. 94) set this matter straight, and provide a strong instance of the importance of placing the editing of such works as Barbosa's in the hands of competent annotators possessing the requisite knowledge.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: ANNUAL REPORT
1919-20. 13×10, 63 pp., 25 plates. Calcutta:
Superintendent Government Press, 1922.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: CATALOGUE OF THE
MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY AT SANCHI, BHOPAL STATE.
11×8½, 73 pp., 21 plates. Calcutta: Superintendent
Government Press, 1922.

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES, Vol. III, Part I.
11×8½, 158 pp., 26 plates. Trivandrum: Superintendent
Government Press, 1922.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF
H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 10$, 32 pp.,
12 plates. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1922.

HYDERABAD ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES, NO. 5: MUNIRABAD
INSCRIPTION OF THE THIRTEENTH YEAR OF
TRIBHUVANAMALA (VIKRAMADITYA VI). $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, 12 pp.,
- 1 plate. Nizam's Government, 1922.

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL
RECORDS COMMISSION, VOL. IV. 109 pp. Calcutta, 1922.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIRST ORIENTAL
CONFERENCE, AT POONA. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 120 + cxxxii pp.,
6 plates. Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, 1922.

ARS ASIATICA. VOL. IV: LES SCULPTURES CHAMES AU
MUSÉE DE TOURANE. By H. PARMENTIER. $13\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$,
28 pp., 30 plates, 1 map. Paris and Brussels: Van
Dest, 1922.

INDIAN DRAWINGS IN THE WANTAGE BEQUEST IN THE
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. With introduction and
text by C. STANLEY CLARKE. 15×12 , 4 pp., 24 plates.
London, 1922.

In spite of its smaller bulk, the annual report of the A.S.I. seems as full as ever. It is a record of steady progress, chiefly in conservation and repairs. We may here note the work done on the tombs of the 'Ādil Shāh dynasty at Bijapur and Mr. Longhurst's various activities in the Southern Circle. At Taxila excavations have been continued at Sirkap and the Bhir mound, and have yielded a remarkable Gandhara statuette in the round not later than the first century A.D., with numerous fine specimens of the minor arts of the period. A remarkable Buddhist slab with a medallion, representing Candaka's return without Buddha to Suddhodana's court, found at Ghantasala, is illustrated and fully described. The considerable work done in the epigraphical department is fully summarized. The work done by the chemist now attached to the Archæological department seems of great importance for the future of conservation of monuments.

The *Catalogue of the Museum at Sanchi* is a valuable supplement to Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sanchi*. A large selection of the more important objects is illustrated, while a feature of the text is the care with which all inscriptions, however fragmentary, have been transcribed.

The latest publication of the *Travancore Archæological Series* contains thirty-three short inscriptions, containing much material for the student of economic history and philology in South India, in addition to a work of especial value to the student of Cola history, namely Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar's edition of the long Kanyākumari inscription of Virarājendra.

Mr. G. Yazdani's *Report for 1919-20* shows that he is doing valuable work in the Nizam's dominions, to which he has been lent by the Government of India. Appendices contain reports on the Ajanta frescoes by M. Foucher and Professor L. Ceconi. Mr. Krishna Sastri's handsome edition of the Munirabad inscription of the Calukya Vikramāditya VI is also a credit to the Hyderabad series.

The fourth volume of the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* contains a number of short papers, among which we may note the indefatigable Professor Jadunath Sarkar's account of Aurangzib's siege of Satara and Mr. Beni Prasad's exculpation of Jahāngīr from any complicity in the death of Sher Afghan. Mr. H. Sharp summarizes the architectural achievements of the Tughlaks, while Mr. Dodwell investigates the early history of cotton-weaving under the company. A long appendix gives Rev. H. Hosten's calendar documents in Mylapore, Pondicherry, etc., relating to the history of the Jesuits in India.

We have already noticed the summary of the papers read at the 1919 Oriental Congress at Poona. The Bhandarkar Institute has now issued those considered worthy of preservation in full. The Committee have on the whole erred on the side of generosity, but there are a number of papers which should not be overlooked by Western scholars.

Among these are S. C. Vidyabusana's account of Nāgārjuna, Professor P. D. Gune on Apabhraṃśa literature, Mr. L. F. Taylor on the dialects of Burmese, and Mr. P. K. Gode on Kālidāsa's "*upamās*". Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's ingenious article on the indigenous origin of the Indian alphabet is not convincing. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri on the Brāhmi inscriptions of South India, Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the "Early History of the Gurjaras", and Professor P. V. Kane's Notes on the ancient history of the Konkan conclude the list of outstanding articles. The printing of the book leaves much to be desired.

The fourth of the noble volumes of M. Goloubew's series is devoted to Cham sculpture of the seventh to the tenth centuries, and forms a valuable contribution to the study of the influence of Hindu art in the Far East. While the architecture and sculpture of Champa is not comparable in quantity or quality to the similar remains in Java or Cambodia, M. Parmentier's plates show that it produced many fine things such as the Skanda from a Mi-son temple (pls. xxiv-xxv), the pedestal at Tra-kieu (pls. xviii-xix), or the elephant illustrated on pl. ix. M. Parmentier's introduction sketches the artistic history of the Chams "*une longue decadence*", and his notes accompanying the plates are admirable.

All students of Indian art will welcome the handsome reproductions of the collection of Moghul paintings and specimens of calligraphy bequeathed in 1920 to the Victoria and Albert Museum by Lady Wantage. Among the artists represented are Balchand, Bishandas, Sahifa Bānū, Manohar, and Maṃṣūr, the animal paintings by the last two being particularly fine. The specimens of penmanship include the work of Muḥammad Ḥusain of Kashmir and 'Abd al-Rashīd. The identification of the scene in No. 6 (should not the verses given under 7 go with 6?) is a nice puzzle for the authorities on the life of Jahāngīr. Mr. Stanley Clarke's introduction and descriptive notes are just what is required. The printers have not

distributed the long vowel marks—unnecessary in a work like this—as accurately as they might have done. Under No. 8 we might note that Kutb al-din Khān Koka was murdered.

THE PRE-MUHAMMEDAN COINAGE OF NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

By R. B. WHITEHEAD. 56 pp., 14 plates. New York, 1922.

CATALOGUE OF COINS OF THE GUPTAS, MAUKHARIS, ETC., IN THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW. By C. J. BROWN. 45 pp. Allahabad, 1920.

THE COINS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY INDEPENDENT SULTANS OF BENGAL. By NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI. 184 pp., 10 plates. Cambridge, 1922.

THE COINS OF HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN. By J. R. HENDERSON, 9½×6, 129 pp., 9 plates, 1 map. Madras: Government Press, 1921.

THE COINS OF INDIA. By C. J. BROWN. Heritage of India Series. 120 pp., 12 plates. London, 1922.

LECTURES ON ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS. By D. R. BHANDARKAR. Carmichael Lectures. 229 pp. Calcutta, 1921.

These six books, covering very different areas, form gratifying evidence of the increasing interest taken in Indian coins. Mr. R. B. Whitehead has written a useful little essay on the pre-Muhammadan coinages of North-West India, in which he outlines the various currencies of the Punjab from the Greek conquest to the tenth century. The book is intended for the reader who is not a specialist, and will give him an excellent idea of the great part coins have played in the reconstruction of early Indian history. The plates are admirable, and the specimens illustrated selected from a wide field with great care.

Mr. C. J. Brown's Catalogue of Gupta coins in Lucknow is welcome as making known a very fine collection. It is

unfortunate that it could not have been done on the same scale as his handsome catalogue of the Moghul collection in Lucknow; on the other hand, we hope the issue of cheaply printed lists like this will be imitated by other Museums, pending the publication of more elaborate catalogues.

Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali's exhaustive study of the coins and chronology of the fourteenth century Sultans of Bengal is the sort of detailed work which it is now quite prohibitive to publish in this country. We are glad that his perseverance has overcome all difficulties of production and given us a book of considerable value, if limited in its appeal. His careful corrections of many previous misreadings will find general acceptance, and the chronological results derived from his patient work are quite important.

Although the coins of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan have had a disproportionate amount of attention from students, there was still room for a definitive work on them. Dr. Henderson's book will now take its place as the authority on the subject. He describes some 500 coins, a much larger collection than any yet published, and not likely to be surpassed. The introductory sections are models of their kind. The account of Tipu's complicated system of dating is particularly lucid, while the explanation of his coin-nomenclature is valuable. The historical notes on the mints will be appreciated in wider circles than that of numismatists. We are glad to see that Dr. Henderson has a good word to say for that much abused person Tipu Sultan.

Mr. C. J. Brown's essay on the "Coins of India" is a most admirable piece of work. It describes in historical and evolutionary order all the series of coins that have been issued in India. In spite of the fact that the little book contains 100 pages or so, it is no mere list of facts but a charming essay, a numismatic commentary on the political and economic history of India. The book is beautifully produced, has twelve fine plates, and costs the incredibly small sum of half a crown. It is a book which everyone interested in India should have,

and we hope the demand for it will be as great as the author's care and scholarship merit. Mr. Brown's text is beyond criticism. The only mistake in it (p. 85) is due to the British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Muhammadan States, where No. 264, attributed to Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur, is really a coin of Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa of Shadiabad mint (cf. I.M.C. ii, No. 23 ff.). We must finally thank Mr. Brown for giving us a book on numismatics which is written with much literary grace.

Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* is a stimulating book dealing with many little-known aspects of early Indian economic history. It must, however, be read with great caution, for many of his suggestions are untenable and others will require modification. In particular he does not make out his case for the very great antiquity of Indian coins: in arguing, for example, that Rudra's *niskam viśvarūpam* (R.V. ii, 33) means a necklace of gold coins of different types he begs the whole question. Professor Bhandarkar does not always distinguish between coin in the strict sense and currency. The great value of the book is in the collection of many early references to commercial transactions, etc., which the student of Indian numismatic history will find very useful. While we do not agree with many of his conclusions, we must congratulate the author on producing a most refreshing and important contribution to learning which no numismatist can afford to neglect.

J. ALLAN.



THE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

THE preparations for the Centenary were entrusted to a Committee, which reported to the Council at its monthly meetings. In fixing the date, July 17-20, a primary consideration was the convenience of delegations from abroad. The scope of the invitations was limited to societies interested in Oriental researches, together with a few institutions of exceptional character, such as the British Academy, the Académie Royale de Belgique, the Koninklijk Instituut van Nederland, the American Academy, the School of Oriental Studies, the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, the Scuola Orientale della Regia Università di Roma.

A very important preliminary was the preparation of the Centenary Volume, which had been initiated two years in advance. Its character as a record of the Society's activities, publications, and possessions having been apparent upon its issue in April, it remains to express the Society's indebtedness to the Committee for its careful elaboration of the plan and to Mr. Pargiter, Vice-President, who was its main compiler and editor. As a work of reference it will be, it is hoped, of permanent utility.

To meet the contemplated expenses a fund, started by a handsome contribution of £100 from the President, was raised by subscription among the members; including a sum of £40 left from the Joint Session of 1919, it ultimately reached the respectable amount of £282, of which, after the outlay upon hospitality and services, sufficient remains for an extra issue of the Journal, which is to contain a selection of papers read at the gathering.

The arrangements for sectional meetings to be devoted to the reading of papers and discussion of Oriental topics were entrusted to chairmen nominated with authority to invite

contributions. The sections and the chairmen who undertook the duty, and by whom a joint circular was drawn up, were the following :—

- I. The Far East : China, Japan, Indo-China, Siam, and Malaya. Chairman : Mr. L. C. Hopkins.
- II. The Ancient East : Sumer and Accad, Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Egypt ; Languages written in Cuneiform Script, Hebrew, Phœnician, and Syriac. Chairman : Professor S. Langdon.
- III. India (with Persia, Ceylon, and Burma). Chairman : Professor A. A. Macdonell.
- IV. Islam. Chairman : Professor D. S. Margoliouth.

A detailed programme, embracing both the sectional meetings and the general receptions and gatherings, was among the documents prepared for distribution. For all the sections accommodation was provided upon the Society's own premises.

For the opening ceremony of 17th July, the formal commemorative gathering, the Royal Society had kindly lent its rooms in Burlington House. The very distinguished assembly included, in addition to the Council and members of the Society, the Japanese Ambassador and the Afghan Minister, representing their respective countries, the Finnish Minister, representing the Société Finno-Ougrienne, and delegates from about forty learned bodies which will be named below.

After extending a cordial welcome to the visitors the President devoted the remainder of his address to a sketch of the Society's history, calling special attention to the important contributions to learning made by servants of government in the East, and paying an eloquent tribute to some outstanding figures, such as Sir William Jones, the joint founders, Colebrooke and Sir George Staunton, and Wilson, Prinsep, Rawlinson. He also laid stress upon the value of co-operation among scholars and among societies.

Then followed the presentation of addresses, read or spoken, by delegates in order as follows :—

1. The Asiatic Society of Bengal (Sir Thomas Holland).
2. The Société Asiatique de Paris (M. Émile Senart).
3. The American Oriental Society (Professor Breasted and Professor Williams Jackson).
4. The Government of Japan (H.E. the Japanese Ambassador).
5. The British Academy (Professor A. A. Macdonell).
6. The Petrograd Academy and the Russian Archæological Society (Dr. Serge d'Oldenburg).
7. The School of Oriental Studies (Sir J. P. Hewett).
8. The Académie Royale de Belgique (Professor de la Vallée Poussin).
9. The Royal Geographical Society (Sir Francis Young-husband).
10. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Mr. R. E. Enthoven).
11. Professor Sten Konow on behalf of the Asiatic Societies of Denmark, Holland, and Norway.
12. The Royal Anthropological Institute (Professor C. G. Seligman).
13. The Svenska Orientsällskap (Professor J. Charpentier).
14. The Madras Literary Society (Sir John Wallis).
15. The Société Finno-Ougrienne (H.E. the Finnish Minister).
16. The British and Foreign Bible Society (the Rev. J. H. Boughton).
17. The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Mr. Arthur Stanley).
18. The Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland (Professor A. J. Wensinck).
19. The Orientalisk Samfund of Denmark (Professor A. Christensen).
20. The Norsk Orientalisk Selskab (Professor S. Konow).
21. The Folk-Lore Society (Mr. Henry Balfour).
22. The Société Belge d'Études Orientales (M. Jean Capart).

23. The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Mr. J. P. Lewis).
24. The British School of Archæology in Egypt.
25. The Central Asian Society (Sir Maurice de Bunsen).
26. The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Mr. T. H. Burkill).
27. The Persia Society (Sir Percy Sykes).
28. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Sir E. Gait).
29. The Manchester Oriental Society.
30. The Burma Research Society (Mr. A. Roger).
31. The China Society (Sir John Jordan).
32. The Punjab Historical Society (Sir John Maynard).
33. The India Society (Sir Hercules Read).
34. The Society for Old Testament Study (the Rev. Canon G. H. Box).
35. The Egypt Exploration Society (Lieut.-Com. V. L. Trumper).
36. The Palestine Exploration Fund.
37. The British School of Archæology in Jerusalem (Lieut.-Com. V. L. Trumper).

A letter was received from Professor Nallino, of the Scuola Orientale della Regia Università di Roma, and cablegrams from M. Finot, Director of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, in Hanoi, and from Professor C. R. Lanman, ex-President of the American Oriental Society, and Editor of the Harvard Oriental Series.

The long succession of eminent representatives of famous institutions of learning was full of interest to the audience, which was by no means exhausted at the time of the interval for conversation preceding the great event of the day, the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Prime Minister. The address pronounced by His Royal Highness and the Prime Minister's brief speech of acknowledgment and of good wishes for the Celebrations have naturally been reported verbatim in the Press. The honour of their presence was keenly appreciated, and some leading scholars of France, America, and Belgium, together with the

Hon. Secretary, had the further privilege of presentation to the Prince.

The meeting was followed by a lunch at Claridge's, to which the Government had invited the delegates, the Officers and Council of the Society, the chairmen of Sections, and a few others. On behalf of the Government the Secretary of State for India, Viscount Peel, had kindly consented to preside. After the toasts of "The King", and "The Sovereigns of the Kingdoms and the Presidents of the Republics represented", he proceeded in a lively speech to celebrate "Our Guests", referring to the wide scope of the Society as declared in its charter, and claiming that the Government which he represented had an unfeigned and indeed a special interest in learned studies. After a witty and inspiring reply from Professor Breasted, of the American Oriental Society, the President closed the proceedings with a brief expression of thanks to Viscount Peel and the Government.

The afternoon of a very full day was spent at the Society's house, where the chairmen of Sections conferred with, and in some cases addressed, those proposing to take part in them. Tea was provided by the Society. In the evening a party was entertained by Lord Chalmers at dinner.

The mornings of July 18-20 were devoted to sectional meetings, after which groups of the members lunched with their chairmen. The 19th, however, was marked by special events. On that morning the President and the Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer of the Society, together with M. Senart, representing the Société Asiatique, Professor Breasted and Professor Williams Jackson, representing the American Oriental Society, and Professor Konow, representing the Orientalisk Selskab of Norway, had the high honour of presentation to His Majesty the King-Emperor at Buckingham Palace. A party proceeded to Oxford, where they were welcomed at some of the colleges, and the degree of D.Litt. was conferred upon Lord Chalmers, Sir Charles Eliot, and Professor de la Vallée Poussin, of Brussels.

On the afternoon of 18th July a visit was paid to the School of Oriental Studies, where the Director exhibited the large library and drew attention to the very fine collection of Chinese books. The company then proceeded to the Mansion House to be received by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, who kindly provided tea. On the 19th, also, the afternoon and evening were full of interest. Under the conduct of Mr. L. C. Hopkins the splendid mansion and remarkable Chinese collections of Mr. Eumorfopoulos, in Chelsea, were visited, and later there was a reception on the part of the British and Foreign Bible Society, where tea was provided, and Canon Box displayed the unique collection of Bibles in numberless tongues. In the evening the India Society had arranged a *conversazione* at 21 Cromwell Road, to meet M. Émile Senart, who gracefully replied to an address of welcome by its President, Sir Hercules Read.

At the concluding banquet on the 20th, which took place in the Hotel Cecil, the very distinguished company of members and visitors numbered about 200. In toasting "The King" and "The Royal Family", Lord Chalmers dwelt, for the benefit of foreign guests, upon the strength of loyal feeling in Great Britain, and referred to the service rendered to the Empire by the Prince of Wales' recent visit to Asia. The toast of "Our Guests" was proposed by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. W. Thomas, who paid a tribute to the Societies which had honoured the occasion by their memorials and delegations, and spoke of the range and character of Oriental research and the increasing participation of Asiatic scholars. The replies of M. Émile Senart, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, and Professor Sten Konow, congratulated the Society upon the brilliant success of the fêtes and conveyed the cordial feeling of fraternity and admiration entertained by the Societies which they represented. M. Senart paid a tribute to his old friend Lord Reay, the late President of the R.A.S. In proposing "The Royal Asiatic Society" H.E. the Japanese Ambassador spoke of the vast area of space and time covered

by its researches, and Sir Thomas Holland presented the felicitations of the parent Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the senior among its congeners. Professor E. G. Browne, in his reply, said that he might rely upon his hearers to realize more fully than he could briefly express the cordiality of the Society's friendship, and in regard to the Oriental civilizations affirmed his belief that Europe had something to learn from, as well as communicate to, them. He ended by proposing the health of the Chairman, who replied with a humorous regret that he would not take part in the next Centenary.

During the Celebrations opportunity was found for two meetings of the Entente delegates, who discussed the business of the Buddhist Dictionary, a re-edition of Dr. Bunyiu Nanjio's catalogue, and an edition of the Tibetan *Dag-Yig*. Advantage was taken of the presence of Professor Sakaki of Kyoto to arrange for reference to Dr. Nanjio.

For the marked success of the Celebrations the warm thanks of the Society are due to the President, whose stimulus and guidance were active at every point, to the Council for its zealous co-operation, to the chairmen of Sections, who were responsible in their special spheres, and to Miss Sykes, the Secretary, and her assistants, who were fully equal to their onerous tasks. For the banquet the arrangements in detail were entrusted to a committee consisting of the Hon. Treasurer, Sir Denison Ross, and Mr. Perceval Yetts, whose services deserve a grateful record.

The Far Eastern Section (A)

CHINA, JAPAN, INDO-CHINA, SIAM, MALAYA, CENTRAL ASIA

Tuesday, 17th July.—The section met at 3.30 under the chairmanship of Mr. L. C. Hopkins, who, after a short address of welcome to the delegates and members, proceeded to read a letter from Professor G. Vacca, of the University of Rome, at the request of the Scuola Orientale della R. Università di Roma, giving cover to a short paper on "A Latin Bible of

the Thirteenth Century, found in China, and preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence". Professor Vacca had himself seen this Bible on 13th June, 1923. It is included in Biscioni's Catalogue (Pluteus III, Capsula I). A paper on "An Early Malay Inscription from Trengganu" was next read by Mr. H. S. Paterson, which was followed by a discussion, initiated by Mr. Otto Blagden, on the question whether the Mohammedan faith had entered the Malay Peninsula from the East or the West.

Wednesday, 18th July.—M. Paul Pelliot gave an address "On the reliability of the Tang and Sung Catalogues of ancient paintings", dealing with certain legends which had crept into popular Chinese histories, which he stripped to the bare bones of contemporary records. Professor W. E. Soothill followed with a paper giving an account and a translation from the Chinese of "The Lotus Scripture". At noon Dr. Sten Konow read a paper on "A Royal Era in Ancient Khotan". A discussion followed, Professor Rapson disputing some of the conclusions from the Prakrit side; from the Chinese side M. Pelliot accepted some names and rejected others which were declared to correspond to names in the Chinese annals.

After lunching together at Liverpool Street, the section proceeded to the School of Oriental Studies, where they inspected the books in the Chinese library and other interesting objects.

Thursday, 19th July.—Mr. L. C. Hopkins read a paper on "A newly discovered Early Chou inscribed bronze" from the collection of Mr. Eumorfopoulos, by whose courtesy the original bronze was exhibited, together with photos of the bowl, of the inscription, and an English rendering and a transcription in modern Chinese of the latter. The joint paper by Mr. Hopkins and Mr. R. L. Hobson described the vessel and the inscription, and argued in favour of their genuineness. A discussion followed, in which Mr. R. L. Hobson, M. Pelliot, and Mr. Perceval Yetts debated whether the external design

was composed of four conventionalized elephants or two conventionalized ogres, while Professor Alexeieff discussed the rendering of the inscription. Dr. Lionel Giles then read a paper describing a re-discovered poem, "The Lament of the Lady Ch'in," found among the Tun-Huang documents in the British Museum, and describing vividly the sack of the city and giving a metrical translation. This was followed by a joint session of the Far Eastern and Indian sections to hear an account of Manichæism by M. Pelliot from Chinese records partly just discovered in the British Museum. Professor Rapson and Mr. G. R. S. Mead took part in the discussion which followed. On the invitation of Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos, the section at 3 p.m. visited and inspected his collections of Chou bronzes and T'ang and Sung pottery, etc., being afterwards entertained at tea. This visit was much appreciated.

Friday, 20th July.—Professor Cornelius P. Bradley read a paper on "Some Aspects of Siamese Speech and Writing", with especial reference to the tones which are common to Siamese and to Chinese; the discussion took the form of requests for further information from a much interested audience. At noon H.E. Chaohsi Chu, Chargé d'Affaires of China, read a paper on "Family Life and the Social Fabric in China". At 4.15 p.m., by the kindness of Mr. Cecil Hallett, a personally conducted visit to the collections of the British Museum was made.

The Semitic, Sumerian, Hittite, and Egyptian Section (B)

Tuesday, 17th July.—At 3.30 p.m. Professor Langdon took the chair and welcomed the delegates and members. Professor Breasted read a paper on "An Egyptian Medical Papyrus", which he claimed as the earliest known document of inductive science. Professor Langdon opened a discussion on the extent of Egyptian medical knowledge. Dr. Blackman spoke of a possible Semitic (Hyksos) influence thereon, and of the debt of Greek medicine to Egypt.

At 5.0 Dr. Hall gave a lantern lecture on the British Museum Excavations at Ur, el-'Obeid, and Šahreïn, illustrating his discoveries in 1918-19, and the work of Mr. Woolley's party in 1922-3. Afterwards Professor Langdon announced the discovery of a temple library at Kiš by the Oxford expedition.

Wednesday, 18th July.—10 a.m. M. Thureau-Dangin proposed a method of transcribing cuneiform. The customary accents would give place to numbers. We now know, for example, eighteen signs with value *ge* (according to a Rassam tablet which groups homophonic signs). It is impossible to devise so many accents. Professor Langdon suggested that such figures would be confused with those indicating footnotes. Mr. Driver and Mr. Gadd suggested ways of avoiding the confusion. Professor Waterman spoke of the desirability of international agreement. Professor Hagopian spoke of the phonetic aspect of the question.

Mr. Driver read a paper on "A new contract for the sale of a priesthood in the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukin". The contract (from Wannat-as-Sa'dūn) threw light on details of the cult.

Professor Langdon read a paper, sent by Professor Luckenbill, on "Earliest Indo-Europeans". A connexion was traced between the Indo-European movement into Asia Minor and the subsequent southerly Hittite and Hyksos movements. A short discussion was opened by Dr. Daiches. Professor Hagopian spoke of the interest of this subject from the Armenian point of view.

Thursday, 19th July.—10 a.m. Dr. Daiches read a paper entitled "The Song of Deborah: a New Interpretation". Verses 1-11 became intelligible, if understood not of the war against the Canaanites, but of Deborah's work as Judge. Dr. Gaster, Dr. Pinches, and Professor Kirehow congratulated Dr. Daiches on his solution.

Mr. Friedlander read a paper, "Facts and Theories relating to Hebrew Music," treating firstly of the melody of the Song of Moses (which resembled that of the Song of the water-

carriers of Mecca, published by Burckhardt), and secondly of a derivation of early Christian chant from the synagogue. The discussion was mainly concerned with the musical notation of a newly discovered MS. of the Song of Songs.

Friday, 20th July.—10 a.m. Dr. Blackman read a paper on "The Egyptian and Babylonian Ceremonies of the 'Opening of the Mouth'", showing the similarity of these rituals for the consecration of statues. If there was a genetic connexion, they probably had a common source, perhaps (to apply a theory of Professor Rostovtseff) North Syrian. Professor Langdon, Professor Breasted, and Dr. Daiches spoke in support of a connexion. Commander Trumper observed that ritual temple-sweeping (alluded to in the paper) still took place at Mecca.

Dr. Pinches read a paper entitled "Early Babylonian Songs in praise of Pap-due-garra". The text partially resembled the Epic of Ninib. Discussion followed (by Dr. Daiches, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Langdon) on the Babylonian terms for "song", and the Hebrew parallels.

Professor Breasted gave an account of "the work of the Oriental Institute of Chicago", explaining the method, scope, and present achievements of two undertakings: the compilation of a complete Assyrian Dictionary, and the collation of the "coffin-texts" of the Book of the Dead.

Professor Clay read a paper on "Migrations and Religious Influences". Foreign conquest had small influence on the religion of the conquered. Religion followed *migration*. The direction of migration was from Amurru to Babylonia (and Egypt), not conversely. Consequently, Babylonian religion was influenced by Amorite, not conversely.

Finally, Professor Langdon announced the discovery, among the tablets acquired by Mr. Weld-Blundell for the Ashmolean, of a cylinder from Larsa giving the king list, almost complete, from the creation to the dynasty of Isin. Special points were indicated. The communication excited great interest, and many questions were asked.

The Indian Section (C)

The first meeting, held on Tuesday, 17th July, was opened by the Chairman, Professor A. A. Macdonell, with a brief address of welcome to the members of the section. The paper announced by Sir George Grierson on "The pronunciation of the Sanskrit Visarga with gramophone illustrations" could not be read owing to Sir George's illness.

On Wednesday, 18th July, Dr. F. W. Thomas read a paper entitled "Four Sanskrit Plays", dealing with four comic dramas, which have recently been printed for the first time in Madras. The paper, which treated the literary and philological aspect of these plays at considerable length, was much appreciated by a large audience. An interesting discussion, in which M. Sylvain Lévi and Dr. Sten Konow took part, followed the reading of the paper. The attendance list showed that at least thirty members of the section were present on this day.

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson delivered a short lecture, with illustrations, entitled "Studies in Manichæism". In the discussion that followed Mr. Mead and others participated.

Mr. R. P. Dewhurst read a paper dealing with "Words in the Avesta beginning with the letter F". A short discussion followed in which Professor Williams Jackson and Dr. Thomas took part.

At noon Dr. Sten Konow read a paper before the combined sections A and C on "A Royal Era in Ancient Khotan". Professor Rapson and M. Paul Pelliot joined in the searching discussion that followed.

Thursday, 19th July.—In the absence of the Chairman, Professor Macdonell, Dr. Jarl Charpentier presided. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee read a paper on the custom of Wergild in ancient India. In the ensuing short discussion Mr. Mead and Mr. Sakaki took part.

Mr. P. J. Thoma delivered an extempore summary of a very lengthy paper which he had written on the subject of "Early Indian Christianity", and which dealt chiefly with the bearing

of the traditions, still existing among Christians and non-Christians in the south of India, on the question of the Apostolic foundation of the early Christian Church in Southern India. A lengthy and animated discussion followed, in the course of which the Chairman, Mr. Enthoven, Sir John Wallis, and several other speakers participated.

Friday, 20th July.—Mr. Justin E. Abbott read a paper on “The historic value of an early account of Shivaji contained in a Portuguese work written in 1695”, which was chiefly devoted to refuting the view expressed by a recent historian of Shivaji to the effect that this Portuguese work is of little or no historical value. Mr. Richards and Mr. Thoma took part in the short discussion that followed.

A paper on “The Orientation of the dead in India”, written by Dr. William Crooke, was read on his behalf by the Secretary of the section, Mr. Dewhurst. This paper, which contained a wealth of facts relating to the anthropology of all parts of India, gave rise to an interesting discussion in the course of which the Chairman, Mr. Edwardes, Mr. Enthoven, and others spoke.

The proceedings of the section closed with a very interesting lecture, accompanied by lantern slides, delivered by Mr. E. H. Walsh on the subject of Indian punch-marked coins. The numerous marks on the obverse and reverse sides of these very ancient coins were analyzed and discussed with great skill and acumen by the lecturer. At the end of the lecture two appreciative speeches were made by Professors Rapson and de la Vallée Poussin, criticizing the conclusions arrived at by the lecturer.

The Islamic Section (D)

The delegates assembled on Tuesday afternoon, 17th July, when speeches of welcome were made by the Chairman (Professor Margoliouth) and Professor Browne. The meetings of the section were well attended. Amongst the distinguished foreign Orientalists who read papers or took part in discussion

were Professors Jean Denis, Massignon, and Minorsky (France), Professor Christensen (Denmark), and Professor Wensinck (Holland). As most of the papers will probably be published later, it is unnecessary to give full details concerning them here, and what follows is only a bare record of the work done in the section. On Wednesday morning Dr. Nicholson gave an account of *Fihī mā fihī*, a compilation of sayings and discourses attributed to Jalāluddīn Rūmī, on which some interesting remarks were made by Professor Massignon. Mr. A. H. Harley described a manual of Sūfism by Zaynuddīn al-Anṣārī entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya* (Brockelmann, vol. ii, p. 100, No. 15). Professor Browne read a short paper on a newly discovered Persian translation of the well-known Arabic History *al-Fakhri*, and pointed out that the translation of the last third of the book considerably amplifies the original. Professor V. Minorsky, who was accidentally prevented from reading the communication announced under his name, contributed a paper on "The Turkish dialects in Persian, with particular reference to the Khalajī dialect"; and Capt. Creswell concluded the morning's work with an admirable lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on his archaeological researches in the citadel of Cairo. On Thursday, as Mr. E. J. Holmyard was unable to read his promised paper on "The Beginnings of Arabic Chemistry", the whole time of the session was available for Mr. Krenkow's communications on "The Beginnings of Arabic Lexicography" and "The study of early Arabic poetry in the present day". This led to an interesting discussion, in the course of which the hope was expressed that Professor Bevan would undertake an edition of the *Durān* of Jarīr. On Friday the proceedings began with Professor Guillaume's paper, entitled "Some Debates between Christian and Muslim Doctors", on a polemical work (*mujādala*) ascribed to Abū Qurra, the Christian Bishop of Harrān, which Professor Guillaume, who hopes to edit it before long, thinks is certainly genuine, though in the ensuing discussion Dr. Gaster was inclined to take a less favourable view. A suggestive and

closely reasoned paper by Mr. F. W. Buckler offered a new interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579, and the programme was completed by Mr. R. P. Dewhurst, who set forth some of the results of his studies in Arabic and Persian prosody, giving special attention to the poems of Mutanabbi, Sa'di, and Háfiz. It will not be out of place to add that the thoughtful hospitality of the Chairman provided members of the section with opportunities of social intercourse which were much appreciated by those who took advantage of them.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Sir Henry Howorth

By the death of Sir Henry Howorth the Society loses a vice-president and one of its most distinguished members. He was a man of extraordinary capacity, of wide learning, and varied attainments, and his labours in the field of history and ethnography brought him the well-deserved honours of a knighthood in 1892 and the Fellowship of the Royal Society in the following year.

He was born in Lisbon in 1842. Educated at Rossall School, he afterwards studied law, and in 1886 (and again in 1892 and 1895) was elected M.P. for South Salford. In 1899 he was made a Trustee of the British Museum.

His extraordinary versatility is shown in his numerous writings. His three best-known books are *The History of the Mongols* (1876), *The Mammoth and the Flood* (1887), and *The Glacial Nightmare* (1893), but his contributions to science began as far back as 1868, and for many years he wrote long letters to *The Times* on political questions. Through his active interest in archæology (especially Oriental), numismatics, and geology, he was a member of many scientific societies, and at one time was president of the Archæological Institute and the Viking Society. There is a very full and appreciative memoir of him in *The Times* of 17th July, of more than a column in length.

Those who knew him personally will always remember his geniality, his hospitality, his fund of vitality, and his power as a *raconteur*. One of the most striking points in his character was his capacity for appreciation of others and his unstinted expression of it. He was dowered both with a lively sense of humour and a keen sympathy, and the rare charm of these two qualities brought him a large circle of friends who loved him for them.

R. C. T.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(August–October, 1923)

The executors of the late Sir Henry Howorth have kindly presented thirty-six works from his library to the Society ; Professor Jadunath Sarkar five of his works on being made an Honorary Member ; and Dr. Sten Konow Volume I of *Acta Orientalia*.

The Librarian would be grateful if members could either present or sell the following, which are needed for the Library :

Ceylon Br. R.A.S. Journal. Vol. vii, No. 23.

N. China Br R.A.S. Journal. Vol. v, 1868.

China Review. Vol. i, pts. 2, 3. Vol. iv, pt. 4. Vol. xxiii, pts. 1, 2, 6. Vol. xxiv, pt. 1.

Numismatic Chronicle. Vols. ii, iii, xvii, xix, and new ser. vol. iii.

Hakluyt Society, Rundall's Collection of early documents on Japan. 1850.

Temple, Legends of the Panjâb. Vol. iii.

Bulletin de l'École Fr. d'Extrême Orient. Vol. xvii, pt. 2.

Vienna Oriental Journal. Vols. i, ii. Vol. xxix, pts. 3, 4.

Ostasiatische Zeits. Vol. i, pts. 3, 4. Vol. ii, pt. 4.

Zeits. für Assyriologie. Band 22, pts. 3, 4.

Zeits. der Deut. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Vol. viii.

The following sixteen members have been elected during the quarter :—

Sir F. A. Aglen.

Mr. G. H. Bushnell.

Babu S. Dass.

Babu D. C. Dutta, M.A.

Shams-ul-'Ulama Dr. M. H.

Hosain, Ph.D.

Mr. C. T. Keller.

Mr. W. U. Khan.

Mr. G. Kitching.

Mr. J. H. M. Moorhead.

Mr. T. S. N. Ray, M.Sc.

Col. H. W. R. Senior.

Mr. B. M. Sharma, B.Sc., M.A.

Mr. P. B. D. Sharman, B.A.

Khan Bahadur A. M. A. Sufi.

Rev. E. J. Thompson, B.A.

Mr. L. H. Wah.

Dr. J. C. Ferguson, the Rev. J. C. MacDonald, and Mr. J. P. Mead have resigned, and the following members have died during the quarter: Dr. Witton Davies, Mr. Fanshawe, Sir Henry Howorth, and Colonel Rivett-Carnac.

Lectures

Mr. H. R. Hall, of the British Museum, gave an interesting lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society on 9th October.

He said that part of the ground of his paper had already been covered by him in the lecture which he delivered on his excavations of 1919 at Ur and Tell el-Obeid for the British Museum during the Centenary Celebrations of the Society in July. On this present occasion he wished also first to describe more particularly the early antiquities from el-Obeid and Shahrein in relation to similar remains, especially pottery, from Samarra, Susa, Anau in Turkestan, Muhammadabad near Tuz in N.E. Persia, and other parts of the "Near East", including possibly Thessaly; and, secondly, to draw attention to some points of resemblance between the early Sumerian culture of Ur and el-Obeid and that of Old Kingdom Egypt, several of which had already been pointed out by him in an article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* last year, but had not yet been put before the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Hall showed slides of the prehistoric pottery he described and of the copper lions and other works of Sumerian art from el-Obeid in the British Museum, discovered by him in 1919, illustrating the comparisons drawn by him.

Mr. W. Foster speaks on "The Pictures of the Society" on 13th November, and on 11th December Lieut.-Col. Shakespear lectures on "Manipur, Past and Present".

A small unset diamond was found early in September in the Lecture Room. If it belongs to any member, application should be made to the Secretary.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Books

- Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn ibn Taghrī Birdī's Annals, edited by W. Popper.
Vol. vi, pt. ii, No. 2. (University of California Publications.)
Berkeley, 1923. *From Publishers.*
- Aḥkām-i-Ālamgīrī, Persian text with translation, notes, and
a Life of Aurangzib, by Jadunath Sarkar. Calcutta, 1912.
From Author.
- Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660-77, by
Shafaat Ahmad Khan. London, Bombay. *From Publishers.*
- Archæological Department, Jammu and Kashmir State. Annual
Report, Sambat year, 1977. *From Superintendent.*
- Series, Mysore. Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. ii. Inscriptions
at Sravana Belgola, revised edition, by Rao Bahadur R.
Narasimhachar. Bangalore, 1923.
From Government of India.
- — Travancore, vol. iii, pt. ii. By K. V. Subrahmanya
Aiyar. Trivandrum, 1923. *From Superintendent.*
- L'Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, par A. Foucher. T. 2,
fasc. 2. Paris, 1922. *From Publishers.*
- Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston, by A. K. Coomaraswamy. Boston, 1923.
From Publishers.
- Chaitanya's Life and Teachings, by Jadunath Sarkar. 2nd edition.
Calcutta, 1922. *From Author.*
- The Children of the Sun, by W. J. Perry. London, 1923.
From Publishers.
- Chu Hsi and his Masters, an Introduction to Chu Hsi and the
Sung School of Chinese Philosophy, by J. P. Bruce. London,
1923. *From Publishers.*
- Complément à l'Inventaire descriptif des Monuments du Cam-
bodge pour les quatre Provinces du Siam Oriental. Extrait
du Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, 22, No. 1,
by Major E. Seidenfaden. Hanoi, 1922. *From Author.*
- Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivâyat, vols. i-ii. Bombay, 1922.
From Sir Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw.
- The English Factories in India, 1661-4, by W. Foster. Oxford,
1923. *From Publishers.*
- An Excursion to Phimai, a Temple City in the Khorat Province.
Lecture delivered before the Siam Society, 16th June, 1920.
Vol. xvii, pt. i. By Major E. Seidenfaden.
- The Fall of Nineveh. The newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle
No. 21,901 in the British Museum, edited, with trans-
literation, by C. J. Gadd. London, 1923. *From Trustees.*
- Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vols. xxii-xxiii. Paraśurāmakalpa-
sūtra with Rameśwara's Commentary Nityotsava by

- Umānandanātha, supplement, edited by A. Mahadeva Sastri. Baroda, 1923. *From Publishers.*
- Geschriften betreffende het mohammedaansche recht. Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje, D. 2. Bonn, 1923. *From Publishers.*
- History of Aurangzib. Vol. iii, Northern India, 1658-81, by Jadunath Sarkar. 2nd edition. Calcutta, 1921. *From Author.*
- An Indian Ephemeris, by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai. Vol. vii. A.D. 1800 to 1999. Madras, 1923. *From Government of India.*
- Irrigation in India, by D. G. Harris. India of To-day, vol. iii. London, 1923. *From Publishers.*
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- 1921 WALLACE, G. Malcolm, *31 Holmwood Rd., Bromley, Kent*.
- 1907 *WALSH, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S., *Member Bd. of Revenue, Bankipur, c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., King's Branch, 9 Pall Mall, S.W. 1*.
- 1912 *WAR OFFICE. *Officer in Charge, Far Eastern Sub-section, Whitehall, S.W. 1*.
- 920 1919 WARBURTON, Rev. B. A., *90 Billinge Rd., Spring Bank, Wigan*.
- 1916 *WARDROP, Oliver, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.A., *Brit. Consulate Gen., 27 Rue Erckmann-Chatrion, Strasbourg, France*.

- 1914 *WARMING, Gen. P. L. E., *Bangkok, Siam.*
 1907 *WATSON, H. D., I.C.S. (ret.), *Upper Gates, Ryder Hill, Guildford.*
 1923 *WEBSTER, Rev. Jas., 173 *Rolleston Drive, Lenton, Nottingham.*
 1900 *WEIR, T. H., B.D., *Rockcliff, Bowling, Dumbartonshire.*
 1921 WELD-BLUNDELL, H., *Ovington House, Ovington Sq., S.W. 3.*
 1921 *WELINGKAR, Ramchandra N., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 1921 *WESTLAKE, A. R. C., I.C.S., *c/o Chief Sec. to Govt. of Madras.*
 1906 *WHITEHEAD, R. B., *Bootle Rectory, Cumberland.*
 930 1921 WHYMANT, A. N. J., 90 *Thornton Av., W. 4.*
 1919 *WICKHAM, H. T., *Ind. Police, Peshawar, N.W.F.P.*
 1899 *WICKREMASINGHE, Don M. de Zilva, *Sch. of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
 1916 *WILBERFORCE-BELL, Maj. H., *Asst. Resident, Aden, Arabia.*
 1913 *WILDER, Rev. G. A., M.A., D.D., *Chicore Mission Sta., Chipinga P.O., Melssetter Dt., Rhodesia, S. Africa.*
 1921 *WILLIAMS, Capt. B. T., 8 *Fields Rd., Newport, Monmouth.*
 1921 *WILLIAMS, Eric T., *Colonial Secretariat, Singapore, Straits Settlement.*
 1915 *WILLIAMS, L. F. Rushbrook, B.A., B.Litt., O.B.E., *c/o Home Dept., Govt. of India, Simla.*
 1922 *WILLIAMS, L. H., *Radnor House, Malden Rd., Old Malden, Surrey.*
 1919 WILLIS, G. de L., *Leconfield Estate Off., Ennis, Co. Clare.*
 940 1921 WILLOUGHBY-MEADE, G., *c/o N. Brit. & Mercantile Ins. Co., Ltd., 60 Watling St., E.C. 4.*
 1923 *WILSON, Lt.-Col. Sir A. T., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.S., D.S.O., *c/o Anglo Persian Oil Co., Mohammerah, Basra, Persian Gulf.*
 1919 *WINCKWORTH, Chauncey, 21 *Chedworth St., Cambridge.*
 1923 WINCKWORTH, Mrs., 13 *Craven Hill Gardens, W. 2.*
 1912 *WINSTEDT, R. O., D.Litt., *Education Office, Singapore, Straits Settlement.*
 1896 *WOOD, J. Elmsley, 4 *Glenista Gdns., Edinburgh.*
 1907 *WOODLEY, Rev. Edward C., 216 *Girouard Av., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.*
 1916 *WOOLLEY, Capt. C. Leonard, R.F.A., *Uplands, Bathwick Hill, Bath.*
 1909 *WOODS, Prof. Jas. H., Ph.D., *Harvard University, 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
 1906 *WOOLNER, A. C., M.A., 11 *Racecourse Rd., Lahore.*
 950 1900 *WORKMAN, Mrs. Bullock, *c/o Amer. Exp. Co., 6 Haymarket, S.W. 1.*
 1894 *WRIGHT, H. Nelson, I.C.S., *Judges' House, Bareilly, U.P.*
 1920 *WYNCH, Lionel M., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S. (ret.), *Pine Hill, Camberley, Surrey.*
 1919 *WYNTER, A. E., M.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 26 *Oakfield Rd., Clifton, Bristol.*
 1919 *YAHUDA, Dr. A. S., 45 *Brondesbury Rd., N.W. 6.*
 1922 *YAQUB-KHAN, Maulvi Md., *Munshi Fazil, near Royal Hotel, Lucknow, India.*
 1911 *YAZDANI MAS'UDI, Ghulam, *Supt. of Arch., Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
 1921 *YELLIN, David, M.B.E., *Sicron Moste, Jerusalem.*
 1921 *YETTS, Maj. L. M., M.C., *c/o Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, Mesopotamia.*

- 1910 \$YETTS, W. Perceval, O.B.E., M.R.C.S., *Jr. United Service Club, Charles St., S.W. 1.*
- 960 1913 *YUSOOF, S. Azhar, *Yusuf Manzil 53/82 Pitar Kunda, Benares City.*
- 1921 *YUSUF, Md., M.A., *Head Master, Calcutta Madrasah, Calcutta.*
- 1895 YUSUF-ALI, Abdullah ibn, C.B.E., I.C.S., M.A., LL.M., *c/o King, King & Co., Bombay.*
- 1913 *ZIMMERMANN, Rev. Robert, S.J., *St. Xavier's Coll., Cruikshank Rd., Bombay.*
- 1920 *ZUTSHI, Pandit Chand N., *Happy Cottage, Morar, Gwalior State.*
- 1922 *ZUTSHI, Lambodhar, *21 Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.*

Honorary Members

- 1906 Professor René Basset, *Algiers.*
- 1885 Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *Poona, Bombay.*
- 1923 Professor J. H. Breasted, Ph.D., Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon.), *Chicago.*
- 1920 Professor W. Caland, *Utrecht.*
- 1919 Rt. Rev. L. C. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford.
- 1893 Professor Henri Cordier, *Paris.*
- 1923 Dr. Serge d'Oldenbourg, *Petrograd.*
- 1923 Professor Louis Finot, *Hanoi.*
- 1918 Monsieur A. Foucher, *Paris.*
- 1921 Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri, *Travancore.*
- 1898 Professor Ignace Guidi, *Rome.*
- 1921 Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E., M.A., *Dacca.*
- 1902 Professor Houtsma, *Utrecht.*
- 1923 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, L.H.D., Ph.D., LL.D., *New York.*
- 1912 Professor Hermann Jacobi, *Bonn.*
- 1904 Professor Julius Jolly, *Wurzburg.*
- 1902 Professor Lanman, *Cambridge, U.S.A.*
- 1923 Professor Dr. Albert von Le Coq, *Berlin.*
- 1916 Professor Sylvain Lévi, *Paris.*
- 1923 Professor Carlo A. Nallino, *Rome.*
- 1895 Professor Edouard Naville, *Geneva.*
- 1923 Professor Paul Pelliot, *Paris.*
- 1920 Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Brussels.*
- 1887 Professor Eduard Sachau, *Berlin.*
- 1923 Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., *Cuttack.*
- 1906 Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G.
- 1923 Père Vincent Scheil, O.P., *Paris.*
- 1892 Monsieur Emile Senart, *Paris.*
- 1913 Leone Caetani, Duca di Sermoneta, *Rome.*
- 1909 Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Leiden.*
- 1923 Professor Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, *Graz, Austria.*
- 1910 Professor K. L. Tallqvist, *Helsingfors.*
- 1909 Professor Vilhelm Thomsen, *Copenhagen.*

Extraordinary Member

1910 H.E. Sir Abul Kasim Khan, G.C.M.G., *Nasir-ul-Mulk*.

Note.—The number of Honorary Members is limited by Rule 9 to thirty.

Gold Medallists

N.B.—The Gold Medal was founded in 1897.

1897	Professor E. B. Cowell.
1900	E. W. West.
1903	Sir William Muir.
1906	G. U. Pope.
1909	G. A. Grierson.
1912	J. F. Fleet.
1915	{ Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis.
	{ Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson.
1918	V. A. Smith.
1922	Professor H. A. Giles.

Branch and Associate Societies

The Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.

The Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.

The North China Branch of the R.A.S.

The Korean Branch of the R.A.S.

The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The McGill University Oriental Society, Montreal.

The Straits Branch of the R.A.S.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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| Aberystwyth : University of Wales. | Cairo : Ministry of Education. |
| Adelaide : Public Library. | Cairo : Sultania Training College. |
| Adyar Library, Madras. | Calcutta : Bangiya Sahitya Parishad |
| Ajmer : Mayo College. | Mandar. |
| Aligarh : Lytton Library, M.A.O. | Calcutta : Imperial Library. |
| College. | Calcutta : Indian Museum, Archaeo- |
| Aligarh : National Muslim University. | logical Section. |
| Allahabad : Public Library. | Calcutta : Madrasah. |
| Allahabad University : History | Calcutta : Presidency College. |
| Department. | Calcutta : Ripon College. |
| Allahabad : Muir Central College. | Calcutta : Sanskrit College. |
| Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University | Calcutta : Scottish Churches' College. |
| Library. | Calcutta : St. Xavier's College. |
| Baltimore : Peabody Institute. | Calcutta : University Library. |
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| Bangalore : Inspector - General of | missioner. |
| Education. | Chester, U.S.A. : Bucknell Library. |
| Bangkok : Library. | Chicago : Newberry Library. |
| Bangkok : Neilson Hayes Library | Chicago : University Library. |
| Association. | Chittagong : The College. |
| Bangkok : Vajirañāna National | Cincinnati : Public Library. |
| Library. | Constantinople : Robert College. |
| Bankipur : Patna College. | Copenhagen : Royal Library. |
| Beirut : Syrian Protestant College. | Copenhagen : University Library. |
| Benares : Government Sanskrit | Dacca : Jugannath College. |
| Library. | Dairen, Manchuria : Bank of Chosen. |
| Benares : Hindu University. | Detroit : Public Library. |
| Berkeley : California University | Dharwar : Karnatak College. |
| Library. | Edinburgh : Public Library. |
| Berkeley, U.S.A. : Pacific School of | Edinburgh : Royal Scottish Museum. |
| Religion. | Egmore, Madras : University Library. |
| Bhavanagar : Samaldas College. | Florence : Biblioteca Nazionale. |
| Birmingham : Public Library. | Gauhati : Cotton College. |
| Bombay : Elphinstone College. | Geneva : Bibliothèque Publique. |
| Bombay : Jamjetsee N. Petit | Geneva : League of Nations. |
| Institute. | Glasgow : University of. |
| Bombay : University Library. | Glasgow : Mitchell Library. |
| Boston, U.S.A. : Museum of Fine | Goteborg, Sweden : Librarie |
| Arts. | Wittergren. |
| Brighton : Public Library. | Gottingen : Universitäts Bibliothek. |
| Bristol University. | Gwalior State : Inspector of |
| Bryn Mawr : College Library, Penn., | Archæology. |
| U.S.A. | Hankow : Hankow Club. |

- Haverford, U.S.A. : College Library.
 Hosokawa, M., Esq., Tokyo.
 Hyderabad : Nizam's College.
 Hyderabad : Nizam's State Library.
 Hyderabad : Osmania University College.
 Indianapolis, U.S.A. : College of Missions.
 Iowa, University of, Hist. Department.
 Ishihama, J., Esq., Osaka.
 Ithaca : Cornell University Library.
 Jingu Kogakukwan, Japan.
 Junagadh Archæological Society, Kathiawar.
 Kanazawa, Japan : Fourth High School.
 Khartoum : Director of Education.
 Kyoto : Indian Philosophy.
 Lahore : Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College.
 Lahore : Dyal Singh Library Trust.
 Lahore : Forman Christian College.
 Lahore : Panjab Public Library.
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 Lahore : Tilak School of Politics.
 Liverpool : The Athenæum.
 Liverpool : Institute of Archæology.
 London : Science Library.
 Athenæum Club.
 British Museum.
 British Museum.
 East India United Service Club.
 London Library.
 Louisville, U.S.A. : S. Baptist Theological Seminary.
 Lucknow : Canning College.
 Lucknow : Provincial Museum.
 Lucknow : Public Library.
 Lund : Kungl. Universitets Biblioteket.
 Lyon : University Library.
 Madras : Archæological Library.
 Madras : Connemara Public Library.
 Madras : Kumbakonam College.
 Madras : National College of Commerce.
 Madras : Oriental Manuscripts Library.
 Madras : Presidency College.
 Manchester : Free Reference Library.
 Manchester : John Rylands Library.
 Manchester : Lancashire Independent College.
 Manchester University (Victoria).
 Manchuria : " Chosabu."
 Manila : Bureau of Science.
 Maynooth : St. Patrick's College.
 Meadville, U.S.A. : Alleghany College Library.
 Melbourne : Victoria Public Library.
 Michigan University.
 Minneapolis Athenæum.
 Montreal : McGill University.
 Muzaffarpur : Greer Bhumihar Brahman College.
 Mysore : Government Oriental Library.
 Mysore : University Library.
 Nanking : National South-Eastern University.
 Newcastle-on-Tyne : Public Library.
 New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 New York : Jewish Theological Seminary.
 New York : Missionary Research Library.
 New York : Public Library.
 New York : Union Theological Seminary.
 Niigata : Koto-Gakko.
 Ottawa : Library of Parliament.
 Oxford : Indian Institute.
 Paris : Institut de France.
 Paris : Instituto Oswaldo Cruz.
 Patna : B. & O. Research Society.
 Pavia : Facolta di Lettere-e-Filosofia.
 Peshawar : Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle.
 Philadelphia : Commercial Museum.
 Philadelphia Library Company.
 Pittsburg : Carnegie Library.
 Pittsburg : Western Theological Seminary.
 Poona : Archæological Survey, Western Circle.
 Poona : Fergusson College.
 Princeton : Theological Seminary.

- Princeton University Library.
 Raquette, G., Stockholm.
 Rupp, O. B., Seattle.
 Santiniketan : Brahmacharya-
 Ashrama.
 Seattle : University of Washington.
 Sendai : Library of Coll. of Law and
 Literature.
 Shanghai : Eastern Asiatic Society.
 Simla : Bureau of Education.
 Srinagar : Sri Pratap Singh Museum.
 Stationery Office.
 Stockholm : Nordiska Bokhandel.
 Stockholm : Royal Library.
 Strasbourg : Bibliothèque Uni-
 versitaire et Regionale.
 Suga, Mr. T.
 Sydney : Public Library, N.S.W.
 Sylhet : Murarichand College.
 Tinnevely : Hindu College.
 Tokyo : Institute of History, Imperial
 University.
 Tokyo : Imperial University.
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 College.
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 Winnipeg : University of Manitoba.
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Note.—There are other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending their names to be added to the above list.

SUMMARY

	June 1, 1922.	June 1, 1923.
Resident Members (including S.B.A. 41) .	135	128
Resident Compounders (S.B.A. 5) . . .	13	14
Non-resident Members	734	724
Non-resident Compounders	64	70
Library Members	1	1
Free Members	3	2
Honorary and Extraordinary Members .	27	34
	977	974
Subscribing Libraries, etc.	170	179
Total	1147	1153

